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The enigmatic netherworld books of the solar-osirian unity : cryptographic compositions in the tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX

Darnell, John Coleman

Abstract: The ancient Egyptians at times employed a non-standard list of signs and phonetic values, and the resulting texts may be termed “cryptographic” or “enigmatic”. Inscriptions based on these alternate sign lists, attested already during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, proliferate during the New Kingdom. By the Ptolemaic period, many of the formerly enigmatic signs and values had become part of standard hieroglyphic texts of the time. The exact principles behind Egyptian cryptography have remained obscure, and the debate, often vitriolic, has centered around the “normalized” cryptography of the Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions. Curiously, the earlier enigmatic texts, those which one might reasonably see as the progenitors of the later cryptography hieroglyphic system, have not entered significantly into the discussion. The present work demonstrates that the principle of acrophony, as understood by É. Drioton, played virtually no role in the derivation of cryptographic values in enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom. Some of the most lengthy enigmatic inscriptions of the New Kingdom occur in the royal tombs. The three most extensive occurrences of enigmatic writing appear on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and on the “Enigmatic Wall” in the tomb of Ramesses IX. This study is the first detailed examination of the texts on the Tutankhamun shrine and in the tomb of Ramesses IX and contains the first treatment of much of the Ramesses VI Corridor G inscriptions. The present investigation has found these three enigmatic texts to be related common template, incorporating enigmatic texts, Book of the Dead extracts, and a figure of the giant unified Re-Osiris. Together they may be called the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. The treatises focus on the root of the eastern horizon, the place of the unification of Re and Osiris, the final triumph of the nocturnal sun and the lord of the dead, the place of the fiery birth of the newborn sun and the final destruction of the damned. All of the enigmatic texts describe and complement the accompanying depictions and often deal with obscure religious concepts. Among these otherwise shadowy beliefs are the inverted entry of the blessed dead into the Netherworld and their subsequent righting; the headless form of the blessed dead – akephalos – whose head journeys with the bark of the sun until it is reattached to the mummy at the eastern end of the Netherworld; the physically giant form of Osiris and the blessed dead at the eastern horizon, linking and filling heaven and hell. The Ramesses VI version of the treatise depicts and describes the pharaonic ancestor of the Hellenic-Egyptian magical being Abrasax/Abraxas, the giant, omnipresent personification of the blasting and avenging power of the sun. When these treatises are compared with other examples of cryptography of New Kingdom date, one may say that New Kingdom cryptography has strong solar associations. The enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom are associated with the liminal area of the eastern horizon, and their cryptography may serve – like the flagstaffs before the pylons of Egypt’s temples – to warn the reader that the text he is reading deals in some way with the dangerous and awesome land which Osiris and Re, yesterday and tomorrow, become one at the time of the solar resurrection.

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Darnell The Enigmatic Netherworld Books
of the Solar-Osirian Unity

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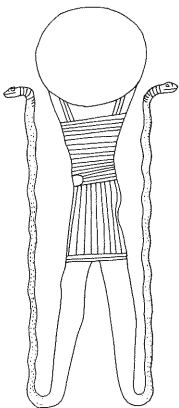
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John Coleman Darnell

The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity

Cryptographic Compositions
in the Tombs of Tutankhamun,
Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX



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PREFACE

This book is a slight reworking of my doctoral dissertation, submitted to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and accepted officially in 1995. That work was essentially complete by the end of 1994. In the intervening years, the dissertation has been available through University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Erik Hornung was kind enough to cite it several times in his *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher* and the corresponding English translation, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*. I have added to the bibliography selectively, made numerous changes and corrections, most of them slight, and have extracted two digressions (one on the wab-clarity of celestial bodies and another on the term *itny.t*, pp. 195-203 and 321-329 in the UMI version respectively) for further development elsewhere (particularly in my forthcoming monograph *"For I See the Color of his Uraei": Gnosis and Alchemy in Ramesside Egypt, and the Amarna Origins of the Concept of the Solar Sympatheia*). The addition of a glossary, list of cryptographic sign values, and indices (compiled by Ms. Colleen Manassa) should make the present version much more useful than the original dissertation.

Although I have not infrequently tinkered with the work over the past eight years, I have not made sweeping changes. Still, a comparison of the two versions will show improvements and entirely new readings for several passages (compare the discussion of the stela in Scene 1 of the Second Register of the main portion of the Corridor G Ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI, pp. 189ff. below). The bibliography is augmented, although not exhaustively—I am well aware that much could be added, but in the interest of not lengthening an already somewhat lengthy study, I refrained from adding many references.

The original dissertation appeared with a list of acknowledgements, and those are appropriate to list again here, in a slightly revised form for matters of space: I thank the members of my dissertation committee in Chicago: Ed Wente, Jan Johnson, and Peter Dorman. I am grateful to Philippe Derchain for providing my first formal guidance through the beauties and intricacies of late hieroglyphic texts, and to Prof. Hans Goedicke for suggesting I pursue in Cologne my interest in Egyptian religious texts of the Graeco-Roman Period. For discussions on various points of Egyptian language and religion I thank Andrew Baumann, Deborah Darnell, Emily Dorman, Helen Jacquet-Gordon, Richard Jasnow, Ray Johnson, Peter Piccione, Stephen Quirke, Gilles Roulin, and Herman Te Velde. Mohammed es-Saghir and El-Sayed El-Hegazy of the Supreme Council for Antiquities in Egypt were helpful in granting permission to collate and photograph certain texts in the Valley of the Kings, particularly in the tomb of Ramesses VI. Sue Lezon kindly donated her photographic skills on several occasions. Deborah Darnell helped in several ways while I was quite busy working both on the original dissertation and a full time position at the Epigraphic Survey. My aunt Mary Walker Childers[†] and especially my mother John Susan Walker Darnell[†] encouraged my interest in Egyptology from an early age, and the present work is in many ways due to their support.

As the reader of this study will quickly discover, all work on Egyptian cryptography rests upon the prolific publications of Étienne Drioton, and the basic

contributions of Fairman and Sauneron. This study is no exception. The names of Erik Hornung and Jan Assmann, two of the foremost modern expositors of the ancient Egyptian religion, and pioneers in the study of the Netherworld Books and the cosmographic works, appear throughout the footnotes of this work. All who seek to understand the religious conceptions of the ancient Egyptians must proceed from their writings, and my enormous debt to them is clear.

The present book would probably still be a worn copy with numerous scribbles in my own hand were it not for the efforts of two graduate students in Egyptology in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Yale University. Over the course of approximately two years Ms. Cara Sargent checked most of the references and bibliographic citations, in doing so spending many hours in the various Yale libraries where the references were housed. Ms. Colleen Manassa completed the checking of those references, and transformed the manuscript into the current camera-ready copy. She is responsible for compiling the glossary and indices, and independently developed the Appendix of Cryptographic Values. Ms. Manassa also inked the hieroglyphic copies in the plates, and offered several references and suggestions. I thank Ms. Sargent and Ms. Manassa both profusely.

For permission to reproduce images from Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tutankhamun* and idem, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, I thank the Princeton University Press; the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond generously granted permission to reproduce an image of the mythological papyrus in their collection.

Finally it remains to thank Erik Hornung and Othmar Keel for their initial interest—soon after the dissertation was completed—in including the study as a volume in the *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* series. I also thank Susanne Bickel, for her assistance and comments on the current manuscript. The publication of this book is made possible by a subsidy from the William K. and Marilyn M. Simpson Endowment for Egyptology at Yale University, and I would like to thank William K. Simpson, Dimitri Gutas, and Benjamin Foster, for their willingness to support the publication of this book.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Along with the signs and values commonly encountered in hieroglyphic texts, the Egyptians (from the Old Kingdom on through the Graeco-Roman period and the end of the hieroglyphic tradition) made use of alternative signs and atypical values for more commonly used signs. As opposed to texts in *Klarschrift*, those employing these variant signs and sign values are termed “enigmatic” or “cryptographic.”¹ Beginning during the Old Kingdom² and continuing through the First Intermediate Period³ and the Middle Kingdom,⁴ cryptography abounds in the New Kingdom, occurring in royal titularies,⁵ in inscriptions from private tombs,⁶ in private graffiti,⁷

¹ For a brief introduction to Egyptian cryptography, and some basic bibliography, see H. Brunner, “Änigmatische Schrift (Kryptographie),” in *Ägyptische Schrift und Sprache* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 51-8; and H. G. Fischer, “Hieroglyphen,” *LdÄ*, vol. 2, col. 1196, §H. See also E. Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1961), pp. 36-7. In this study the terms “cryptic” and “enigmatic” are used interchangeably. Strictly speaking, the latter term could be used with the nuance “tantalizing”—meant to be studied and read—whereas “cryptic” would signify intentional concealment.

² É. Drioton, “Un rébus de l’Ancien Empire,” in *Mélanges Maspero* vol. 1 *Orient ancien* (Cairo, 1935-8), pp. 697-704.

³ H.G. Fischer, “Two Neograms of the Eleventh Dynasty,” in *idem*, *Egyptian Studies* vol. 1 *Varia* (New York, 1976), pp. 55-8.

⁴ É. Drioton, “Une figuration cryptographique sur une stèle du Moyen Empire,” *RdE* 1 (1933): 193-229; H.G. Fischer, “Notes on the Macclesfield Collection,” *GM* 95 (1987) 38 (and n. 8); P.E. Newberry and G.W. Fraser, *Beni Hasan* vol. 2 (London, 1893), pls. 14 and 17; on the Beni Hasan cryptograms representing *mri*, see W. Westendorf, “Schiessen und Zeugen,” in E. Endesfelder *et al.*, eds., *Ägypten und Kusch* (Berlin, 1977), p. 486; there is also a passage on the Rhind mathematical papyrus which is written in enigmatic script (see B. Gunn, review of Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, in *JEA* 12 [1926]: 136-7; for the mathematical associations of cryptography, compare the as yet undeciphered enigmatic orthography of a personal name as a series of fractions in a demotic graffito from the Valley of the Queens in W. Spiegelberg, *Demotica* 2 [Munich, 1928], pp. 26-7, pl. 6 [copy by Černý]). These mathematical associations take precedence in the numerological cryptography in Coptic (on which see F. Wisse, “Language Mysticism in the Nag Hammadi Texts and in Early Coptic Monasticism, I, Cryptography,” *Enchoria* 9 [1979]: 101-120; J. Doresse, “Cryptography,” in A.S. Atiya, ed., *The Coptic Encyclopaedia* 8 [New York, 1991], pp. 65-9, and bibliography given there; *idem*, “Cryptographie copte et cryptographie grecque,” *Bulletin de l’Institut de l’Égypte* 33 [1950-1951]: 215-228).

⁵ Drioton, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40 (1940): 305-427; the sportive writing of *lwn.tyw* in an epithet of Antef II on a column from Karnak—T. Zimmer, in F. Le Saout, A. Ma’arouf, and T. Zimmer, “Le Moyen Empire à Karnak: *Varia* 1,” *Karnak* 8 (1982-1985): 294-97 (particularly 295), and 314—is probably not a precursor of later enigmatic titularies.

and throughout the Netherworld Books preserved in the royal tombs (see Chapter 2). During the Late Period and throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman eras, reaching a complicated height in the texts of the temple of Esna, a number of signs and sign values occurring earlier only in cryptographic texts became common in all hieroglyphic texts. As Sauneron has summarized:

Le procédé [cryptographique] fut généralisé à l'époque <<ptolémaïque>>, et les textes acquièrent alors une densité épigraphique jamais atteinte par le passé; mais *ce n'était que la continuation d'une évolution amorcée longtemps auparavant*.⁸

During late antiquity the number of those who commanded the hieroglyphic writing system dwindled, and those who dealt with hieroglyphs at all were increasingly the higher echelons of the priesthood.⁹ The earlier cryptography

⁶ Cf. É. Drioton, "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie," *RdE* 1 (1933): 1-50; K. Sethe, "Die aenigmatischen Inschriften," in the Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, and P. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9* (London, 1908), pp. 1*-12*, pl. 34 (henceforth Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*); S.J. Seidlmayer, "Eine Schreiberpalette mit ägyptischer Aufschrift," *MDAIK* 47 (1991): 319-30.

⁷ For example, F. Hintze, W.F. Reineke, *et al.*, *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien* (Berlin, 1989) p. 160, no. 529: the man Djehutyseneb is called (*ḏd n=f*) *P3-nḥḥ*. This latter nickname is written in cryptography, although this was not recognized by the editors. The initial *ḥw.t* sign substitutes for the courtyard *pr*-sign (compare Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 425), deriving the value *p* from the use of the *pr*-sign for *p* (see Roccati, A. Roccati, "Remarques sur le graphème au Moyen Empire," *RdE* 21 [1969]: 151-3; compare also the use of the *p*-socle for the *pr*-sign in É. Drioton, "Amon, refuge du cœur," *ZÄS* 79 [1954]: 6). The aleph-vulture retains the normal value *z*; the first two signs of the cryptographic nickname thus write *p3*. The two striking men have the value *ḥ*, from *ḥwi* (see Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. *8), while the sign of the seal between the striking men substitutes for the sun disk—compare the use of the *šn*-ring for *r*, substituting for the pupil for *r*, in the tomb of Ramesses IX (see pp. 171-2, n. 35 and 339-40 below); compare also the use of the *ml*-sign for *n* (Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 101)—the seal may also be seen as substituting for the *nḥw.t*-sign for *n* (compare *ibid.*, p. 105; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. *11). The striking men flanking the seal substitute for the *ḥ*-wicks flanking the disk in the common writing of *nḥḥ*. Compare also Hintze, Reineke, *et al.*, *Felsinschriften*, vol. 2, p. 61, no. 192, in which the name *6.nw* is written as six strokes followed by the determinative of the seated man, who holds before his face the *nw*-pot that is the final sign in writing the name (the editors, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 61, do not read this element—compare the name *7.nw* as seven strokes + *nw*-pot in *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 59, no. 188).

⁸ S. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna* (Cairo, 1982), p. 52 (with Sauneron's italics).

⁹ In the Address to the Living on a funerary stele of the time of Hadrian, a priest from Akhmim closes with a plea to priests not to forget the hieroglyphic writing—see A. Scharff, "Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Achmim," *ZÄS* 62 (1927): 86-107;

became an acceptable and even indispensable part of the standard hieroglyphic system, and true cryptography became even more difficult.¹⁰ At no time, however, do the Egyptians appear to have considered hieroglyphic cryptography as something other than an extension of the normal hieroglyphic system, for they do not appear to have employed any separate term for “cryptography.”¹¹ As demotic Egyptian and Greek came to replace hieratic and non-religious hieroglyphic texts, the few who could yet deal with the hieroglyphs expanded cryptography.¹² A text that was difficult for an acolyte would hardly confound or perhaps even interest the upper levels of the priesthood. In spite of the dwindling numbers of hieroglyphically conversant scribes, cryptography survived until the end of hieroglyphic Egyptian. Even in the latest datable hieroglyphic inscription, accompanying a dated demotic text and a figure of the god Mandulis at Philae, cryptography survives as an uncommon but meaningful sign substitution in the hieroglyphic orthography of a personal name.¹³

The examination of cryptography dates from the beginning of Egyptology. Many of the texts to which the first decipherers turned their attentions—including the celebrated Rosetta Stone itself—were written in “Ptolemaic,” the final stage of the hieroglyphic script, which grew directly from earlier forms of that script. The special character of Ptolemaic Egyptian was an increase in the number of signs in normal use and in the potential phonetic values of individual signs over what prevailed earlier in the hieroglyphic system. These increases in the numbers of signs and values resulted directly from the incorporation into the normal

Ph. Derchain, *Le dernier obélisque* (Brussels, 1987). By then, even hieroglyphically literate priests must have been few in number.

- ¹⁰ Compare the text composed of subtly altered ram hieroglyphs in S. Sauneron, *Le temple d'Esna* vol. 2 (Cairo, 1963), pp. 203-204 (no. 103), and the text composed of similarly manipulated crocodile hieroglyphs, *ibid.*, pp. 234-235 (no. 126). For an attempt at reading these inscriptions, see C. Leitz, “Die beiden kryptographischen Inschriften aus Esna mit den Widdern und Krokodilen,” *SAK* 29 (2001): 251-276.
- ¹¹ The term *itnw* (*Wb.* I 146, 1-3) refers to difficult passages of texts, not to some specific genre such as “mysterious writings”—see D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books* (Mississauga, 1986), p. 85 n. 42.
- ¹² See the remarks of J. Baines, “Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society,” *Man* 18 (1983): 572-599.
- ¹³ The demotic portion of the bigraphic graffito Philae 436, on the north wall of the gate of Hadrian, dates that graffito to 394 A.D. (F.L.I. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecascheonus* [Oxford, 1935], vol. 1, pp. 126-127; vol. 2, pl. 69). In writing the hieroglyphic name *Ns-mtr* (corresponding to the demotic double name *Ns-mtr-Pa-n3-ht.w-twt*—see E. Lüddickens, W. Brunsch, G. Vittmann, and K.-Th. Zauzich, *Demotisches Namenbuch* Band 1, Lieferung 9 [Wiesbaden, 1989], p. 678), the sign of the White Crown writes the initial *ns*. Though the White Crown occurs with the values *ns* and *nsw.t* in cryptography (cf. F. Dumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romain* vol. 3 [Montpellier, 1990], p. 617), this is not one of the more common values, and the appearance of the sign in Philae 436 suggests a knowledge of cryptography and an ability to manipulate enigmatic orthographies on the part of one of the last writers of hieroglyphic Egyptian.

hieroglyphic sign list of sign values derived through principles earlier applied most freely in cryptography. For example, substitutions of one bird hieroglyph for another, earlier common only in cryptography, became an acceptable principle of normal hieroglyphic orthography during the Ptolemaic period. As Sauneron indicated, the majority of Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts were not intended to be cryptic, although they incorporated signs and values which in earlier hieroglyphic Egyptian occur only in enigmatic texts. Within a half century after Champollion's *lettre à M. Dacier*, written in 1822, pre-Ptolemaic enigmatic inscriptions came under Egyptological scrutiny, and several early studies deal with enigmatic inscriptions in the New Kingdom royal tombs.¹⁴

Egyptologists have long recognized the existence of early enigmatic texts, but the cryptographic principles underlying those texts remain somewhat obscure. The works of É. Drioton¹⁵ and H.W. Fairman¹⁶ are important for the study of enigmatic and Ptolemaic sign-value derivations. Drioton dealt with texts from various periods; Fairman was a Ptolemaic specialist. Drioton's approach to the enigmatic writings was based on the principle of acrophony—that is, a sign could acquire the value of the first radical of a word describing or determined by the sign in question. Fairman attacked Drioton's methodology as entirely unscientific and disreputable, and espoused the "consonantal principle," according to which a multiliteral sign can reduce to a uniliteral value if that sign consists of a strong consonant and one or more weak consonants; the strong consonant would provide the new, uniliteral value.

As possible evidence of the working of acrophony at Edfu Fairman suggested only signs which were variants of the spewing mouth; the majority of signs derived their values from the Consonantal Principle or from Direct Representation.¹⁷ Fairman did not deal with the earlier texts which Drioton had worked through, and in fact did not apply the information provided by earlier cryptography to his study of later signs. Drioton worked on enigmatic texts from all periods, and consistently preferred acrophony over other explanations of sign values. Sauneron preferred to work with the consonantal principle, but saw some sign values in use in the Roman temple of Esna as examples of acrophony.¹⁸ While acknowledging the functioning

¹⁴ Conveniently cited by É. Drioton, "La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhamon," *JEA* 35 (1949): 117 (notes 1-5).

¹⁵ For a list of his more important articles on the subject, see the bibliography of his works which É. Drioton gives in "Les principes de la cryptographie égyptienne," *CRAIBL* (1953): 355-364.

¹⁶ H.W. Fairman, "Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu," *ASAE* 43 (1943): 191-310; *idem*, "An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values," *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 52-138.

¹⁷ *Idem*, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 62-7; see also *idem*, *ASAE* 43 (1943): 287-305. Acrophony, which Fairman hesitantly allowed in *ASAE* 43 as possible for values of the spewing mouth, he presents as even less likely in his *BIFAO* 43 article.

¹⁸ Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 106. In this he is supported by M. Derchain-Urtel, "Esna, Schrift und 'Spiel,'" *GM* 27 (1978): 11-21; D. Kurth, "Zum Schriftsystem in den

of Fairman's methods of enigmatic sign value derivations, D. Kurth has also allowed for the workings of acrophony at Edfu Temple.¹⁹ These arguments rage on as though Ptolemaic sprang unforeseen from the heads of Nectanebid and Ptolemaic priests. There has not been a detailed study of all pre-Late Period cryptography, the results of which one could with profit compare to an also needed but nonexistent detailed study of Late Period cryptography. Debate on the nature of Late Period cryptography cannot proceed from a firm base as long as it is unclear what principles were at work in earlier enigmatic texts. If there is no need to have recourse to acrophony to explain early enigmatic sign values, then it is unlikely to be so basic a tool of later Egyptian cryptography as Drioton suggested, if it even functioned in the Late Period.

This study of the three surviving versions of a little known cryptic Netherworld book began as a study of all Egyptian cryptography from before the Late Period. Such a study should demonstrate the origins of sign values in the early enigmatic texts, and with an examination of Late Period cryptography, allow one to characterize some principles as general to Egyptian cryptography, and others perhaps as peculiar to "Ptolemaic" hieroglyphs. Egyptian cryptography before the Late Period includes a few private secular texts, and a number of examples of enigmatic royal titulary. Cryptography appears to have been more popular in the religious sphere, both private and royal.²⁰ Bridging all of these categories are the cryptographic mottos of scarabs and seals.²¹ Many of the private religious cryptographs occur in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs at Dra Abu en-Naga; in the royal tombs, cryptography is scattered through the Netherworld Books, such as the Book of Amduat, the Book of Gates, the Book of Caverns, and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. In general, the cryptography in these texts from the Valley of the Kings is, like the cryptography of earlier texts, sporadic and seldom lengthy. Among the enigmatic texts composed in Egypt before the close of the New Kingdom there are, however, five religious treatises from the royal tombs which are wholly cryptographic or partially composed of long sections of cryptography. Two of these are cosmographic texts which incorporate substantial enigmatic passages, namely the Nut Book and the Book of the Day and the Night. The remaining three texts form the subject of the present work. They are distinct both on the basis of their subject matter and the form of cryptography which they employ, and all three

ägyptischen Tempeln der Spätzeit," *GM* 29 (1978): 63-8; *idem*, "Die Lautwerte der Hieroglyphen in den Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit—zur Systematik ihrer Herleitungsprinzipien," *ASAE* 69 (1983): 287-309 (he gives acrophony as a principle on p. 294).

¹⁹ D. Kurth, *ASAE* 69 (1983): 294.

²⁰ Cryptic substitutions occur already in the Pyramid Texts (see Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4, §§ 155-58).

²¹ For the cryptography of scarabs and seals, see the general comments in E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* (Mainz, 1976), pp. 173-180.

are versions of a compositional template which one may call the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.²²

On the exterior walls of the second of the four gilt shrines of Tutankhamun there appears a religious composition, written in cryptography except for a few labels and several quotations from the Book of the Dead in *Normalschrift*.²³ In content (as discussed below in Chapter 3), composition, and cryptographic orthography, it forms a corpus with the enigmatic ceiling in Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI,²⁴ and the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX.²⁵ These three enigmatic compositions from the Valley of the Kings have as their central theme the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon. Around the central figure of the giant deity of the eastern cusp of heaven—depicted in each treatise—there cluster concepts associated with the liminal areas of the horizons: the return of the heads of the blessed dead when they rest in the east after accompanying Re on his nocturnal journey, resurrection from the serpent Mehen, the final fiery punishment of the damned, and the turning over of the stellar Lords of the Netherworld to set them aright in the upper and lower skies. Many of the concepts which these compositions present may be but faintly traced in other texts, and some are explicable only by reference to Coptic literature of almost two millennia later.

A glance at the three compositions reveals that several iconographic features relate these three enigmatic works, even before any interpretation of these is attempted. Iconographic and compositional similarities would alone suggest a study of these three works as manifestations of a single original template. Large portions of each treatise are arranged in three registers. Each composition has a large figure of Re-Osiris—mummiform on the second shrine of Tutankhamun and the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, once snake-legged and once with the goddesses Isis and Nephthys forming his arms, on the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI. Although they are not identical, the great mummiform deities of the Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX treatises are further associated by the presence in front of each figure of a horizontally laid out text in *Normalschrift* referring to the protection of the deceased king from the noxious influences of unwanted divine messengers. The head and feet of the Tutankhamun deity are surrounded by a Mehen serpent; the serpent Nehep takes up a protective posture behind the slanting,

²² The term “Solar-Osirian Unity” was employed by A. Niwinski, “The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the ‘State of Amun’ in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty,” *JEOL* 30 (1987-88): 89-106, to describe a theological concept expressed in primarily Theban texts and scenes of the early Third Intermediate Period. Many of these textual and pictorial images find their earliest clear expressions in the three New Kingdom cryptographic texts examined here, and the common template and source on which these three compositions from the royal tombs are based is here called the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

²³ A. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen* (Cairo, 1951-2), pp. 29-39; A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (New York, 1955), pp. 120-5, 127-31, figs. 41-2, pls. 47-9, 51-3.

²⁴ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 178-82.

²⁵ F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX* (Cairo, 1907), pls. 63, 77-81.



ithyphallic Ramesses IX deity; the feet of the giant deity on the lintel portion of the Ramesses VI ceiling are rearing serpents. Mounds figure in the Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX compositions, as do upside-down stars (right end of the middle register, main section of Ramesses VI; upper register of left half of Ramesses IX). In the upper right of the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, and in the bottom left section of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall there are beings rising to standing positions atop snakes, whose tails and heads rear up behind and before the rising beings. On the far left of the second side of the shrine, there are two bull heads and two back to back goddesses in parallel scenes to the top and bottom, the upper figures inverted; at the far left of the Corridor G composition, there are scenes similarly laid out, though with four bull heads each, rather than only two. The central solar disk of the lintel portion of the Corridor G book has a scarab to the right and left, heads facing away from the disk, similar to a scene in the lower right of the left half of the Ramesses IX wall, where the front half of a scarab emerges from each side of a disk. A line of netherworldly beings with their arms raised in adoration appear in the middle register of the left half of the first side of the Tutankhamun shrine, in the middle register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI ceiling, and in the middle register of the left half of the Ramesses IX wall. In the upper register of the second side of the Tutankhamun shrine there are headless mummies with disks shining down into their necks, each with a head atop a disk before him; in the upper register of the Ramesses VI ceiling there are seated beings with disks for heads; in the upper register on the left of the Ramesses IX wall, there are beings located wholly within large disks. Taken alone, many of these features are not of a peculiar or unparalleled nature; viewed together, however, within the corpus of pre-Late Period cryptographic texts, the iconographic similarities of these three texts are significant.



After working through all of the other enigmatic texts in the corpus of early cryptography, it became apparent that the three texts examined here were parallel representatives of a common template. The presentation of the necessary commentary to accompany a meaningful discussion of the other pre-Late Period enigmatic texts already required an enormous number of pages; the presentation of the three texts studied here requires almost an equal space. All three of the surviving versions of the treatise were only partially edited. They present important but often obscure religious concepts and are in fact the most important surviving sources for some of these concepts. As will be seen in the following chapter, the cryptography of these Solar-Osirian texts differs from that of the other enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom, and the layouts of these compositions foreshadow those of some Third Intermediate Period religious papyri. Just as the detailed study of pre-Late Period enigmatic texts is necessary to a study of Egyptian cryptography as a whole, so the detailed study of the three texts presented here is a necessary aspect of the needed study of pre-Late Period cryptography.





As already indicated, there are enigmatic texts which are accompanied by transcriptions into *Klarschrift*, a form of transcription prevalent in the Fourth and Fifth Hours of the Amduat, also occurring in the Fifth and Sixth Divisions of the Book of Caverns. These “bigraphic” texts provide a point of departure for the study



of early Egyptian cryptography. Most of these texts reveal a majority of enigmatic signs derived through substitutions, of kind (one bird for another,²⁶ one arm for another²⁷) and appearance (rectangle for a square, oval for a circle),²⁸ as well as *pars pro toto* substitutions (meat sign and tail sign for the headless animal, pupil for eye).²⁹ Some values derive from an exploitation of phonetic shifts and word pronunciations.³⁰ Although extended alphabetic orthographies of otherwise logographically written words abound,³¹ there is also a use of logograms.³² There is a dearth of determinatives in the enigmatic texts.³³ The majority of cryptic texts, however, were not transcribed in antiquity. The royal titularies in cryptography are known from many standard inscriptions, however, and the private cryptograms are


²⁶ As in the enigmatic orthography of the divine name *ꜥmmy.t* in the tomb of Ramesses VI






(Sixth Division):  transcribed as  (A. Piankoff, "Le livre des Quererets, sixième division," *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 146, no. 6).

²⁷ Compare  for , *psd*, in *idem*, "Le livre des Quererets, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division," *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62.








²⁸ The flat-*m*  substitutes for the hobble-*t*  on the basis of similar appearance in  for  (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 60).

²⁹ Compare  for  in *ibid.*, pl. 62, l. 2.

³⁰ Cf. the use of , *p.t*, for *p* (Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105), a value derived from the weakening and loss of the final *t* (compare the Coptic form of the word **ⲡⲉⲛⲏ** W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965-77), p. 144. For a Third Intermediate Period exploitation of pronunciations in cryptography, see J. Černý, "Philological and Etymological Notes," *ASAE* 51 (1951): 442-443.

³¹ As is usual in the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, *ntr* appears alphabetically as  , *nti*, in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 69, l. 2. Compare also writings of *t3*, "land," as  in Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 94 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 447 [ThIII, AII, and M versions]). In Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 146, divine name no. 5, *tp-Rꜥ*,  writes ; *tp*, more commonly written as an ideogram, appears in an alphabetic orthography in the enigmatic version of the name, whereas Re appears as a simple disk in that version.

³² Compare the orthography of *tp-Rꜥ* in the preceding note.

³³ Cf.   , *w3.t št3.t*, "mysterious way," as   in Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 65 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 353) and   in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 91 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 437).

sometimes versions of known texts,³⁴ and often reflect the contents of inscriptions occurring in similar contexts.³⁵ Likewise the content of the cryptic portions of the Netherworld Books does not diverge widely in content from non-cryptic sections of the books, and the texts often accompany and describe a depiction. The cryptography of the Nut Book in the Osireion occurs in the context of a treatise known in other versions, incorporating texts in *Normalschrift*, and explanations of certain passages as demotic glosses in the version on P. Carlsberg I.³⁶ Portions of the cryptography of the Nut Book, and most of the cryptography in the enigmatic sections of the Book of the Day and the Night,³⁷ are obscure, and without clear parallels; the recognition that they belong to the same cosmographic genre as that in evidence in the “King as Solar Priest” texts³⁸ does, however, provide a point of departure.³⁹ Thus the context of the cryptography and a knowledge of parallels in the corpus of Netherworld Books and related compositions provide the necessary base for translations. Although the three compositions on which this study concentrates are unique in their emphasis, the individual statements of which they



³⁴ Cf. the Pyramid Texts parallels in Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, pp. 4*-5*; an enigmatic version of a chapter of the Book of the Dead in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 2-14.

³⁵ Cf. the enigmatic *hṫp-dī-nsw.t* formula in *ibid.*, 20-22.

³⁶ A. de Buck, chapter 9, “The Dramatic Text,” in H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London, 1933), pp. 82-6, pls. 54-5; V. Vikentiev, “Quelques mots énigmatiques dans un texte astronomique,” *ASAE* 43 (1943): 115-31; O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1 (Providence, 1960), pp. 36-94.




³⁷ See É. Drioton in A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (Cairo, 1942), pp. 83-121.

³⁸ On which see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970).

³⁹ In enigmatic text 2 in the Book of the Day and the Night, the jackal-shaped (*hṫp.w-sn pw* ) —Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 90 [misunderstood by Drioton]) spirits of the west are associated with a land . Drioton, in *ibid.*, p. 90, read “Niou,” which would be an otherwise unattested toponym (it has nothing to do with the eastern [Syrian] *Ny*, cf. H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* vol. 3 [Cairo, 1926], p. 72). When one compares the enigmatic texts of the Book of the Day and the Night to other cosmographic texts, and to other texts dealing with the souls of the west, one may suggest reading the toponym *nīw* in enigmatic text 2 as an enigmatic orthography of *Rbw*, “Libya” (*ibid.*, p. 117; J. Osing, “Libyen, Libyer,” in *LdÄ*, vol. 3, col. 1017, the toponym is attested since Ramesses II), the haunt of the spirits of the west, often occurring as the counterpart to Sinai, home of the turquoise gods and the spirits of the east (cf. J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* [Berlin, 1969], pp. 128 and 149; *idem*, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 50-51). The *n* for *r* is an example of the attested enigmatic exploitation of the common hieratic confusion between *r*, *t*, *d*, and *n* (for which see A. Gardiner, “The Transcription of New Kingdom Hieratic,” *JEA* 15 [1929]: 54); for the reed leaf as *b*, one may cite the use of the sign M2 for *b* in the Book of the Day and the Night (Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 106), and the use of the same sign for *ib*, “heart,” in E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 1 (Geneva, 1979), p. 29.

are composed are not without parallels. Study of the terms used elsewhere for the objects, figures, events, etc., described by cryptic annotations is also helpful.

The following study rests on a base of enigmatic sign values derived primarily from the cryptography of the Amduat, the Book of Gates, the Book of Caverns, the Book of the Day and the Night, the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, royal titulary, and private texts, primarily those from Dra Abu en-Naga. As work on the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity proceeded, the application of a few known enigmatic sign values allowed partial readings. These partial readings led in turn to a partial understanding of the text, which suggested further enigmatic sign values for the remaining signs. When in 1897 Théodule Devéria presented the first treatment of a portion of one of the enigmatic texts to be studied here, a portion of the text accompanying the lower register of the left section of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, he stressed that he was assisted in his work on the cryptography “par l’étude d’autres textes purement hiéroglyphiques, mais dont le contenu est analogue a celui qu’on va lire.”⁴⁰ The processes of transliteration, translation, interpretation of the texts, and the deciphering of sign values must necessarily occur at much the same time. Translations cannot be divorced from sign values; values cannot confidently be assigned to signs in cryptic texts if the texts remain unreadable or incomprehensible. The keys to controlling this are:

1) The observation of the frequency of signs and values, both within individual texts and within the corpus of cryptic texts as a whole, necessary in weeding out spurious, *ad hoc* values. Certain enigmatic sign-values are found throughout the cryptic corpus (e.g. interchange of the cloth sign  for  = *s*). At other times a sign will have a peculiar value not encountered outside of a single text, but the value occurs repeatedly within this text (e.g. mouth-*r*  for *p* in the “astronomical” ceiling in corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI;⁴¹ in other cryptic texts within the same corridor, this sign does not appear to have this value *p*). There are, however, values which—based on the known corpus of cryptographic texts—appear to occur only within a single enigmatic composition. A value proposed for a sign that is based on but a single occurrence is suspect; the occurrence of a proposed value within a single text, but often and consistently within that text, may prove correct. Attention must also be given to cryptic word-groups—consistencies in the cryptic orthographies of words and phrases may provide clues for translations and sign-values.

2) An understanding of the principles of sign-value derivations. The various values of individual signs, and the various signs representing a single value, must relate in observable and understandable ways (substitutions of signs of like appearance, confusions from hieratic, etc.). If the manner in which a sign acquired a peculiar value is not clear, that value for the sign must be suspect. Important are

⁴⁰ T. Devéria, *Bibliothèque égyptologique* 5 (Paris, 1897), pp. 78-79.

⁴¹ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 178-82.

comparisons of signs and values in the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity with known values from other enigmatic texts, preferably of the same genre and period, which are accompanied by *Klarschrift* transcriptions or for which the translations may be said to be beyond reasonable doubt.

3) Close attention must be paid to the relative positions of the signs, and the appearance of the original text. The copies on which studies of cryptic texts are based often ignore this. If the hand copy of a cryptic text rearranges the signs of the original, compressing and redistributing them in order to accommodate neat lines of hieroglyphs (in the style of Sethe's *Urkunden* and Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions*), information necessary for the correct reading of a text may be lost. For example: Drioton's rendering of a particularly difficult bit of cryptography on the 2nd gold shrine of Tutankhamen was based on a neat, linear copy of the hieroglyphs.⁴² In the text he proposed to read three signs as an otherwise unattested cryptic orthography of the word *itn*, "disk of the sun." Though the orthography is unexpected (taking into account the cryptic orthographies of *itn* occurring elsewhere on this shrine), on the basis of Drioton's copy the three signs could conceivably belong to a single word. However, when a facsimile drawing is consulted, Drioton's reading is seen to defy the actual arrangement of the signs. The sign which he read as the third element of *itn* actually is the second sign in the first word of a new line. This line also provides an example of the necessity of viewing each enigmatic text in relationship to an accompanying scene and a parallel text. Accompanying a scene of Isis and Nephthys on either side of a ram-headed post, the line is a cryptic annotation reading "they are around him (as protection)." A parallel scene just below this scene has the *Normalschrift* annotation "they are around him (as protection)." The text fits the scene and the parallel, and all explain the arrangement of the signs in the annotation--they are read in a counter clockwise manner, a circle of text, in which the verbal and pictorial capabilities of the script are merged. This demonstrates the necessity of studying the cryptic texts *in situ* or through photos and facsimile drawings, when available.

4) Content of the cryptic texts. The final and most important of the criteria for certifying the accuracy of the translation of an enigmatic text is that the content of the inscriptions must be consistent with the compositions and genres of which they are a part.⁴³

⁴² The text discussed here is found in the upper right corner of the exterior left panel of the second gold shrine of Tutankhamen (A. Piankoff, "Une Représentation rare sur l'une des chapelles de Toutânkhâmon," *JEA* 35 [1949]: 114, pl. 8, IID; É. Drioton, "La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhâmon," *JEA* 35 [1949]: 117-22; Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, p. 30; 2, pl. 4; Piankoff And Rambova, *The Shrines of Yut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 122, fig. 41; E. Hornung, "Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltsbuch," *JSSEA* 13 [1983]: 30).

⁴³ According to Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 60, "The system of decipherment that habitually produces words, sentences, ideas and constructions that are unique or rare cannot command complete confidence."

The interpretation of early Egyptian cryptography presented here is based on a thorough study of all pre-Ptolemaic cryptography. Segments of other enigmatic texts are treated in full here only when they are necessary to explain differences with earlier readings and explanations of sign derivations, or when they bear on the interpretation of the texts and scenes in the three texts studied here. Reference will be made to Ptolemaic sign values where they appear to help in reading these texts. Ptolemaic texts, even with all of their normalized cryptography, are much better understood than the earlier enigmatic texts, and evince the workings of methods of sign value derivation already attested in earlier religious cryptography (see Chapter 2). The texts themselves should express concepts similar to those occurring in other texts concerned with mortuary and eschatological themes. The citation of parallel texts supports the interpretation of the cryptography.

The enigmatic texts of the royal Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom always accompany and often annotate representations. The texts frequently describe the nearby images, and the interpretation of an enigmatic text should coincide with the information which the accompanying iconography imparts. Not infrequently what at first might appear a reasonable rendition of an enigmatic text fails when seen in the light of the image the text should describe. The key to a text which at first defies interpretation may lie in the iconology of the accompanying depiction. Although the study of iconography has frequently been relegated to insignificance in some studies of enigmatic texts, this examination of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity is as much a study of netherworldly iconography as a study of New Kingdom cryptography.⁴⁴

The three enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity have thus far been only partially examined for their cryptographic content, and little consideration has been given to their religious significance. Textual and iconographic parallels to these treatises have but rarely entered into the brief discussions of these compositions, and this has limited the previous attempts at reading bits of these texts to at best only partial success. The compositions examined here are three representatives of a hitherto unrecognized royal Netherworld Book of the New Kingdom, one which fathered the funerary papyri of the Third Intermediate Period. They depict the giant deity of the eastern horizon (human in the Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX works, the snake-legged Abrasax in the Ramesses VI Corridor G



⁴⁴ A great many Egyptian iconographic elements have a long life, and the cliché of ancient Egyptian conservatism does have a foundation in fact. A basic premise of the present work is that the iconography of ancient Egyptian religious images is conservative, meaningfully influenced by a few priests and artisans who subordinate themselves to the traditions which they continue (very few signed their works); this conservative milieu suits a formalist approach (cf. E. Panofsky's *Studies in Iconology*, and his *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*). Following Aby Warburg's work on the art of the Middle Ages, the present work seeks to provide both iconographic and textual parallels for the iconography of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity (for an entertaining account of formalism in medieval art history, and Warburg's influence on Panofsky and others, see N.F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages* [New York, 1991], pp. 161-204).

treatise) and all three compositions deal with the turning over of celestial bodies in the Netherworld. The Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX compositions mention the messengers of the gods in a similar position in the two works, and contain Book of the Dead excerpts. Although the Ramesses VI ceiling is the most divergent, all three represent a common template, and stress the same features of the Netherworld.

The following study of the enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity will begin with a discussion of the enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom, concentrating on the known religious cryptographs. A comparison of these enigmatic religious texts with the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity will show the unity of the Solar-Osirian texts and will demonstrate the general peculiarities of the enigmatic principles governing these texts. Each succeeding chapter will examine in detail one of the three extant recensions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. As the enigmatic texts which this work treats are for the most part annotations to often almost equally cryptic and unusual scenes, close attention will be given to explaining the iconography of the accompanying decoration. Only when the understanding of a particular text coincides with the interpretation of the associated images can one consider the translation of an enigmatic annotation plausible. The analysis of the religious concepts which underlie the cryptographic texts must proceed alongside the interpretation of the enigmatic orthographies. Following chapters examine in detail two of the most important theological concepts which these texts espouse—the nature of the giant and unified Re-Osiris at the eastern horizon, and the inverted nature of entry into the Netherworld—putting together the relevant material from the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. A concluding chapter will summarize the enigmatic principles to which the Solar-Osirian texts attest and will review the theology which they express.

CHAPTER 2

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CRYPTOGRAPHY OF THE NEW KINGDOM


Early Egyptian cryptography divides into three basic systems:¹ 1) Normal cryptography: the normal appearance of a sign is altered, *eg.* by choosing an uncommon sign which represents the same object as a more normal sign (*ie.* the mouth viewed from the side  substitutes for the mouth seen from the front ); the potential phonetic values of a known sign are expanded—normal signs acquire abnormal values; new signs are created, often with logographic values; the rebus is used. The cryptic orthography of a word does not always correspond to that of the word in *Normalschrift*—determinatives are uncommon,² and ideograms abound; the normal reading order of signs may be altered for effect—“perturbation.” 2) Ornamental cryptography: the decorative aspect of hieroglyphic inscriptions could be expanded, royal epitheta and lauds of gods being written as friezes of divinities and geniuses, carrying various objects; here words literally march across the stones before the reader.³ 3) Thematic cryptography: the figures and objects of a cryptic inscription may at times appear to relate to one another in the scene or text, with two, perhaps differing levels of meaning—one pictorial, one textual; such double entendre can also occur within the first and second types of cryptography. Enigmatic orthographies may at times allow for two readings of a word, one when viewed as a cryptogram, another when seen as *Normalschrift*.⁴ When an ideogram is involved, such an orthography may cross into thematic cryptography.⁵

¹ The following are the categories of cryptography which Brunner lists in “Änigmatische Schrift (Kryptographie),” in *Ägyptische Schrift und Sprache*, pp. 51-8. The article by D.P. Silverman, “Cryptography,” in D. Redford, ed. *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), vol. 3, pp. 204-206, concentrates on examples of rebus writings, such as heraldic arrangements and hieroglyphic elaborations in jewelry, etc., and as such does not discuss any of the texts in the true cryptographic corpus.

² Notable exceptions to the common lack of determinatives in enigmatic inscriptions are the enigmatic texts on the ceilings of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI (A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 1 [New York, 1954], pls. 178-82), noted by Hornung in his recent study of the “Schutzbild” in this corridor (“Zum Schutzbild im Grabe Ramses’ VI.,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* [Kampen, 1988], pp. 45-51).

³ Cf. É. Drioton, “Les protocoles ornementaux d’Abydos,” *RdE* 2 (1936): 1-20.

⁴ For a Ptolemaic example compare the writing of *btṇw/bdšw* in E. Winter, “Weitere Beobachtungen zur ‘Grammaire du Temple’ in der griechisch-römischen Zeit,” in W. Helck, ed., *Tempel und Kult*, (Wiesbaden, 1987), p. 71 (and other examples in the article). The cryptographically written word may at times form a depiction as well; compare the

writing of the name of the god Ptah as , a visual expression of the concept of Ptah as creator separating heaven and earth (see W. Wolf, “Der Berliner Ptah-Hymnus (P 3048,

Theoretically, almost any sign should lend itself to use in normal cryptography. In the second and third forms, ornamental and thematic, the cryptography is bound by several criteria which limit the signs one could potentially utilize in composing a given text—for ornamental cryptography the signs must be ostentatious and aesthetically pleasing, alone and as a group; for the thematic type, the appearance of the text is bound up with the content of the text and the appearance of the accompanying scene. This does not necessarily limit the signs which could be employed for a given text, but would influence the choice and arrangement of signs for a given portion of the text. “Normal” cryptography can, however, make use of all the cryptic methods.

Fairman summarized the “characteristics of Ptolemaic writing” as “an increase in the signs in common use and in the values they could bear;” “a big increase in the number of ideograms and in the number of determinatives that are used as ideograms and phonograms;” “an increase, as compared with Classical Egyptian, in purely alphabetic writings;” “the deliberate employment of a variety of alternatives for known signs, values and spellings;” “the deliberate revival of archaistic spellings and odd values, constructions and usages;” and “a certain attempt, clearly based on real knowledge, to indicate phonetic changes or the current pronunciation.”⁶ As Sauneron emphasized, the manner of sign value derivation in evidence in Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts echoes and enlarges upon the principles on which the earliest Egyptian writing was based.⁷ An examination of early cryptography, namely those enigmatic texts composed before the end of the Ramesside period, shows these methods of sign derivation already at work.

The cryptographic principles behind sign values in the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity are not wholly unlike those of the cosmographic

II-XII.),” *ZÄS* 64 [1929]: 28; J. Yoyotte, “Jeux d’écritures sur une statuette de la XIX^e Dynastie,” *RdE* 10 [1955]: 89 [and pp. 85-89 for a similar cryptogram of the name of Atum from the Nineteenth Dynasty]; S. Sauneron, *Les prêtres de l’ancienne Égypte*, [Bourges, 1957], pp. 130-133; E. Iversen, *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine* [Copenhagen, 1984], p. 9). Compare also the theological implications of enigmatic writings of the divine names Neith and (Ptah-)Tenen in L. Kákosy, “Eine Frauenmaske im Medelhavsmuseet,” *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 15 (1980): 23.

⁵ The use of the egg as a “playful writing or a semi-cryptogram” to write the final element in the name of the tomb owner *Dḥwtj-ms* in a non-cryptic text in TT 32 crosses into thematic cryptography, with the suggestive second reading “son (*s3*) of Thoth” (L. Kákosy, “A Strange Form of the Name Djehutimes,” *BSEG* 13 [1989]: 69-71). In the orthography of the toponym Tjaru in H.D. Schneider, “Gleanings in the Egyptian Collection at Leiden I, Four Stelae,” *OMRO* 52 (1971): 20, the signs are chosen and arranged, and one substituted for a novel sign form, in order to achieve a thematic cryptography which conveys the theological significance of the toponym on several levels.

⁶ H.W. Fairman, “An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values,” *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 56-7.


⁷ For a convenient list of recent works on the nature of the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing system, see Ph. Derchain, “Les hiéroglyphes à l’époque ptolémaïque,” in Cl. Baurain, C. Bonnet, and V. Krings, eds., *Phoinikeia Grammata*, (Liege-Namur, 1991), p. 243 n. 1.

texts known as the Nut Book and the Book of the Day and the Night in that the signs employed are not unusual or novel. V. Vikentiev, commenting on a portion of the cryptography in the Nut Book in the Sety Cenotaph at Abydos, listed the following principles behind the enigmatic sign values there: 1) full phonetic value; 2) partial phonetic value, resulting from a weak final or initial sound; 3) replacement of a sign by another of similar appearance or function; 4) use of abusive determinatives, suggested by one of the signs with enigmatic value; 5) analytic values, derived from a more subtle description of a sign or word than that ostensibly represented; 6) and inversion, or perturbation.⁸ Vikentiev then recognized the consonantal principle, essentially the derivation of an “enigmatic” value for a sign through the loss of weak sounds, and saw no need in that text to have recourse to the acrophony which Drioton espoused. Describing the cryptography of the scene of the Judgement Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates, Hornung has listed a number of features of New Kingdom enigmatic texts, including: the interchangeability of signs of birds, signs of snakes, and signs of plants; the collapse of the dentals, allowing interchanges of *t*, *t̥*, *d*, and *d̥*; a general scarcity of determinatives; etc.⁹ The principles of enigmatic sign derivation which Vikentiev and Hornung have listed are those principles functioning in early Egyptian cryptography in general.

Acrophony of the sort Drioton espoused remains a shaky and unproven hypothesis; even in the examples from the temple of Esna for which Sauneron believed only acrophony could provide an explanation, the principle of cryptographic substitution at times provides a better derivation than the obscure word of uncertain application which acrophony often requires.¹⁰ According to

⁸ V. Vikentiev, “Quelques mots énigmatiques dans un texte astronomique,” *ASAE* 43 (1943): 116-20.

⁹ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches*, vol. 2 (Geneva, 1980), p. 146.

¹⁰ For example, Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 141 no. 137, the value *m* derives from a substitution for the *m*-owl, rather than through acrophony from *mk*; p. 151 no. 187, the value *s* derives from the use of this sign as a variant for the horned-viper for *s* (on which value see H.W. Fairman, “Two Ptolemaic Alphabetic Values of ,” *JEA* 36 [1950]: 111); p. 124 no. 56, the head for *s* does not derive from *sḥ*, “seven,” a number which the head indeed represents (because of the seven orifices), but rather from the use of the head as *pars pro toto* to write the man as *s*; p. 157 no. 212 has the value *s* from *š*, for the *š*-plant; p. 188 no. 387 has the value *t* from *tḥ*, after substitution for the normal *tḥ* earth-sign; p. 168 no. 272 has the value *w* from *wḥ* through substitution with the normal *wḥ*-boat sign. The divine trigrams at Esna and elsewhere (on which see also M.-L. Ryhner, “À propos des trigrammes panthéistes,” *RdE* 29 [1977]: 129-37) are on occasion more difficult, and may provide the only true applications of acrophony. They are bound by the theological concept of the triad (cf. J. G. Griffiths, “Some Egyptian Conceptual Triads,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, Stud. Aeg. 14 [Budapest, 1992], pp. 223-28; *idem*, “Triune Conceptions of Divinity in Ancient Egypt,” *ZÄS* 100 [1973]: 28-32; W. Westendorf, “Zweiheit, Dreiheit und Einheit in der altägyptischen Theologie,” *ZÄS* 100 [1974]: 138), and the constraint of writing a divine name in three characters with thematically significant grouping, along with the desire to do this with as much originality as possible, may have required the use of acrophony.

Fairman, "It would appear to be a sound rule in attempting the decipherment of hieroglyphic texts of any period never to have recourse to acrophony as an explanation of origins unless all other attempts at explanation have failed."¹¹ This advice is followed here and, as will be seen, no sign value hints at the working of acrophony in these compositions. Acrophony is to be used only as an explanation of last resort, essentially as an admission of temporary defeat.

Most of the known Old and Middle Kingdom cryptic inscriptions are of the ornamental or thematic types, and all are individual words or short passages—none are lengthy texts.¹² Perhaps the longest of the early enigmatic inscriptions are those in tomb no. 17 at Beni Hasan; those texts contain a mixture of ornamental and thematic cryptography.¹³

During the New Kingdom, cryptography occurs in three major literary contexts. There are monumental texts, generally royal names and epitheta, employing primarily ornamental cryptography;¹⁴ there are private texts, generally of an

¹¹ H.W. Fairman, "Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu," *ASAE* 43 (1943): 304-5.

¹² J. Capart, "Un hiéroglyphe mystérieux," *Kémi* 2 (1929): 1-2; É. Drioton, *MIFAO* 66/1 (1935-38): pp. 697-704; for references to the Middle Kingdom enigmatic texts in the tombs at Beni Hasan texts, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 210 n. 3 (the scenes on stele Louvre C15 which Drioton discusses in this article probably do not form a true cryptic inscription, but rather "simply" make up the complex tableau as explained by Moret [cited *ibid.* p. 210 n. 1]); Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* 1, *Varia* (New York, 1976), pp. 55-8 (discussing two enigmatic "monograms" of the early Middle Kingdom); H.G. Fischer, "Notes on the Macclesfield Collection," *GM* 95 (1987): 38 (and n. 8). For the relatively rare appearances of cryptography in the Coffin Texts, see W.R. Faulkner, "Abnormal or Cryptic Writings in the Coffin Texts," *JEA* 67 (1981): 173-74.

¹³ P.E. Newberry and G.W. Fraser, *Beni Hasan* 2 (London, 1893), pl. 14 (two vertical texts on the east half of the north wall in tomb no. 17). For a combination of monumental, ornamental, and thematic cryptography from the Nineteenth Dynasty, see Yoyotte, *RdE* 10 (1955): 81-89.

¹⁴ Most of these are examined by Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale," *ASAE* 40 (1940): 305-427. The enigmatic inscriptions of Ramesses II from the temples of Amada and Amara in Nubia (A. Daneri Rodrigo, "An Enigmatic Inscription at Aksha," *JSSEA* 15 [1985]: 68-71), and annotations on the rear wall of the Min shrine in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (E. Naville, *Détails relevés dans les ruines de quelques temples égyptiens* [Paris, 1930], pls. 35-36), are something between "monumental" and "netherworldly" cryptography. As discussed below, the associations of these texts and their locations with the liminal aspects of the eastern horizon suggested the use of cryptography, and they should probably be considered religious cryptography. Another blending of Netherworldly and monumental cryptography occurs in the marginal inscription beneath the cornice at the top of the north exterior wall of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. There (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 3 *The Calendar, the "Slaughterhouse," and Minor Records of Ramses III* [Chicago, 1934], pl. 182, l. 3), Ramesses III describes his temple in relationship to deities of the Netherworld, and uses the jackal for *sṯ3* in *nb r3-sṯ3.w*, "lord of Rosetau," the falcon eye for *m33* and the three falcons on standards for *nṯr.w* in *r m33 nb-nṯr.w*, "in order to behold the lord of the gods." The Netherworld references appear to have called forth the use of cryptography, associated with the boundaries of the solar cycle and the liminal areas

eschatological content, most of the longer of these in tombs at Dra Abu en-Naga, employing primarily normal and thematic cryptography;¹⁵ and finally there is the use of cryptography in the royal Netherworld Books. The enigmatic religious texts of the royal tombs primarily employ sporadic bursts of normal and thematic cryptography. The three extant versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity contain standard hieroglyphs, used cryptographically with nonstandard values. Except for certain labels and embedded excerpts from the Book of the Dead in the example on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, they are composed exclusively in a spare sort of normal cryptography. In the Solar-Osirian texts, alphabetic cryptic orthographies predominate.

Monumental texts utilize a form of cryptography designed for the maximum pictorial effect. Detailed and specific human and divine figures are preferred, and the texts become long vignettes, blurring the always faint line in Egyptian between text and scene.¹⁶ The following excerpt from the monumental titulary of Ramesses II demonstrates the ornamental and thematic potentials of this form of cryptography.¹⁷

On the interior surfaces of the architraves in his court at Luxor Temple, Ramesses II has his titulary and epitheta carved, repeated for the east and west halves. On the west, the titulary is in *Normalschrift*, on the east in cryptography. The portion given as *mry imn-R^c nb nsw.t T3.wy hn.ty ip.t-s.wt*, “beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak” appears in the enigmatic titulary as (pl. 1A):

mry imn-R^c nb ns.(w)t^a T3.wy hnty^b ip.t-s.wt^c

^a Amun-Re sits upon the *mry*-sign.¹⁸ *Nb* is written as a standing figure wearing disk, horns, and plumes, a graphic representation of a “lord.”¹⁹ The headdress

between the world of the living and the world of the eternal. For later uses of monumental cryptography, see É. Drioton, “La Frise d’écriture énigmatique du tombeau de Padykam,” in S. Gabra, *et al.*, *Rapport sur les fouilles d’Hermoupolis Ouest (Touna El-Gebel)* (Cairo, 1941), pp. 29-37 (and the references cited there, particularly in n. 1, p. 31).

¹⁵ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 1-50; see also S.J. Seidlmayer, “Eine Schreiberpalette mit ägyptischer Aufschrift,” *MDAIK* 47 (1991): 319-30. Occasional “sportive” writings of a rebus or pseudo-enigmatic sort are scattered throughout all genres of texts from the New Kingdom (*cf.* a playful writing, misunderstood by the editor, in A. Kadry, *Officers and Officials in the New Kingdom* [Budapest, 1982], pp. 176-7—*wr*, “great,” etc., written as a *wr*-foreign chieftain).

¹⁶ See Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 305-427. For a detailed discussion showing the levels of meanings and nuance possible in these texts, see Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou Simbel* 1 (Cairo, 1968), pp. 52-5.



¹⁷ Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 319-328.

¹⁸ Whole lines of monumental cryptographic figures could stand upon one large *mr*-sign (*cf.* the writings of the name of Ramesses VI at the tops of the pillars in Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* pls. 63-70).

suggests Memphite associations, appropriate to the solar Amun as imperial god of Thebes as *īwnw šm'y*, the "Upper Egyptian Heliopolis."²⁰ The more commonly occurring plural *ns.wt*, "thrones," is here a singular throne, a cryptographic version of the attested *nb ns.t T3.wy*, "lord of the throne of the Two Lands."²¹

^b *Hnty*, "foremost," is written as *hnty*, "to sail south." The vessel is an elaborate royal barge, such as that which officiated at the towing of the Amun barge to Luxor from Karnak during the Opet festival, and the sign indeed faces south, as though the deity is journeying south to Luxor, sails set against the current. With Karnak written immediately to the left of the stern of the vessel, the bark literally sails from Karnak towards the southern rooms of Luxor Temple.

^c *Ip.t* is the sign of a female deity writing, from the verb *ip*, "to reckon." The female deity herself may also invoke the name of the goddess Opet, reenforcing the enigmatic value *Ip.t* for the sign of the accounting woman.

The *nīw.t*-sign determinative of *Ip.t-S.wt* is . In his detailed study of this text, Drioton²² incorrectly read the sign as the determinative of *W3s.t*, a word which is not in actuality present in the text. On the west architrave Amun is called *hnty Ip.t-S.wt*, which corresponds to the enigmatic group beginning with the sailing ship. Drioton understands the throne  as a graphic variant of the *s.t*-throne, reading the bread sign as the feminine *t*. So far there is no problem with Drioton's understanding of the cryptography of the Luxor architrave text. Drioton then proceeds to read the seated Amun as *m*, "par acrophonie de *mn h.t nb.t*. «Celui qui est stable en toutes choses», définition fréquente d'Amon, ici représenté;" the middle figure he reads as *w* (from Shu as *wh3 n p.t*, "colonne du ciel"), the lioness as *s* (through acrophony from *Shm.t*). Drioton reads these signs as *m w(3)s* for *m W3s.t*, "in Thebes;" assuming the elongated *nīw.t* sign to be the determinative of *W3s.t*. The values assigned to the signs, and their manner of derivation, are surprising: Amun as *m* alone is otherwise unattested; *wh3* from a depiction of Shu is unlikely, and were it allowed, a violent acrophonic process would be required in

¹⁹ *Nb* is the reading of this same sign in cryptogram no. 15 in the Book of the Day and the Night (A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* [Cairo, 1942], p. 85), in the phrase *fdw hr.w r p3 nty m sš hr nhb.t w.t mī sšm nb pn imy Dd.t*, "four faces (according to this which is in painting) upon one neck, like the image of this lord who is in Mendes," a reference to the Mendesian ram, the *B3-nb-Dd.t* (*contra* Drioton, *ibid.* p. 106, who read *wr*).

²⁰ C. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel* 1, pp. 156-7 n. 110.

²¹ K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs* (Berlin, 1929), p. 13 (§12), and n. 5 on that page (Sethe also discusses writings of the title employing the dual *ns.ty*, "two thrones"); cf. also *Wb.* II 322, 8.

²² *ASAE* 40 (1940): 325-27.

order to leave only *w*; the lioness, were she simply Sekhmet, would similarly require acrophony to be read as *s*.²³ More surprising is the absence of a plural indicator and city marker for *Ip.t-S.wt* in Drioton's rendition of the text.

With this in mind, and adhering to the normal text on the west architrave, one may read the text as follows: The throne for the *s.t*-throne, and the bread for the feminine *t* ending, as Drioton correctly recognized. The elongated city determinative, rather than belonging to *W3s.t*, actually belongs to *Ip.t-S.wt*, and the three seated divinities serve as the plural strokes.²⁴ These three are specifically the deities worshipped at Karnak—Amun, Khonsu, and Mut. Khonsu appears as a seated god with a feather on his head. Drioton interpreted the feather as that of Shu; considering the solar form taken by Mut, the deity with the feather atop his head is most likely have here Khonsu-Shu, the solar manifestation of the son of Amun and Mut.²⁵ Mut is depicted with the head of a lioness, as she is on the door jambs leading into the Colonnade Hall in Luxor Temple.²⁶ In this form she is the eye of sun god, Mut-Bastet-Sekhmet, appropriate to the solar aspect of Amun as Amun-Re. The seated deities above the elongated city determinative are Amun, Khonsu, and Mut,²⁷ and at the same time Atum, Shu, and Tefnut; together the readings of the group emphasize the solar aspect of the deity as Amun -Re.²⁸

²³ One might expand the use of direct representation in which a female figure can represent a first person singular suffix pronoun and a second person feminine singular suffix pronoun—see Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943): 217; even if through this process the value *s* for the seated lioness figure were allowed, the values *m* and *w* remain impossible here.

²⁴ Compare the use of the goddess determinative as one of the reed-leaves of *sh.t* in the divine name *Sh.t*—see J.-C. Grenier, “L’édition des textes du temple de Tôd,” in *L’égyptologie en 1979, axes prioritaires de recherches*, (Paris, 1982) vol. 2, p. 77.

²⁵ On whom see Ph. Derchain, “Mythes et dieux lunaires en Égypte,” in *La lune, mythes et rites* (Paris, 1962), pp. 43-4; Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, §51. In the tomb of Ramesses IX, Khonsu-Shu is depicted as a hieracocephalic figure with the lunar crescent and orb on his head, a uraeus with horns and disk emerging from the lunar crescent (F. Guillemant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, [Cairo, 1907], pl. 48). An alternative reading of the feather would be as the Maat-feather, which is also associated with Khonsu (Maat and Khonsu both as the “Keule” see J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis, Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien*, [Uppsala, 1968], p. 184 n. 2; in the Coffin Texts Chons is referred to as “Chons Schreiber der Maat” [CT VI 272c]—see B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, [Wiesbaden, 1975], p. 168). In a text of Herihor on the west face of the first western architrave in the court of Khonsu Temple (The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu* vol. 2 *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall*, [Chicago, 1981], pl. 134 A:1), the name of Khonsu-Shu is determined by a simple seated god with beard, however, there being neither lunar disk nor feather on his head.

²⁶ See the plates in The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 2*, (Chicago, 1998), pls. 144 (Mut-Bastet) and 149 (exact name of the goddess is not preserved).

²⁷ The more usual order in which these deities appear in two-dimensional representations is Amun, Mut, and Khonsu (cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* vol. 4, *The Battle Reliefs of King Seti I* [Chicago, 1986], pls. 14 and 32). In sculpture, however, the king as the son of the god and goddess sits between his parents (compare a

The *nīw.t* sign is the determinative of *ʾIp.t-S.wt*, elongated to fill all of the space below the triad; this was recognized by Drioton. Above the elongated *nīw.t*-sign sit the figures of the triad of Karnak, which represent the plural strokes of *S.wt*. The elongation of the city determinative clearly fills more successfully than would the normal city sign the space occupied by the seated figures, which occupy more space than plural strokes.²⁹ By being elongated in this manner, the *nīw.t*-sign resembles, but for the vestiges of the internal road markings, the outline of the N 18 sign of a body of water. This water sign can cryptically have the values *nt* and *n*, as could the city sign.³⁰ The elongation of the city sign is thus further legitimized by the interchangeability of the city sign and sign N 18 for representing the value *n* in cryptography,³¹ although in the text on the Luxor Temple architrave the city sign is not employed phonetically.

The private cryptography of the New Kingdom is not concerned with such tableau-like groupings of figures and elaborate signs, but it did lead to the creation of signs peculiar to private cryptography and often carried the thematic cryptography farther.³² In the late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Parennefer at Dra Abu en-Naga (to be published by Karl-Joachim Seyfried and Friederike Kampp) a text begins “Adoration of Amun-Re” (pl. 1B):³³

statue group of Amun, Thutmosis III, and Mut in Room XXXVIII of the *ḥm-nw* Temple at Karnak [R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *et al.*, *Les temples de Karnak* 1 (Paris, 1982), p. 154, fig. 76; vol. 2, pls. 190-191]; compare also the group of Amun, Tutankhamun, and Mut, Cairo Museum 42097, J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* 3 *La statuaire égyptienne* [Paris, 1958], pl. 118, fig. 1). As the son of Amun and Mut, Shu appears between his parents in the Luxor Temple cryptographic titulary.

²⁸ The Opet scenes and texts within the Colonnade also emphasize the solar nature of Amun-Re and his entourage—see The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple* 1, (Chicago, 1994), and this author's forthcoming study).

²⁹ According to Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 326, the sign is “aplatis et allongé de façon à pouvoir servir de divan à la triade fantaisiste des dieux représentés.”

³⁰ Water sign: Drioton, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; Gunn, *JEA* 12 (1926): 136-7; city sign: Drioton, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit* p. 105; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. *11.

³¹ Note also the substitution of *p* and *š*, based on elongation (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 146). Such substitution is the origin of the use of the sign □ for *h* at Esna (Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 167 [no. 268] □ for □, with *š* for *h*).

³² An obscure, boundary-crossing example is the cryptography which Senmut developed, apparently only for his own use, for writing the name of Hatshepsut (on Senenmut's use of the hieroglyphic system, see P.F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut, Problems in Historical Methodology* [London, 1988], p. 175; C. Desroches-Noblecourt, “Hommage d'un poète à la princesse lointaine,” *Kémi* 11 [1950]: 34-45).

³³ I thank Dr. Karl Seyfried for permission to reproduce and discuss these as yet unpublished texts. As a preliminary discussion of the tomb see F. Kampp, “Vierter Vorbericht über die Arbeiten des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg in thebanischen Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit,” *MDAIK* 50 (1994): 175-188 (note that the

hft^a h^cb=f 3h.ty^c sn/sš(?)^d=f idb.wy

“... when he appears, Akhty traversing the Two Banks.”

^a The child is for *h*, from *h/ty*, “child” (*Wb.* III 217, 3-8).³⁴ The cat is for *f* (see below), and the *t3*-sign is for *t* (through loss of the final aleph).³⁵

^b The top (𐀀) of M12 (𐀀) for *h*, from *h3*, occurs in É. Drioton, “Un cryptogramme relatif aux souffles de vie,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin, 1955), p. 49 no. 21 (cited here without endorsing all of Drioton’s readings of the scarabs; see also p. 68, n. 144). The final *3* falls away through the workings of Fairman’s consonantal principle. The pustule as *ʿ* is not uncommon;³⁶ on the origin of this value, see below pp. 46-8.

^c The aleph-vulture following *3h.t* apparently substitutes for the *tyw*-bird, here functioning as a phonetic complement to the *ty* ending of *3h.ty* already written above.

^d The verb of the action which Akhty is here said to perform is the *sn* of *Wb.* III 455, 16, “über ein bestimmtes Land hinausfahren,” a verb also written as *sš* (*Wb.* III 482, 27, “to spread out”).³⁷ For the fish for *s*, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 44; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 414; Sethe, *Northampton*, 10* (in the divine name *Wsir*). The use of *𐀀* for *š3* as *š* presents no difficulty, with the acceptable loss of the final aleph, as in *h3* for *h*, through the application of the consonantal principle; *š* as *n* also occurs, as a substitution of one water sign for another.³⁸ For this portion of the text there is the suggestive but not quite parallel example in J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), pp. 198-9, text 152, l. 10: *sš*

transliteration and translation of the enigmatic text on p. 185 misreads *Wnn-nfrw rn=f m3ʿ* [see *Wb.* II 428, 14-15] as *Wnn-nfrw m3ʿ-hrw* [which does in fact appear in the cryptography of the south thickness]).

³⁴ Attested Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 36; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8; A. de Buck, chapter 9, “The Dramatic Text,” in H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, (London, 1933), p. 84 n. 25; and on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (in the divine name *i3hy*, pl. 7 B, l. 5).

³⁵ Attested on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (*ie.* in the name of the deity Tatenen, fifth from the right in the lower right portion of the first side). There could also be a purposeful confusion with the long bread sign for *t* (see Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 49).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 49; Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943): 249; for a possible identification of this sign, see M. Pezin and F. Janot, “La «pustule» et les deux doigts,” *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 361-365.

³⁷ On this problematic verb see R.A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe from a Hieratic Papyrus in the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow* (Oxford, 1977), p. 15 n. 7.

³⁸ *I.e.* Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 409; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933): 46; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 11*, *etc.*

nhtw=f ht idb.wy, “his power traversing the Two Lands.” As Akhty, the sun, travels over Egypt from east to west, it is the two banks, the eastern and western halves of the land, which he crosses. The writing of *sš* here in the tomb of Parennefer purposefully allows a second reading *bsi*, “come forth,” appropriate to the sun’s emergence from the Netherworld;³⁹ the choice of signs suggests an aquatic environment, appropriate for dawn as the recreation of the day.⁴⁰

The cryptography of the tomb of Parennefer belongs to a system of enigmatic writing best attested in private tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty at Dra Abu en-Naga.⁴¹ For the horned viper, the Dra Abu en-Naga texts can employ the longer, writhing snake, a sign uncommon as a substitute for the sign of the horned viper, but a sign attested elsewhere. For the sign *f*, the Dra Abu en-Naga tombs can also employ a cat killing a snake, or just a cat alone. The cat slaying the snake for *f* is Re as the *miw-ꜥ3* slaughtering Apep in the vignette to Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead. This cryptogram derives from representations of ritually killed snake signs.⁴² Elsewhere this cryptogram is developed further, the snake—as a noxious being—disappearing altogether and the cat alone representing *f*.⁴³

The Resurrection of Osiris scene in the Osireion and the royal tombs also contains this form of cryptography, employing unusual and complicated signs, often with possible thematic interpretations, as do the Ramesses II cryptic texts from the temples of Amara and Aksha,⁴⁴ and the Amun-Min chapel in his temple at

³⁹ See Chapter 3, pp. 120-1 below.

⁴⁰ Recalling the primeval, aquatic landscape of the Egyptian Temple (R.B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator* [Wiesbaden, 1985], p. 13; E.A.E. Reymond, *The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple* [Manchester, 1969], pp. 69, 80-1). The possibility of a primary reading, and a further, more obscure second reading, also appears in much later Coptic cryptography—cf. S. Jakobielski, in K. Michalowski, *Faras, Wall Paintings in the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw* (Warsaw, 1974), p. 287.

⁴¹ The cryptography of the Dra Abu en-Naga enigmatic texts may have originated during the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period—compare the text in H. Ranke, “Ein Wesir der 13. Dynastie,” in *Mélanges Maspero I orient ancien*, (Cairo, 1935-1938), p. 362 (l. 1).

⁴² Cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* (Chicago, 1980), pl. 7, l. 2. R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, (Chicago, 1993), pp. 164-5 discusses some other “killed” snake signs.

⁴³ T. Devéria, “L’écriture secrete, dans les textes hiéroglyphiques des anciens Égyptiens,” in *idem, Mémoires et fragments* 2 in G. Maspero, ed., *Bibliothèque égyptologique* 5 (Paris, 1897), p. 56; Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 40; *idem*, “Procédé acrophonique ou principe consonantal ?,” *ASAE* 43 (1943): 337; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 99—as the personal pronoun *f*, not *tf*, as Drioton.

⁴⁴ See A. Daneri Rodrigo, “An Enigmatic Inscription at Aksha,” *JSSEA* 15(1985): 68-71; *idem*, “Aksha (Serra West): El templo de Ramses II, II, la inscripción enigmática del atrio,” *Revista de Estudios de Egiptología* 1 (1990): 47-52.

Abydos.⁴⁵ The scene of the Judgement Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates (scene 33), in its occasional use of unusual signs,⁴⁶ also appears to be more in this tradition.⁴⁷ For *nd*, “to protect,” the Resurrection of Osiris scene, the Dra Abu en-Naga texts, and the Judgement Hall of Osiris scene of the Book of Gates all employ the grinding person.⁴⁸ The other private cryptograms of the period show similar sign uses, and even reflect the styles of monumental cryptography.⁴⁹ The cryptography of scarabs, subject both to the confined space of the surface available for inscribing and the uncertainties of copying such small and often indistinct signs, is a system of its own.⁵⁰


In the quotation from the tomb of Parennefer (above), there is a possible application of thematic cryptography. The three signs of *hft* and the first of *h^c* suggest the eastern horizon, the place of the birth of the sun (the child), the final destruction of Apep and the place of the ultimate fiery punishment of the damned (the cat killing the serpent), at the edge of the earth (the *t3*-sign), and the place where the sun emerges from the lotus (the lotus for *h*).⁵¹

⁴⁵ Naville, *Détails relevés dans les ruines de quelques temples égyptiens*, pls. 35-36; the texts are in Room XII = PM VI, p. 38 (64).

⁴⁶ I.e. the kneading man (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, 1, p. 192), the axing man, the scales (*ibid.*, p. 197).

⁴⁷ M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, “Späte Texte aus dem Pfortenbuch,” in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years (Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur)* (Leuven, 1998), pp. 1001-1010; M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, “De Gerichtsscene in het Egyptische Poortenboek,” in M.S.H.G. Heerma Van Voss, Ph.H.J. Houwink Ten Cate, and N.A. Van Uchelen, eds., *Travels in the World of the Old Testament* (Assen, 1974), pp. 80-90; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, 2, pp. 143ff.

⁴⁸ Resurrection of Osiris—Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 183-85; H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos*, (London, 1933), pl. 74; Dra Abu en-Naga—Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; Judgement Hall of Osiris—E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 192, vol. 2, p. 146.

On the roots *nd*, see J.G. Griffiths, “The Meaning of  *nd* and *nd-hr*,” *JEA* 37 (1951): 32-7.

⁴⁹ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 1-50; S.J. Seidlmayer, *MDAIK* 47 (1991): 319-30.

⁵⁰ In spite of Schulman’s optimistic acceptance of Drioton’s work on amuletic cryptography (A.R. Schulman, “The Ossimo Scarab Reconsidered,” *JARCE* 12 [1975]: 16), the subject is poorly understood. The copies available are not always reliable, owing at least in part to the often rough appearance of the small signs on scarabs and related objects. The graffito (probably dating from the Amarna period) on block XE 63 of Amenophis IV from Karnak (J.-L. Chappaz, “Le premier edifice d’Amenophis IV a Karnak,” *BSEG* 8 [1983]: 33) bears an apparently enigmatic graffito, a graffito that shows affinities to the “lapidary” cryptography of seals and amulets.

⁵¹ Place of punishment: J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques II: Les révélations du mystère des quatre boules,” *BIFAO* 75 (1975): 364 n. 10, with references; see further, the discussion of the name of the goddess *hṫmy.t* on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (Chapter 3, pp. 145-6). Final destruction of Apep: E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* 1 (Wiesbaden, 1963), p. 202, l. 11 (= E. Hornung, *Texte zum*

On the opposite thickness in the same doorway, there is an address to the setting sun (pl. 1C):

dw3 R^c ḥtp^a=f m d3.t itm^b nb^c ḥḥ-T3.wy^d

“Adoration of Re when he sets in the Netherworld, Atum, lord of Ankhtawy”

^a The scarab for *t* is well attested in cryptography,⁵² but no one has yet successfully explained the origin of this value. In attempting such an explanation, Myśliwiec has cited the use of the beetle in writing the name of Khepri in orthographies of the name of the syncretistic solar deity Atum-Khepri.⁵³ He assumes that the beetle in this name lost its original phonetic value, came to be seen as an element in the name of Atum, and acquired the phonetic value *t*; Myśliwiec concludes: “Der Käfer geht also zur Zeit der 21. Dyn. in den Namen selbst als eine Form des Gottes über, und seine formelle Funktion als ‘Ersatzkonsonant’ für ‘t’ muss nachträglich entstanden sein.” Attractive as this explanation at first appears, it is at variance with the cryptographic use of the beetle for *t*, a value attested already during the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁵⁴ For the spewing mouth for *p* see Chapter 3, pp. 43-5.⁵⁵

^b The prone mummy might represent *i* if taken as an elaborate variant of the seated man.⁵⁶ More likely the mummy here has the value *iwty* which it has in the southern text of Pinudjem on the exterior of the small temple of Medinet Habu.⁵⁷ Specifically it has here the value **ΔT**-,⁵⁸ and is used here to emphasize the nocturnal form of the sun addressed here.⁵⁹ The *t3* sign is for *t*. The flesh sign F 51 is found

Amduat [Geneva, 1987], vol. 3, pp. 837-8): *ntsn ḥsf ʿ3pp m i3bt.t p.t m-ḥt msw.t ntr*, “it is they who repel Apep in the east of heaven after the birth of the god.” Sun emerging from lotus: H. Schlögl, *Der Sonnengott auf der Blüte, eine ägyptische Kosmogonie des Neuen Reiches* (Geneva, 1977).

⁵² Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 44; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 414.

⁵³ K. Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum 2 Name-Epitheta-Ikonographie*, (Hildesheim, 1979), pp. 46-48.

⁵⁴ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 44; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 414.

⁵⁵ A sampling of references for this common cryptographic value: Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*; Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 39; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 424; Drioton, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; etc.

⁵⁶ A standing mummiform figure has the value *i* in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 327.

⁵⁷ Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 335.

⁵⁸ W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Louvain, 1984), p. 17 (**ΔT**), and p. 4 (**ΔΘWM**).

⁵⁹ Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum 2 Name-Epitheta-Ikonographie*, p. 60 attests the use of the standing mummy as a determinative of the divine name Atum.

for the preposition *m* several times in tombs at Dra Abu en-Naga.⁶⁰ Alternatively, one could read the prone mummy as *m*, a value which the sign appears to have in an inscription of Darius I in the Temple of Hibis;⁶¹ the following two signs would then be *Tm*, and one would translate the three signs in question “as Atum.” As this doorjamb text is apparently parallel to that on the other jamb (see pl. 1B), where the name of Akhty appears in apposition to [Re] without introductory preposition, the explanation of the prone mummy as *m* is less likely.

^c The seated king is *nb*.⁶²

^d The two herons here are a writing of *t3.wy*, the earliest attestation of this writing; this and an example in the tomb of Ramesses IX⁶³ are the only attestations of this cryptic usage known before two occurrences in the partially cryptographic texts of Pinudjem I on the exterior of the small temple of Medinet Habu.⁶⁴

Here the theme of the dying and setting sun is carried on by the use of the prone mummy for *iwy/ΔT*- immediately following *d3.t*. The *t3* for *t* is the Netherworld, and the meat signs for *m* suggest the designation of the sungod in the Netherworld as *iwf*, “flesh.” Again, a complicated thematic orthography and arrangement of signs.

Another example of thematic cryptography influencing the Dra Abu en-Naga texts occurs as cryptogram 9 in Drioton’s text B (pl. 1D):

wp^a-rh.wy m rn=k p(w)y n k3^b-m3^c.t

“judge of the two companions in this your name of ‘Bull of Right Order’”

^a The two separate horns here substitute for the connected horns F 13 more common in writings of *wp*; the city sign following writes *p* (< *P*, “Buto”).⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*. See further below, Chapter 3, pp. 68-9, and the discussion of the name *tms* in Chapter 4 (pl. 22B; see below, pp. 196-7). The *t* of the name Atum appears to be associated with two land signs in the writing of the divine name recorded for an unnumbered Louvre sarcophagus in Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum* vol. 2 *Name-Epitheta-Ikonographie*, p. 17. Three flesh signs occur for *mw* in the name of Atum in a writing at Dendera (see *ibid.*, p. 67).

⁶¹ Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 364; Sauneron, *l'écriture figurative*, p. 120, also lists this value *m* for the standing mummy.

⁶² Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 37; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 106-7.

⁶³ Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 79.

⁶⁴ Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 328-29 and 334.

⁶⁵ Cf. Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 46; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 109.

^b The ithyphallic figure of Kamutef represents $k\bar{z}$,⁶⁶ for in the name $K\bar{z}-mw.t=f$, the designation $k\bar{z}$, “bull,” refers to the image of the ithyphallic god ($mw.t$ refers to the queen mother, and f to the pharaoh).⁶⁷

In the enigmatic orthography of $m\bar{z}^c.t$ in this text the crocodile appears with the value \bar{z}^c ,⁶⁸ apparently derived from $\bar{z}^c y$, “to ejaculate,” an action which the crocodile *Wnty* performs when he bears the sun.⁶⁹ The solar context in which this cryptogram occurs, and the use of the sign of the crocodile in a title of Thoth as judge between Horus and Seth and guarantor of the birth of the new sun Re-Horakhti, appears to have called forth this solar imagery in the choice of enigmatic signs.⁷⁰

The cryptography of private texts and of royal monumental inscriptions differs from that of the three works to be examined in this study. The often complicated thematic arrangements of the private cryptographic texts are absent in the Solar-Osirian compositions, as are the elaborate figural tableaux of the royal monumental cryptograms.

The cryptography of the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity also differs from the other occurrences of royal religious cryptography. The major differences between the cryptography of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity and that of the Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, and Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, is the absence of *Normalschrift* “translations” in the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. There are also other differences. The use of figures, human and divine, often carrying an object, is common in monumental cryptography; they

⁶⁶ Cf. the use of the same sign for $k\bar{z}$ in the royal epithet $k\bar{z}-n\bar{h}t$ —É. Drioton, “La cryptographie égyptienne” *CdE* 18 (1934): 196; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 415.

⁶⁷ See the explanation of the name proposed by G. Haeny, “Zum Kamutef,” *GM* 90 (1986): 33-34.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933): 15-6, notes only \bar{z} , which is possible; the crocodile as \bar{z} is perhaps the origin, through substitution, of the horned viper as \bar{z} , a Ptolemaic sign value about which Fairman wondered in *JEA* 36 (1950): 111; for the interchange of crocodile and viper in the Late Period, compare the use of the crocodile for r at Esna (Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, pp. 146 and 163), derived from the serpent for r (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*; Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 43; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 413).

⁶⁹ A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, (Cairo, 1953), pp. 67-9; see also below, Chapter 5, pp. 320-1.

⁷⁰ The cryptography of New Kingdom private cryptography is not, however, divorced utterly from earlier enigmatic values. An enigmatic writing of $n\bar{t}r.w$ attested already in the Coffin Texts occurs in the New Kingdom tomb of Khaemhat (see A. Varille, “L'appel aux visiteurs du tombeau de Khaemhet,” *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 605 n. 3). Something approaching thematic cryptography is possible in demotic through sportive uses of at times intentionally confused determinatives—see P.W. Pestman, “Jeux de déterminatifs en démotique,” *RdE* 25 (1973): 21-34. These examples show the ability of cryptography to distill in an enigmatic sign or group the “Quintessenz eines Mythos” (D. Kurth, “Die Lautwerte der Hieroglyphen in den Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit—zur Systematik ihrer Herleitungsprinzipien,” *ASAE* 69 (1983): 308).

are occasional in the private cryptography of the New Kingdom, and in the cryptography of the Book of the Day and the Night.⁷¹ These figures are not a common feature of the cryptography of the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, wherein the sign of the swimming man is the only human or divine figure out of the ordinary.⁷²

⁷¹ For monumental cryptography, see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 305-427. For private cryptography, note the striking man A 24 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); the man with his arm raised A 26 (*ibid.* p. 8*; Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 36); the running man A 27 for *in* (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8* [also as *wn* and *in* in the Book of Caverns—Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, l. 1 and pl. 69, l. 3; attested as *mdw* in A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* 2 (Chicago, 1938), p. 247c—Faulkner, *JEA* 67 (1981): 173]); the man with arms raised A 28 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 37 [attested as *mdw* in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, p. 247c—Faulkner, *JEA* 67 (1981): 173]); the seated deity A 40 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; two facing in Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 37; with head tripled for *ntr.w* in *ibid.* p. 37); seated king A 41 (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 37; as seated king of Upper Egypt in *ibid.* p. 37 [compare also The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu 3 The Calendar, the "Slaughterhouse," and Minor Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1934), pl. 184a, third row of text plural for *ntr.w*]); king of Lower Egypt A 45 (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 37); squatting man with stick A 49 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); prone mummy as *nb* (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 38 [and in the tomb of Parennefer—see the forthcoming treatment of these texts in the publication of the tomb by K.-J. Seyfried and F. Kampp]); sleeping person A 35 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); man blowing a fire as *nb* (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 36 [see also Drioton, *CdE* 18 (1934): 194]); the man with arms hidden in a cloak (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 37 [also in the tomb of Parennefer]); man with his elbows out from his sides (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); man holding a phallus (for *m b3h*—Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 37); man holding bread (for *it*, "father"—*ibid.* p. 37 [and see Drioton, *CdE* 18 (1934): 195]); man holding a *mr*-staff (for *smr*—Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 37); man with missing headdress holding a staff before and the hand of a king of Upper Egypt behind (for *iti*, "sovereign"—Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 37); man holding an object no longer preserved (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); birthing woman B 3 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); grinding woman (for *nd*—Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); seated Ibis-headed deity (for *s*—Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 38); Min figure, ithyphallic with raised arm and flail (for *k*—*ibid.* p. 38); the goddess Mut, seated on a throne (for *m*—*ibid.* p. 38 [see also Drioton, *CdE* 18 (1934): 194]); the goddess Neith (for *n*—Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 38). These texts also have a number of examples of figures of deities representing themselves (*cf.* Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 38; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8* [Ptah, Tatenen, Sekhmet, Horus]), a feature which predominates in monumental cryptography. For the Book of the Day and Night, note the man with a staff A 21 as *h* (Piankoff, *Livre du Jour et de la nuit*, p. 102); the striking man A 24 (*ibid.* p. 104); the seated deity A 40 (*ibid.* pp. 102 and 107; holding and *nh* in p. 104); seated king A 41 (*ibid.* pp. 106-7); the fighting man A 59 (*ibid.* p. 100); woman holding a child (*ibid.* p. 104); man holding a vessel (for *inw*, "bearer," *ibid.* p. 103); man with horns and plumes holding a staff (for *wr*—*ibid.* p. 106); standing man holding a staff, atop a *tz*-sign (*ibid.* p. 104); seated ram-headed deity (for *b3*—*ibid.* p. 100).

⁷² The man holding a basket on his head for *f* (A 9, along with a standing form, and a woman in Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 36), common in the Late and Graeco-Roman periods, is attested in private (*ibid.*, 36) and monumental (Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 421) cryptography, but is not widely used in religious cryptography of any sort before the end






The Amduat contains throughout short, compact writings which are not, strictly speaking, "enigmatic," but also employs cryptography in the fourth and fifth hours.⁷³ Amduat, the Book of the Day and the Night, the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, and the Nut Book all contain partial cryptography; only the annotations to the scene of the judgment hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates, and scattered sentences in the Book of Caverns, are in full cryptography. In Amduat and the Book of Caverns, transcriptions in *Klarschrift* sometimes accompany the cryptographic sections.

Along with the cryptographic sections of the Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, and Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, there remains another group of religious texts in cryptography, employing, as do the works examined here, standard signs. This group consists of cosmographic texts, the Book of Nut⁷⁴ and the Book

of the New Kingdom. In the private cryptography which Drioton discusses there is also a standing woman with arms raised to either side of her head (palms upwards) with the value *f* (*idem*, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 38). The seated man A1 has a somewhat wider use (*i* in *in* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 69, 1 [Caverns]; *y* in Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 36; *f* in Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; *wmm* in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 73); note also the man with hand to his mouth A2 as *m* in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 36 (and see *idem*, *CdE* 18 [1934]: p. 194). The man with his hands raised A 4 (and variants) is also more widely used (*w* in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 421; *imn* in Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; *dwz* in the second shrine of Tutankhamun [shown as an adoring woman in the bottom right of pl. 4—note also the variant standing man with arms raised before him in Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 37]; *imn* in the second shrine of Tutankhamun and on the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX (and also *idem*, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 421—note also the use of the variant standing man with arms raised before him as *imn* [*ibid.*, 421; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, ll. 1-3; Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1]). The seated child is also well attested (*/h* in Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 36; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Livre du Jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 84 n. 25; Drioton, *JEA* 35 [1949]: 115; H. Grapow, "Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern," *ZÄS* 72 [1936]: 24; Drioton, *CdE* 18 [1934] 193; E. Hornung, "Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltsbuch," *JSSEA* 13 [1983]: 34; as *ms/sz* in Sethe, *Theban Necropolis* p. 8; as *hp* in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1). The swimming man for *nb* is also fairly common (Tutankhamun Shrine 2, Ramesses IX, Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 37; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 70, ll. 1-3; Frankfurt, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1; see further below).

⁷³ On the compact writings not being true cryptography, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. xi, citing Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 23-9, and G. Steindorff, "Die Grabkammer des Tutanchamuns," *ASAE* 38 (1938): 663. Hornung has suggested (*Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 90) that the prevalence of cryptography in the 4th and 5th Hours of the Amduat argues for a more recent date for those hours than the Middle Kingdom date suggested by Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 34-5. The compact writings are usually accompanied by a full "transcription," except in the Eleventh and Twelfth hours, in which the names of the entities appear only in the short version (see Hornung, *Das Amduat* 2, p. 175, n. 1).

⁷⁴ De Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, pp. 82-6, pls. 54-5; V. Vikentiev, "Quelques mots énigmatiques dans un texte astronomique," *ASAE* 43 (1943): 115-31; O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 1

of the Day and the Night.⁷⁵ The cryptography of these treatises is somewhat sporadic, and the majority of words are either in *Klarschrift* or are only partially enigmatic, and there is a fairly widespread use of thematic cryptography influencing the choice of enigmatic signs which these cosmographies employ. Some examples will illustrate the nature of this cryptography: 1) According to Drioton, the crocodile in cryptogram no. 82 in the Book of the Day and the Night () has the value *š* through acrophony from *šnti*, “enemy;” he cites *Wb.* IV 520, a late term *šnti* referring to a crocodile.⁷⁶ This explanation is unlikely and unnecessarily convoluted. A term *šwy*, also written *šy*, is attested for a crocodile from the Old Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman period (*Wb.* IV 434, 8), and would easily have provided the Ramesside cryptographer with the value *š* for the crocodile.⁷⁷ The use of the crocodile as a cryptogram in the context of cosmic toponymy is an allusion to the Milky Way as a crocodile.⁷⁸ 2) Drioton supposed a value *n* for the sign  < *nḥb.t* in cryptogram no. 33 in The Book of the Day and the Night,⁷⁹   




(Providence and London, 1960), pp. 36-94, pls. 44-51; J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 1-7, pp. 74-7, and pl. 1; E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), pp. 90-96.

⁷⁵ Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*; Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pp. 96-100 (Book of the Night).

⁷⁶ Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 108 and n. 4.

⁷⁷ F. Traunecker, “La revanche du crocodile de Coptos,” in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier, 1984), p. 224, and n. 40 (p. 228); A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux Théologie de Kom Ombo* (Cairo, 1973), pp. 231-2 n. *b* and p. 252 n. *d*. According to Gutbub, *ibid.* pp. 231-2: “*Šwj* (*Wb.* IV, p. 434), à lire certainement *šj* vu l'équivalence du signe de la plume avec le son simple *š*, est un ancien mot *šjj* (*Wb.* IV, p. 415, 6-7) qui signifie «ce qui est dans le lac», pour désigner le crocodile caché dans l'eau.”

⁷⁸ For the Milky Way as a crocodile *sšd/snk*, see Volten, “Das Harpunierergestirn,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 346-66, especially p. 352 with nn. 2-3. The use of the curled rope as determinative in *sšd* could easily have suggested the sign of the crocodile with the under-curved tail. Also on the crocodile in an astronomical context, see R.H. O'Connell, “The Emergence of Horus, an analysis of Coffin Text Spell 148,” *JEA* 69 (1983): 71 n. *b*; see also L. Kákossy, “Das Krokodil als Symbol der Ewigkeit und der Zeit,” *MDAIK* 20 (1965): 116-20, pls. 36-8. On the crocodile as a constellation see Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3 (text) p. 193 and the references there cited. The words ‘*bš* and ‘*b* can be written with the crocodile determinative, perhaps suggesting a value *š* for the crocodile when it determined the term ‘*b* (see A. Piankoff, “Le livre de l'Am-Duat et les variantes tardives,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* [Berlin, 1955], pp. 246-7; K.C. Seele, “A Rare Grammatical Construction in a Neglected Egyptian Text,” *JNES* 8 [1949]: 359-364).

⁷⁹ According to Drioton (*ibid.*, p. 106) the plant sign  (M2) has the value *n* in cryptogram 126 of the Book of the Day and the Night. Drioton derives this suggested value by acrophony from *nḥb.t*, “flower.” Were the reading of the sign as *n* acceptable, we might, rather than admit such acrophony, see this as another example of the interchange of the liquids, the sign M2 acquiring the value *n* from its more usual cryptographic use as *r*. The cryptogram,  (A)/  (B) describes an object of electrum (*n ḏꜣm*) with which the

nḥb.t=f, “son cou,” but the bread sign should not have the value *ḥ* < *ḥt*.⁸⁰ This word occurs in a text describing the form of the sun as the four-headed Mendesian Ram. The plant has the value *nḥb.t*,⁸¹ and the bread, as expected, is *t* (ie. cryptogram no. 35), an elaborate variant substituting for the more mundane *t*-loaf. The animal head and neck is then either a substitution for the *wsr*-neck,⁸² or—this is less likely—has the value *b* from *b*z. The signs of *nḥb.t=f* are, however, carefully chosen to convey the idea of the solar deity emerging from the lotus, *nḥb.t* (first sign), as the sun disk coming out of the lotus (the round bread atop the dish), the eye of the sun (the feline head), the final sign harking back to the primary meaning of the word—“neck.”⁸³ In a description of the four ram-headed form of the solar deity this is then an elaborate expression of the image of the ram head, symbol of the night sun, emerging from the lotus at dawn,⁸⁴ a mixing of the forms of day and night, and an expression of the *perpetuum mobile* of the sun.⁸⁵ Thematic cryptography functions much as Horapollon believed all hieroglyphic text functioned. Thus most interpretations of thematic cryptography must remain speculative, however, and dangerously close to the work of Kircher and other early would-be decipherers of Egyptian hieroglyphic texts.

The cryptography of the Nut Book occurs in the portion known as the dramatic text, a portion of the composition concerned with the nature of stellar beings; in the

msh.tyw is attached to the two mooring posts. Drioton read the group as *nwh*, “chaîne” (*ibid.* p. 95), which well describes the depiction. To read *nwh*, however, Drioton not only has to read *ḥ* for *n*, he further finds it necessary to read the entire group in retrograde. The reversed appearance of *ḥ* in (A) should in no way suggest this (*ḥ* for *ḥ* is attested in the Pyramid Texts; see K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 4 [Leipzig, 1922], p. 127 [§157]).

⁸⁰ Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 87, 105-6.

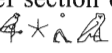
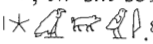

⁸¹ *Nḥb.t* of *Wb.* II 294, 2-3 refers both to the lotus flower (294, 2) and the closed bud of the lotus (294, 3).

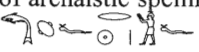

⁸² For the origin of the sign *ḥ*, see D.P. Silverman, “The Title *Wr Bzt* in the Tomb Chapel of *K3.(j)-Pw-R*,” in D.P. Silverman, ed., *For his Ka, Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (Chicago, 1994), pp. 250-253.

⁸³ The use of the leopard head as *b* from *b*z may also play on the identification of this four ram-headed manifestation of the deity as *b*z-*b*z.w (ie. tomb of Ramesses XI—R. Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* 3 [Berlin, 1851], pl. 239) and *b*z-*imn.t* (Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 27).


⁸⁴ Compare the quartzite boat-prow terminal (?) in *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art, Catalogue* (Cairo, 1979), p. 146, no. 221; the ring in N. and B. Langton, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1940), pl. 10, object no. 319; and the statuette of Chaemtore—P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden* 12 *Statuetten* (The Hague, 1925), p. 3 (no. 21) and pl. 4 (see also J.J. Janssen, “Kha’emtöre, a Well-to-Do Workman,” *OMRO* 58 [1977]: 221-232); for the association of the lotus with the birth of the sun, compare also the lotus painted at the bottom of the belly of an image of a pregnant woman, in L. Keimer, “The Decoration of a New Kingdom Vase,” *JNES* 8 (1949): 3 and pl. 6.

⁸⁵ For other examples, see Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 94 n. 1.

dramatic text are passages in which the goddess Nut is described as a sow who eats her piglets. The enigmatic script appears in the Osireion version of the Nut Book; the version of the text in P. Carlsberg I does not make use of cryptography, and helps in establishing the values of enigmatic signs in the Osireion text. Although there are some portions of the dramatic text in which several words in whole and partial cryptography occur together, the cryptography is on the whole somewhat sparse.⁸⁶ Several of the signs are rare in New Kingdom cryptography, and do not appear in the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Thematic cryptography is present in the dramatic text. One brief section of the Nut Book's dramatic text will illustrate these features: the group , *iw šm sbz*, "A star goes," in P. Carlsberg I, appears in the Osireion version as .⁸⁷ The sign of the pig represents *š* < *šz*l (*Wb.* IV 405, 7-10) through the application of Fairman's consonantal principle (*šz*l is Sahidic ); the vulture is similarly *m* < *mw.t*. The rare use of the pig for *š*⁸⁸ in writing *šm* is not merely an exercise in erudite cryptography. The pig followed by the vulture in the group *šm* makes visual thematic allusion to the dramatic text's depiction of the goddess Nut as the mother sow who eats her piglets.

In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, cryptography is even more rare, and what might at first appear to be cryptographic is often no more than the influence of the hieratic original,⁸⁹ although there are a number of spellings recalling the characteristics of Ptolemaic hieroglyphs, which Fairman expressed as the "deliberate revival of archaistic spellings and odd values, constructions and usages." In the annotation  to a deity in the first scene in the second register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the mouth-*r* plus the praising, standing man appears as a writing of *dwz* (in *h3.t=f dwz=f R^c*, "[it is] his corpse, he adoring Re").⁹⁰ The mouth might belong to *R^c*, a divine name apparently spelled as  elsewhere in the same scene.⁹¹ There is, however, an attested

⁸⁶ Cf. Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 1, pl. 53, ll. 11-14; in the line "They are pure, they live, and their heads are placed for them in the east" (*ibid.* p. 68),

only the word *l3bt.t*, "the East," appears in cryptography: . The use of the jackal in writing "East" (on the jackal for *l3b*, see E. Graefe, 'Bemerkungen zu zwei Titeln der Spätzeit,' *SAK* 3 [1975]: 82 and n. 42; the final two *t*'s appear as two bread signs, each representing the standard loaf-*t*) alludes to the jackals as the souls of the west, the beings who tow the bark of the sun into the Netherworld; by writing "East" with the sign of a being of the West, the cryptography suggests the *perpetuum mobile* of the journey of the sun.

⁸⁷ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 1, pl. 54, ll. 17-18.

⁸⁸ This use of the sign does not appear in F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romain* 1 (Montpellier, 1988), p. 215.

⁸⁹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 2, citing also the good cryptographic writing of *qrr.t* on pl. 31, l. 2.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 14; a corresponding figure is labeled *dwz hr*, "praising of face."

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 13 and n. 2.

orthography of *dw3* with an initial *r*.⁹² The writing of the *r* over the disk can thus suggest a writing of *dw3*, and the first radical of *R^c*, a compact quasi-enigmatic orthography.⁹³ Re precedes the sign of the praising man—through perturbation, or simply through application of the non-cryptographic concept of honorific transposition, Re the object is placed before the verb *dw3*, in order that the figure of the man with raised arms might literally be shown as adoring the solar disk.

Separate from these enigmatic texts which the passages cited above represent are the three works to be studied here. Apart from external features, these texts are also associated through their extensive use of cryptography; a closer examination of the specific type of cryptography which they employ shows that they stand out as a separate group from the other enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom. The cryptography of these books is primarily alphabetic, using normal signs—primarily uniliteral signs—with abnormal phonetic values—primarily uniliteral. Logograms and determinatives are kept to a minimum. In the version of the treatise found on the “enigmatic wall” in the tomb of Ramesses IX, however, there are large portions of the text in only partial cryptography, and others in the *Normalschrift* of the reign. A significant feature of the cryptography of the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity is the use of a relatively small and repetitive repertoire of signs to represent a large variety of phonetic values. There is no great proliferation of strange or altered sign forms, a common feature of many Graeco-Roman hieroglyphic texts. The Solar-Osirian texts do not make use of marching files of deities, as occur in monumental cryptography. None of the more involved enigmatic signs of the private cryptography of Dra Abu en-Naga appear (*cf.* a cat slaying a snake for *f* [see above], a pair of copulating gazelles for *n-k* [unpublished fragment at Dra Abu en-Naga] etc.). Thematic cryptography is absent, with the exception of the use of perturbation on the second shrine of Tutankhamun.

Most of the enigmatic sign values encountered in the three texts which this study examines are based on substitution of kind—*ie.* plant signs and bird signs substituting for other hieroglyphs of their sort. There are also substitutions based on

⁹² *Cf.* the two graffiti-stelae of Paser in the Wadyein (J. Černý, *et al.*, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine 1/2 la Vallée de l'Ouest* [Cairo, 1971], pls. 130-131 [and pp. iv-v]), apparently an “unorthographisch” writing deriving from *rdi.t i3w*—see *Wb.* I 28, 4. As Janet Johnson has suggested, *dw3* as *r* + adoring-man more likely has its origin in the hieratic confusion of mouth-*r* and hand-*d* (A. Gardiner, “The Transcription of New Kingdom Hieratic,” *JEA* 15 [1929]: 54). There is another example of *dw3* with initial *r* in Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* 1 (London, 1974), p. 22 (n. 2) and l. 1 of pl. 21 a and b (graffito of the King’s Son of Kush Setau on the lower portion of the north face of pilaster 4 in the court of the southern temple at Buhen); and at Semneh—see H. Grapow, “Die Inschrift der Königin Katimala von Semna,” *ZÄS* 76 (1940): pl. 3.

⁹³ The compacting of the writing may also extend to the star below the mouth-*r*. As well as writing *dw3*, the star can also stand for the sun disk (compare the associations of sun disks and stars on the second shrine of Tutankhamun [pl. 12, pl. 13], on the Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling [pl. 15 far left, middle register; pl. 16 far right, middle register]; and alternations of sun disks and stars on the Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling [pl. 17A]), with the mouth-*r* a writing of the name of Re.

purposeful recreation in hieroglyphs of attested hieratic sign confusions—*ie.* for ; for ; for ; for ; and for confusions. Other substitutions are based on graphic similarities—as for ; for ; for ; etc. Phonetic shifts also play an important role, as in the use of for in writing , *hr*, with = through a substitution of kind (a vertical plant sign substituting for another vertical plant sign), with as *h3* substituting for based on the weakening and loss of the final *3* (through application of the “consonantal principle” which Fairman⁹⁴ identified for Ptolemaic hieroglyphic values); the orthography of *shr*, “condition,” as + , representing the weakened final radical as *shy*, also attested in non-cryptographic texts (for this see, p. 177). Spellings often reflect the pronunciation of a word and not the archaic orthographic models common in *Normalschrift*—*cf.* the common orthography of *ntr* as *nti* in these texts. Substitutions of kind, and the exploitation of potential hieroglyphic and hieratic visual confusions are the core of the cryptography in the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Acrophony is absent, although the origin of and for *p* remains uncertain, and for *r* wholly obscure. Perturbation occurs twice in the version of the treatise on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, signs arranged so as to mirror what the text describes, but rebus, the figural tableaux of monumental enigmatic texts, and thematic cryptography, are absent. With the exception of the texts in the lower register of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the cryptographic texts in these treatises are wholly enigmatic, without an intermixing of words in *Normalschrift*. There are occasional labels and Book of the Dead extracts, etc., not written in cryptography; these are more numerous on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, and all but absent in the composition on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

⁹⁴ *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 62-7; see also Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943): 287-305.

CHAPTER 3

THE SECOND SHRINE OF TUTANKHAMUN

The second of the four golden shrines which enclosed the sarcophagus of Tutankhamun is now Cairo Museum number 1321. This shrine, in the form of the *pr-wr* shrine of Upper Egypt, has enigmatic compositions on the two exterior long sides (plates 2 and 3). Piankoff discussed all four shrines in detail, and Drioton and Hornung briefly addressed the cryptography on the Second Shrine.¹ According to Piankoff, "the representations on both panels probably portray extracts from an unknown cosmological composition dealing with the creation and the refilling of the solar disk with fire during the night."² Comparing the writings of Heraclitus and Diogenes Laertius with the Egyptian treatise, Piankoff suggested that the souls of the dead rising up and following the sun are powers which refill and empower the sun during the night.

Hornung has interpreted the left portion of the second side as a closing scene.³ The closest parallel to the supposed closing scene occurs, however, at the beginning of the Corridor G Ceiling composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI, another of the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. This suggests that the left portion of the second side is at least to some extent another opening scene, corresponding to the right portion of the first side. The two scenes here interpreted as the opening scenes of the two halves of the composition (pl. 2 far right, pl. 3 far left) are in fact located at the end of the shrine in which the doors are placed. This conclusion regarding the presence of an opening scene for each of the two major divisions of the treatise on the Second Shrine is further supported by the ram-headed *b3*-birds in disks, traveling from left to right out of the leftmost portion of the second side; they begin their journey at the second opening scene. In spite of the elements of *perpetuum mobile*, Osiris above for night and the arm and disk of Re below for morning, the scene on the far left of the second side ultimately shows again the entry

¹ A. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon* (Cairo, 1952); A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (New York, 1955); É. Drioton, "La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhamon," *JEA* 35 (1949): 117-22; E. Hornung, "Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltsbuch," *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 13. W. Barta discusses this composition briefly in his *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitstexte für den verstorbenen König* (Munich and Berlin, 1985), pp. 52, 67-8, 128-30; Barta describes the text, which he terms the "Kryptograph," as: "Dieses uns nur fragmentarisch in zwei Abschnitten erhalten gebliebene Buch ist bisher nur aus dem Grabe des Tutanchamun bekannt geworden." On the shrines see also N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* (London and New York, 1990), pp. 100-105; on the construction signs on the shrines, see M. Bell, "Notes on the Exterior Construction Signs from Tutankhamun's Shrines," *JEA* 76 (1990): 107-24.

² Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 94. C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *The Life and Death of a Pharaoh, Tutankhamun* (New York, 1969), p. 262, reiterates Piankoff's summary of the content of the cryptographic sides of the Second Shrine.

³ E. Hornung, "Zu den Schlußszenen der Unterweltsbücher," *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 222-223.

of the sun into the Netherworld. The scenes on the second side do stress, however, morning and the end of the underworld, with the return of heads to the headless corpses (upper middle), the final destruction of chaos in the east (lower right), and resurrection (upper right). The east is also present on the first side, in the giant deity, but otherwise is not so ubiquitous as on the second side. The first side of the Second Shrine is in the style of the Book of Amduat and the Book of Gates, with an opening scene recalling the beginning of the Book of Gates, and a giant central figure of Re-Osiris, recalling the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX. The second side of the shrine is in the style of the "later" Netherworld Books—Caverns, Creation of the Solar Disk—and has an opening scene similar to the pair of scenes at the opening of the Corridor G ceiling composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI.⁴ The two sides are not, however, different treatises, given the parallelism of various elements on this shrine with the other versions of the Solar-Osirian Unity, the most conspicuous of these shared elements being the giant deity of the first side; the rising deities, inverted descending disks, and leftmost scene of the second side. Because elements from both sides find parallels in the other two Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, the two sides of the Second Shrine appear to form a single composition, and the side with the giant deity remains the first side.⁵ The treatise is thus divided into two sections, each consisting of three main divisions, recalling in its total of six divisions the overall layout of the Book of Caverns.

The enigmatic composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun consists of enigmatic annotations and texts, with a few *Normalschrift* extracts from the Book of the Dead interspersed.⁶ Most of these extracts are scattered about the first side of the shrine, the second side being composed almost entirely of enigmatic texts. The first side, divided as it is into two halves, suggests a reading from top to bottom in vertical sections, and then a move to the next section to the left. In the leftmost section on the second side (pl. 14), the parallelism is also between levels and not horizontal divisions, suggesting that one is to read from top to bottom. The remainder of the second side does not correspond, however, to this order of reading; in particular the similarity of the two groups of representations in the middle register

⁴ A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York, 1954), pl. 179.

⁵ The second scene of section B of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk incorporates a number of the major iconographic elements of the two sides of the Second Shrine in one scene. In the middle is a large standing, mummyiform figure, a disk within his breast. Before him are two uplifted arms, a female figure atop the rightmost hand, a human headed and torsos, snake tailed figure atop the other; a scene recalling the leftmost scene of the second side. Behind the central figure two uplifted arms support a ram-headed staff and a *wsr*-staff; a scene recalling the opening scene on the first side of the shrine. This is further support for treating both sides of the shrines as parts of a whole.

⁶ For the Book of the Dead passages, see H. Beinlich, "Das Totenbuch bei Tutanchamun," *GM* 102 (1988): 7-18; see also H. Guksch, "Totenbuchpapyrus vs. Grabbeigaben," *GM* 104 (1988): 89-90. For a mixture of Amduat and Book of the Dead motifs on Third Intermediate Period papyri, see A. Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989), pp. 192-211.

on the second side suggests a reading like that of the first hour of the Amduat.⁷ Consequently, the first side is read top to bottom in four vertical strips, these strips being read from right to left; the second side is read left to right, top to bottom, in horizontal strips.

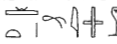
FIRST SIDE, WITH STANDING CENTRAL FIGURE OF THE SOLAR OSIRIS

This side (plate 2) is the beginning of the treatise, opening with a scene parallel to the initial scene of the Book of Gates, and ending in the lower left with the mysterious chest in the bowels of the Underworld. A horizontal tag precedes this first half of the composition, labeling the whole as a book of the Amduat (pl. 4A):

ntr nfr nb-t3.wy Nb-hprw-Rc s3-r3 n h.t=f mry=f nb-h'w Tw-t-nh-immn
hq3-iwnw-šm'y mry psd.t-3.t imy.t D3.t
ir.t.n=f m mnw=f n it=f Rc-Hr-3h.ty
ir.t n=f imy.t-D3.t.^a
msw.t Rc 'w^b ntr m iwgrt

The perfect deity, lord of the Two Lands, Nebkheperwre, the beloved, bodily son of Re, the lord of glorious appearances, Tutankhamun, ruler of the Upper Egyptian Heliopolis, beloved of the great ennead which is in the Dat:

It is what he has made as his monument for his father Re-Horakhty—
 the making for him of an Amduat,
 (namely) the birth of Re, and the tracks of the god in Igeret.

^a On the label (*t3*) *mq3.t imy-D3.t* as a heading to religious compositions, see A. Piankoff, "Quel est le «livre» appelé ?", *BIFAO* 62 (1964): 147-49; E. Hornung, *Die Grabkammer des Vezirs User* (Göttingen, 1961), p. 104, nn. 1 and 2, and the references cited there. For the formula *ir.n=f m mnw=f*, see L. Depuydt, "Of their Monuments they Made One for an Esteemed Colleague ...": On the Meaning of a Formulaic Expression in Egyptian," *LingAeg* 9 (2001): 83-122.

^b Understanding ' as the term for a track,⁸ the 'w being the roads on which Re travels in the Netherworld, these roads being likened to desert tracks.⁹ Also possible

⁷ See W. Barta, "Der Weg des Sonnengottes durch die Unterwelt in Amduat und Höhlenbuch," *GM* 100 (1987): 7-14.

⁸ *Wb.* I 159, 4; S. Schott, *Kanais. Der Tempel Sethos I. im Wadi Mia* (Göttingen, 1961), p. 141, n. 7. Schott reads ' *nb hnd.w hr h3s.t* there as "jeder Fuß, der durch die Wüste zieht," ' representing the foot.

⁹ Brief comments on the routes of the Netherworld compared to roads are found in C. Jacq, "Les routes de l'Autre Monde dans les Textes des Pyramides et les Textes des Sarcophages," in *L'égyptologie en 1979, Axes prioritaires de recherches* (Paris, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 27-30.

would be reading ʕ of *Wb.* I 158, 1, “Zustand, Befinden einer Person.” This requires taking the plural strokes of ʕ.w as haplographic, and supplying the plural of *ntr*, or assuming that plural was mistakenly left off. Alternatively, this could be “the actions of the god,”¹⁰ or less likely “the condition of the god” (*Wb.* I 158, 1), the single deity mentioned being Re.

FIRST SIDE, SCENE 1 (PL. 4B)

NAMES:

<i>Tp Rʕ</i>	“head of Re”
<i>ʕs.t</i>	“Isis”

In reading the name of the goddess Isis, Drioton and Hornung have interpreted the first *š*-sign as *s*, the second as *t*. The similarity of the orthography of this goddess’ name here and in Corridor G of Ramesses VI (pl. 15) might invite a comparison of the orthographies of the name of Isis in these two texts, and indeed the writing *st* in the Ramesses VI text might be taken as support of the Drioton and Hornung position. Although the *š*-sign as *t* is otherwise unattested, a possible route of substitutions could be charted through the signs of land and water to arrive at such a value. The path would be tortuous, however, and ultimately unnecessary.¹¹ Although the *š*-sign for *t* is otherwise unattested, the *š* for the island sign is not unexpected,¹² but is an example of the complicated and not uncommon interchanges possible between land and water signs. The *mr*-sign, with which the *š* sign often

¹⁰ For references to ʕ. “action,” see D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1 1977 (Paris, 1980-82), p. 54, no. 77.0544; *idem*, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2 1978 (Paris, 1981), p. 59, no. 78.0598. E.F. Wente also refers to A. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1960), p. 27 (ʕ in Kadesh Poem 332).

¹¹ One could suggest *š* for *n* (É. Drioton, “Un cryptogramme relatif aux Souffles de Vie,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* [Berlin, 1955], p. 46; *idem*, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 409), and *n* for *tʒ* (E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 1 [Geneva, 1979], p. 63; and probably for *n* for *tʒ* for *d* in A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division,” *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 78, 5; H. Grapow, “Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern,” *ZÄS* 72 [1936]: 28). The *š* sign could also be envisaged as acquiring a value *t* from *tʒ* through substitution with the *spʒ.t* sign (see J. C. Darnell, “Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu,” in B. Bryan and D. Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke* [San Antonio, 1994], p. 38 n. 19). Also not unimaginable, but equally unattested in the corpus, would be a derivation of the value *t* for the *š*-sign through substitution with the *iw*-island sign, given the value *t* from its use as a determinative to the word *t*, “bread,” which could be used in Late Egyptian as a writing of the feminine ending *t* (see *Wb.* V 211, 1).

¹² The island sign N 18 (≡) is attested with the value *š* in É. Drioton, in A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (Cairo, 1942), pp. 100-101.

alternates,¹³ can have the value *i* through substitution for the *iw*-island sign.¹⁴ This is based on the graphic similarity of the *š*, *mr*, and *iw* signs. Through substitution of the *š*-sign for the island results the use of the *š*-sign for *r* in the Cenotaph of Sety I.¹⁵ Taking the first *š*-sign in the name of Isis here as a substitution for the island, *iw*, and the second *š*-sign as *s*,¹⁶ a reading *iws* is possible. This corresponds to later writings of the name of Isis as *iwst*, in which the final *t* is a silent indicator of a weak final sound, the Coptic **HCE**.¹⁷

Nb.t-hyt “Nephthys”

The form *Nb.t-hyt* of the name of the goddess Nephthys occurs elsewhere, and in the enigmatic corpus the name is written similarly in the raised portion of the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 15).¹⁸ Here and elsewhere in this composition the feminine *t* ending is written as *t*, a writing not infrequently attested

¹³ Cf. the use of the *mr*-sign in writing *tp-š* in line 8 of the Nitocris Adoption Stele (see R.A. Caminos, “The Nitocris Adoption Stela,” *JEA* 50 [1964]: 82).

¹⁴ H.W. Fairman, “An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values,” *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 66; *idem*, “Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu,” *ASAE* 43 (1943): 237; R. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome, 1958), p. 13. From this use of the *š* for *i* derives the use of the two *š*-signs for *rr* in Caverns pl. 70, a play on the use of *r* for *i* and *vice versa* (ie. in *nṯi* for *nṯr* [so Caverns pl. 73, ll. 4-6]). The use of *š* as *r* is perhaps related to the use of the *š*-sign to write the eye above the seated deity in orthographies of *Wsir* (cf. pl. 34, second horizontal line of text in the hand copy [Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX]).

¹⁵ H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1 (London, 1933), p. 52, n. 1; see also Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 70, Osireion version of a text accompanying the scene of Geb in the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns, corresponding to the grasshoppers of the other versions, in *qrr.t*.

¹⁶ See also the name of the entity *šštš* in A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (Cairo, 1953), p. 39, n. 2.

¹⁷ W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965-77), p. 46; W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Leuven, 1984), p. 55b; on such orthographies see also J. Osing, “Isis und Osiris,” *MDAIK* 30 (1974): 102-7.

¹⁸ Form *Nb.t-hyt*: Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 140 (citing *GEG*, p. 493); attested later as well—cf. G. Maspero and H. Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1939), p. 42 (name of the mother [*Nb.t-hyt*] of the owner of sarcophagus 29310 [Onnophris]); similar enigmatic orthography: Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 179, right prostrate figure in bark in middle register; note also the orthography designated “sp” in *Wb*. II 233, 6 margin. On the orthography of *nb* here, see also A.-P. Zivie, *Hermopolis et le nome de l’Ibis. Recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en Basse Égypte*, vol. 1: *Introduction et inventaire chronologique des sources* (Cairo, 1975), pp. 59-60, n. *m* to doc. 6.

in texts composed in *Normalschrift* during the Ramesside period,¹⁹ and occurring sporadically before the Ramesside period.²⁰

ANNOTATION (PL. 4B)

nn^a m^b šhr^c pn

šp tp^d

sn m-ḥz^e=f

These are in this fashion,
the head lighting up,
they being around him (as protection).

^a The value *n* for the Red Crown is a common usage in the New Kingdom, in both enigmatic²¹ and *Normalschrift* texts,²² derived through the application of the consonantal principle from the word *n.t*, “Red Crown” (*Wb.* II 198, 4-8).

¹⁹ See W. Ward, “Late Egyptian ‘r.t: The So-Called Upper Room,” *JNES* 44 (1985): 333-335, and note also the use of the “full bread” writing of the final *ty* ending in *Dḥwty* as a cryptogram for the name of Thoth—see J. Parlebas, “Sur l’origine de la valeur *Dḥwty* de θ et la groupe θ dans les noms de personnes,” *GM* 15 (1975): 39-43 (the full bread writing of *t* occurs early—cf. H.G. Fischer, “An Eleventh Dynasty Couple Holding the Sign of Life,” *ZÄS* 100 [1973]: 21 n. 11). The use of \underline{t} as a feminine ending is probably unrelated to the use of the tall-*t* for the feminine endings of Semitic words (J. Černý and S. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* [Rome, 1984], p. 51), or the retained feminine ending supported by a suffix or other ending on a Late Egyptian word (K. Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum in Altägyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen* vol. 1 [Leipzig, 1899], §§292-3; see also J.C. Darnell, “A Note on ‘rb.t (and ‘rb/ Δ PHB),” *Enchoria* 17 [1990]: 87), as the enigmatic use of \underline{t} for final *t* predates all but the most sporadic appearances of these orthographic tendencies in *Normalschrift* texts. One should also note that by the Middle Kingdom final \underline{t} , like final *t*, had fallen away (G. Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache* [Glückstadt, 1960], p. 141, §270); both signs \ominus and \equiv might then be simply interchangeable in cryptography for writing final *t* or \underline{t} , as they were at Edfu in the Ptolemaic period (see D. Kurth, “Zum Schriftsystem,” in D. Kurth, ed., *Edfu: Studien zu Ikonographie, Textgestaltung, Schriftsystem, Grammatik und Baugeschichte* [Wiesbaden, 1990], pp. 66-70, and note that his examples of *t* to write final *y* are attested as a cryptographic device during the New Kingdom—cf. Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 12*, and Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 67, l. 3).

²⁰ Cf. C. Vandersleyen, “Une tempête sous le règne d’Amosis,” *RdE* 19 (1967): 136.

²¹ É. Drioton, “Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie,” *RdE* 1 (1933): 47; K. Sethe, “Die aenigmatischen Inschriften,” in the Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, and P. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9* (London, 1908), p. 11*.

²² During the late Twelfth Dynasty and during the Thirteenth Dynasty, the Red Crown often substituted for the normal water-*n* in such expressions as *n k3 n* and *ms.n*—see Z. Szafranski, “Some Remarks about the Process of Democratization of the Egyptian Religion in the Second Intermediate Period,” *Études et Travaux* 12 (1983): 57.

^b The *s3*-bird for *m* is an expression of the general interchangeability of the signs of birds in Egyptian enigmatic texts.²³

^c The cloth sign for the cloth *s*, an element in the more elaborate and complete sign, is another example of substitution.²⁴ *Shr* is commonly spelled *shr* in these texts.²⁵

^d The value *p* of the spewing mouth is common in Egyptian cryptography of the Eighteenth Dynasty and later periods, but the origin of this value remains obscure. Drioton argued that the spewing mouth acquired its value *p* through acrophony from a verb *psg*, “to spit” (*Wb.* I 555, 4-14), assuming that the ancient Egyptians would have designated the sign as “ce qui crache.” Fairman was properly uncomfortable with this derivation, but would only suggest a possible origin from a hypothetical

²³ A few examples of this use of G 38 from New Kingdom cryptographic texts are:






- as *b3* Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 110.
- as *m* *ibid.*, p. 110; Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 52, n. 1; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 70, 1-3; pl. 74, l. 8.
- as *w* Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 110; Drioton, “Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie,” *RdE* 1 (1933): 42; Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 52, n. 1; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 60, ll. 5 and 6; pl. 73, ll. 4-5.
- as *t* (from *tyw*) Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 413.
- as *3* Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 110; Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949): 120; Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 52, n. 1; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 60, ll. 5 and 7-8.

Three *s3*-birds can represent *m3w*: Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 52, n. 1, in *kkw-sm3w* in the lower right section of side 1 of this shrine (pl. 5 C), in the name *m3w-^c* in the lower left section of side 2 of this shrine (pl. 12), and in the name of the goddess *m3wtt* in the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic composition (pl. 24, l. 10). Three for *b3.w* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 60, l. 5.



G 1, normally *3*, is not commonly employed in these texts (a few examples are as *w*: Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 110; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*; Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949): 120; *t* (from *tyw*): Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, l. 3; *htm*: Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 [1983]: 34; *q*: *ibid.*, p. 34), but predominates in the Ramesses VI Corridor G texts as a replacement for other birds.

²⁴ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 47; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 424; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949): 119; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 24, 26-7; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 11*; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 34.

²⁵ On *h-r* > *h-r*, see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 225, additional note to §268, n. 401.

**p3i*.²⁶ Drioton in response pointed to a word *p3i* written , a variant of *p3i* , in a hymn at Medamud Temple.²⁷ Grdseloff²⁸ suggested that the hieroglyphic sign acquired the value *p* from the demotic word *p3/i*, “to spit”: “le mot *p3i* semble bien être un vocable tardif. Il s’agit donc d’un des rares exemples où le signe alphabétique est tiré d’un mot de la langue contemporaine de l’écriture ptolémaïque.”²⁹ Grdseloff assumes that the sign  for *p* can be characterized as Ptolemaic, and thus assumes that the origin of this value is at least roughly contemporary with the period of attestation of the demotic word *p3/i*. *P3/i*, “to spit,” is apparently not attested in the hieroglyphic language at all, and not before the Roman period in demotic; as the sign  with the values *p/pw* appears already in the Netherworld books, one cannot term the sign of the spewing mouth “Ptolemaic,” and Grdseloff’s proposal cannot be seen as a complete solution.³⁰ The normal mouth-*r* also has the value *p* in the texts in the enigmatic treatise of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI.³¹ This use of  for *p* shows that either the mouth in general could be associated with the value *p*, or that the enigmatic value *p* of the spewing mouth was so well entrenched in cryptography by the time of Ramesses VI that further substitution was employed—normal *r*-mouth for spewing mouth—in order to strengthen the enigmatic quality of the mouth-for-*p* equation.

A term *b3y* is attested in the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus and on the sarcophagus of Merneptah, which has the spewing mouth as a determinative, but



²⁶ Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943): 304; *idem*, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 82-3. One should note that the mouth from the side  for *p* is the origin of the use of the crocodile head with open mouth from the side  to write the toponym *P* in a late text, on which see P. Derchain, “Le crocodile et l’hippopotame,” *GM* 135 (1993): 27-29. Derchain described the symbolism behind this use of the sign, as a pendant to the hippopotamus head for *tp* writing the toponym *Dp* in the same text, but speculated that acrophony from *pth* might be the origin of the value *p* for the crocodile’s head.

²⁷ É. Drioton, “Procédé acrophonique ou principe consonantal?” *ASAE* 43 (1943): 336, n. 1, citing É. Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1925)*, *Les inscriptions* (Cairo, 1926), p. 117; Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 83.

²⁸ B. Grdseloff, “Deux remarques,” *Archiv Orientalní* 20 (1952): 482-4 (quotation from p. 484).

²⁹ W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 130; see also R.K. Ritner, “Gleanings from Magical Texts,” *Enchoria* 14 (1986): 98-9; P. Gaboda, “A P-Prefix in Egyptian,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 (1989): 99.

³⁰ As pointed out by É. Drioton, “Encore l’acrophonie,” *RdE* 10 (1955): 91-92.

³¹ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 179-80 (i.e., the spelling  for *pp* [from *pp*, “pass through, by, ‘visit’”] in the second line of text above the second disk, lower register [P. le Page Renouf, “The Royal Tombs at Biban-el-Moluk and ‘Enigmatical’ Writing,” *ZÄS* 12 (1874) 105 mentions this text]; the spelling  for *pn*, “this,” above the head of the ram-headed sungod in the serpent bark, middle register).

this appears unrelated to the origin of *p* for the mouth.³² Even if demotic *p*ꜥy is related to *b*ꜥy, the value *p* for the spewing mouth and the normal *r*-mouth occurs in cryptography already during the Eighteenth Dynasty, whereas a value *b* appears thus far unattested for the sign of a mouth in an enigmatic text. This absence of a mouth sign as *b* in enigmatic texts from the pharaonic period also speaks against a linking up of the value *p* for the mouth signs with the demotic word *b*, “oral cavity.”³³ The spewing mouth in New Kingdom cryptography can have the values *pw* and *pi*,³⁴ suggesting that the value *p* is derived by the “consonantal principle” from a fuller value *pw*. The Egyptian root *pj* (occurring in *wp.t* and *p.t*), suggesting “opening,” is perhaps related to the Akkadian *pi’um/pûm/pû*, “mouth.”³⁵ As a determinative for words relating to spitting and actions of the mouth, the sign of the spewing mouth, in contrast to the *r*-mouth, may be called the “active mouth.” The value *pw*—and the value *p* ultimately derived from the value *pw*³⁶—for the spewing mouth may originate in an otherwise as yet unattested masculine noun derived from the root *pj* designating the “open mouth,” similar to the Akkadian *pû*.³⁷

This suggested relationship between *p* for ꜥ and the root *pi* is little more attractive than assuming Grdseloff’s *pꜥy* to be an early word first written down only later. An alternative—simpler and thus more attractive and more plausible—

³² See J. Assmann, “Die Inschrift auf dem äusseren Sarkophagdeckel des Merenptah,” *MDAIK* 28 (1972): 62, text note 23 (spelled *bꜥy/bꜥw*); W. Ward, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-3* (Rome, 1978), §§ 278-80, pp. 139-41; *idem*, *ZÄS* 102 (1975): 64.

³³ R.L. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual, P. Vindob. 3873* (Leuven, 1993), pp. 92-3. Note, however, the writing ꜥ for ꜥꜥ / ꜥ in the P version of the divine name *tp-bꜥ* in A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts, sixième division,” *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 147, no. 8, which may be a Saite hieroglyphic attestation of the demotic term *b*.

³⁴ See Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 82-3.

³⁵ Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, §392 (p. 189) and n. 526 (pp. 189-90). On terms derived from the root *pj*, with the meanings “to raise, to differentiate,” see also W. Westendorf, “Die ‘Löwenmöbelfolge’ und die Himmels-Hieroglyphe,” *MDAIK* 47 (1991): 433-34.

³⁶ For the “dissimilatorischer Schwund” of the *w* following *p*, see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 49, §94.

³⁷ Gardiner suggested that a sign derived from the Egyptian *r*-mouth writes *p* occurs in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions (A. Gardiner, “The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet,” *JEA* 3 [1916]: pl. 2), but this does not appear to be the case (B. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet and its Development in the Second Millennium B.C.* [Wiesbaden, 1988], p. 128). For an Egyptian term for the mouth based on a root meaning “open,” similar to *pû*, Fecht (*ibid.*) compared Coptic πλειθε, from *pgꜥ*, “to open” (Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, 159a). For *pgꜥ*, “open,” used of the mouth, compare demotic *sp.ty-f pky bn-pw ir.t-f ti ꜥrmꜥ*, “his lips open but his eye unable to tear,” perhaps a reference to someone in the extremity of grief, who yet grimaces in a cry but has no tears left, in P. Louvre 2380 vs. 1, 11 (R.J. Williams, “Some Fragmentary Demotic Wisdom Texts,” in J.H. Johnson and E.F. Wente, eds., *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* [Chicago, 1976], p. 267; R. Jasnow, review of M. Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context*, *BiOr* 44 [1987]: 107; I thank Dr. Richard Jasnow for discussing this with me).

explanation would be to suggest that the mouth acquires the value *p* because this sound is a plosive bilabial,³⁸ *p* derived from the sound made when spitting. Fairman unhappily suggested acrophony as the origin of the value *p* for *ꜥ*; perhaps slightly less unlikely are the possibilities of the root *pi* and onomatopoeia. The working of onomatopoeia in the value *p* for mouth signs has little more evidence for it than the root *pi*, but perhaps requires less to be possible.

Through the interchangeability of serpents in cryptography, the many-coiled serpent in *tp* substitutes for the *ꜥ* cobra.³⁹ Through the collapse of the dentals, the *ꜥ* here represents *d*, standing for *t*, which is further reinforced by the cryptographic value of *tꜥ* for the horned viper (see p. 215 below).

^e Endless speculation would be possible for reading the signs in the second line of cryptic text in this scene (the hieroglyphs above the head of Isis), were there no parallel. As the signs are entirely set off from *tp*, the end of the upper line, these signs should form a separate section of the inscription. Piankoff's *stp=s sꜥ ꜥꜥ=f* is attractive, as this would be similar to the annotation *wnn=sn ꜥꜥ=k*, "they are around you (as protection)," written over the female personification of the Netherworld below. On the basis of the lower text, however, we might expect a reference to the activity of Isis and Nephthys above, not simply a reference to Isis alone (as suggested by Piankoff's *stp=s*).⁴⁰ On the strength of the parallel *wnn=sn ꜥꜥ=k* in the

³⁸ A possible further use of a sign for *r* with the value *p* is found in an enigmatic text in the mortuary temple of Sety I at Gurna. Drioton read a broken sign of a human head with a disk atop it as *p* in the area of the enigmatic text which should correspond to *šps* in the *Normalschrift* (ASAE 40 [1940]: 312-3). One might suggest *p<r<R<*, except for the fact that there is more space between Drioton's signs numbers 15 and 16 (add roughly the space of the last five upper verticals of the cloth sign [his number 14]), leaving the exact reading of the sign uncertain.

³⁹ For the many-coiled serpent for *f*, compare Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 43; *idem*, ASAE 40 (1940): 413; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, l. 1; *etc.* A late expression of the substitution of the many-coiled serpent for the *ꜥ*-snake occurs in demotic writings of *ꜥ.t*, "eternity," for which see N.J. Reich, "An Abbreviated Demotic Book of the Dead, a Palaeographical Study of Papyrus British Museum 10072," *JEA* 17 (1931): 89.

⁴⁰ The presence of Isis and Nephthys here recalls the group of Isis and Nephthys adoring the rising sun (see S. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna* [Cairo, 1982], p. 123; A. Radwan, "Darstellungen der Aufgehenden Sonne auf einigen Stelen der Ramessidenzeit," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 2: *Religion* [Göttingen, 1984], p. 825, n. 11). For Isis and Nephthys as the mountains of the Netherworld, see J.J. Clère, "Fragments d'une Nouvelle Représentation Égyptienne du Monde," *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 30, n. 1 and p. 31, fig. 1. In the scene of the united Re-Osiris worshipped by the two divine sisters in the tomb of Nefertari (G. Thausing and H. Goedicke, *Das Grab der Nofretari* [Graz, 1971], pl. 41), the god is on the *mꜥ*-socle; this is the deity as *ꜥry-Mꜥ.t*, the sun about to rise up between the horizon hills (B. Bruyère, "Neb-nerou et Hery-Mâat," *CdE* 27 [1952]: 36-42), there Isis and Nephthys. The use of Isis and Nephthys in the Netherworld, parallel to the personifications of the Netherworld, adoring an emblem of the setting sun at the

lower register, we may be justified in seeing here an example of the cryptography of “perturbation.”⁴¹ Drioton discussed this feature in the context of scarabs, a different and less well founded branch of Egyptian cryptography, and examples of perturbation in the longer enigmatic texts are not well known. An excellent example of perturbation in a private cryptic text from the period of Tutankhamun is from the late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Parennefer at Dra Abu-el-Naga. In the south thickness of the entrance, at the bottom of the wall, there is an enigmatic text, beginning with an address to Re.⁴² At the top of the second column of texts, the titles of the adoring man are given, beginning with the group in pl. 1E.

These are the titles $r-p^{\epsilon}.t \text{ } h\dot{z}.ty-^{\epsilon}$. In the first title, $r-p^{\epsilon}.t$, the serpent is for r , from the word r , “serpent,” *Wb.* II 393, 7-10.⁴³ The city determinative has the value p from P , “Pe.”⁴⁴ The value ϵ for the sign of the pustule 𐀓 (Aa 2) occurs in at least one cryptographic text from the New Kingdom: the palette of $Nhm-^{\epsilon}y$ in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. There, in cryptogram B 35,⁴⁵ the word $b^{\epsilon}h$, “to make profuse,” has the orthography $\text{𐀓} \text{𐀓} \text{𐀓}$, the pustule having the value ϵ . According to Drioton, this value is derived by means of acrophony from the word $^{\epsilon}n(\underline{d})$, “fat.”⁴⁶ The word $^{\epsilon}di$ “fat” is, however, $^{\epsilon}t$ in demotic.⁴⁷ Although according to Fairman’s rules a final \underline{d} could fall away, it did not weaken or disappear in $^{\epsilon}di$, and again, a violent sort of acrophony would be required to derive the value ϵ for the pustule from $^{\epsilon}di$.

When discussing the value ϵ attested for the pustule in Ptolemaic texts at Edfu Temple, Fairman suggested a connection with the word $\text{𐀓} \text{𐀓}$ occurring as an apparent hapax in P. Leiden 345, Vs. G 4, 1.3.4.⁴⁸ The *Wörterbuch* as well considers the word a hapax, giving it its own entry (*Wb.* I 159, 12). Fairman does not offer either a translation or an etymology for the word, and his suggestion may at first appear tenuous at best.

beginning of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, suggest an allusion to *perpetuum mobile* (see Ph. Derchain, “Perpetuum mobile,” *OLP* 6-7 [1975-76]: 153-61).

⁴¹ See with caution É. Drioton, “La cryptographie par perturbation,” *ASAE* 44 (1944): 17-33; see also B. Van Rinsveld, “Une cryptogramme d’Amon,” in C. Cannuyer and J.-M. Kruchten, eds., *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l’Égypte pharaonique et copte* (Ath, Brussels, Mons, 1992), pp. 263-268.

⁴² See the forthcoming publication of the tomb by Karl-Joachim Seyfried and Friederike Kampp in the *Theben* series. Note provisionally, F. Kampp, “Vierter Vorbericht über die Arbeiten des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg in thebanischen Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit,” *MDAIK* 50 (1994): 176-188.

⁴³ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 43; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 413; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*.

⁴⁴ Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 109.

⁴⁵ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 14-20, pl. 2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴⁷ W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 74, $\omega\tau$, $\text{OY}\omega\tau$ in Coptic (Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 295).

⁴⁸ Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943): 249.

In his publication of P. Leiden 345, Massart renders the word $\overline{\text{t}}\text{q}$ as “bad influence (?).”⁴⁹ The context in which the word occurs—three times—is “a spell directed against the hw which has established itself in the arm of a man.”⁵⁰ Twice (ll. 3 and 4) the ailment is addressed as $p\text{z} \text{ } ^\text{c} p\text{z} \text{ } \text{hw}$; in IX, l. 1, it is addressed as $p\text{z} \text{ } ^\text{c} p\text{z} \text{ } \text{hw} \text{ mwt}$ [mwt.t].⁵¹ In these passages, the unknown term $^\text{c}$ is equated with the hw -inflammation.⁵² According to Verso X 1, a bandage (wt) is to be applied to the afflicted area, along with a paste. A more useful synonym for $^\text{c}$ appears in Verso IX, 12: $n \text{ } \text{h}^\text{c} . n \text{ } \text{šfw} = k \text{ } \text{im} = f$ “Your swelling cannot stay in him.”

The suffix pronoun k refers to the disease, the $^\text{c} / \text{hw}$. Massart translates “Thy ... doth not stand in him;” he notes only “ $\overline{\text{t}}\text{q}$ is not given in *Wb.*”⁵³ Although written $\overline{\text{t}}\text{q}$ elsewhere in P. Leiden 345,⁵⁴ a reading $\text{šfw}(.t)$, “swelling,” provides a reasonable translation in Verso IX, 12,⁵⁵ and suggests an interpretation of $^\text{c}$.

$\overline{\text{t}}\text{q}$, with the pustule determinative, called šfw , “swelling,” suggests the word $^\text{c} \text{z.t}$, a general word for swelling.⁵⁶ In P. Berlin 3038 there is in fact the orthography $\overline{\text{t}}\text{q}$,⁵⁷ with $^\text{c} \text{z.t}$ written like the word $^\text{c} . t$, “limb,” HOY in Coptic.⁵⁸ This shows the weakening of the initial $^\text{c}$ and final t . $\overline{\text{t}}\text{q}$ is thus explicable as an orthography of $^\text{c} \text{z.t}$, “swelling.” An $^\text{c} \text{z.t}$ swelling is generally treated by burning or surgery;⁵⁹ however, the $^\text{c} \text{z.t}$ of the god Khonsu in Eb. 874⁶⁰ is *not* treated. The exact nature of a “swelling of Khonsu” is far from clear. The connection noted in P. Leiden 345 between the $^\text{c}$, the hw , and the dead suggest a special $^\text{c} \text{z.t}$, perhaps of the nature of the Khonsu swelling. In any event, the use of šfw , “swellings,” as a synonym for the

⁴⁹ A. Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345* (Leiden, 1954), pp. 107 and 108, n. 4.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 108, n. 5.

⁵² H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1961), p. 152.

⁵³ Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345*, pp. 108, 109 n. 21

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135; von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 2, pp. 848 ff.

⁵⁵ Bandaging (wt) is a common treatment for šfw.t (von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 2, pp. 849-50).


⁵⁶ Von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, pp. 123-28.


⁵⁷ H. von Deines, H. Grapow, and W. Westendorf, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte* (Berlin, 1958), vol. 1, p. 239; vol. 2, p. 186; H. Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert* (Berlin, 1958), p. 412.







⁵⁸ *KHWb* p. 47. That the word written $\overline{\text{t}}\text{q}$ is indeed to be read as $^\text{c} \text{z.t}$, “swelling,” is made certain by the parallel in P. Ebers 874 (*MT* IV 228; V 395): $\text{ššw} n \text{ } ^\text{c} \text{z.t} \text{ nt } \text{Hnsw}$.



⁵⁹ Von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, pp. 124 ff.

⁶⁰ Von Deines, Grapow, and Westendorf, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte*, vol. 1, p. 228.

ϵ suggests that  is indeed an orthography of ϵ.ʒ.t. The group pʒ ϵ pʒ ḥw should be understood as “oh inflamed swelling.” Thus the sign of the pustule could have acquired the value ϵ from the word ϵ.ʒ.t.⁶¹

In the second title, ḥʒ.ty-ϵ, the heart is ḥʒ.t through direct representation; the flesh sign () is for ḥ (or perhaps ḥʒ) from ḥḥw.⁶² The sign of the loaf represents the final ty,⁶³ misplaced in an example of perturbation so as to provide a visually chiasitic effect with flesh signs and loaves around the heart; the flesh sign is for ϵ, the arm.⁶⁴ This use of a complicated perturbation from a private tomb at Dra Abu-n-Naga dating to the late Eighteenth Dynasty suggests that a similar use of perturbation on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun is possible.

Reading the signs on the Tutankhamun shrine in the order  +  +  +  + , in a circular manner, the reading sn m ḥʒ=f is possible—“they being around him (as protection).”⁶⁵  for ḥʒ, also read by Piankoff (see above), is paralleled by

interchange of the signs  and  in non-cryptic orthographies.⁶⁶ This interchange is related to a more general substitution of three-pronged plant signs.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Note that the sign in B 62 in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 17 and 41 is almost certainly not an ear, as Drioton suggests, but rather a variant of the piece of meat for ϵ.

⁶² Attested by Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 42; for the single meat sign for ḥḥ see H. Satzinger, “Zur kryptographischen Beischrift eines ‘Gabenbringers’,” *GM* 86 (1985): 31-2. For the possible use of the meat sign for ḥʒ, compare the discussion in J. Osing, *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808* (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 144, n. 118; but for ḥʒty, “heart,” written as a heart supported by an ḥ and a t alone, see *Wb.* III 27 (top).

⁶³ Compare the use of the sign V 13 for both t (Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 [1983]: 34), and for ty (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 62, 1-3; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 91, l. 3 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 437).



⁶⁴ This value derived from ϵ.t, and attested by Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 42.

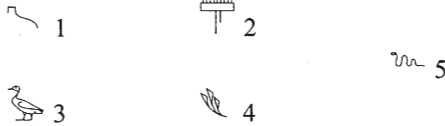
⁶⁵ For the construction, see W. Barta, “Das Personalpronomen der wj-Reihe als Proklitikon im adverbialen Nominalsatz,” in *ZÄS* 112 (1985): 94-104, specifically p. 100; the forms discussed by Barta are well attested in the Netherworld Books. For other terms for “protection” described as being “around” something, compare A. Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Behague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden, 1952), p. 81 (reference courtesy of Ms. Colleen Manassa).


⁶⁶ See P. Vernus, “La stèle C3 du Louvre,” *RdE* 25 (1973): 228, n. *ad* for Middle Kingdom evidence; and The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 3 *The Calendar, the “Slaughterhouse,” and Minor Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1934), pl. 140, l. 60 (and elsewhere in the calendar); A.R. Schulman, “The god Nḥj,” *JNES* 23 (1964): 279, n. 21, for New Kingdom examples; note also the hieratic similarities found in the archaic hieroglyph—see B. Grdseloff, “Notice sur un monument inédit appartenant à Nebwaḥ, premier prophète d’Amon à Sambehdet,” *BIFAO* 45 (1947): 178-80.






⁶⁷ Cf. ḥʒ for šʒ in the word šʒs—see Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 18; *idem*, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 2, l. 5; compare the odd, hieratic-derived form of the ḥʒ-plant in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 35, ll. 2, 4, and 7 (Third Division of the Book of Caverns); *ibid.*, pl. 40, l. 7 and pl. 47, l. 6 (Fourth Division of the Book of Caverns). The suggestion by Drioton (in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 99) that the value ḥ


The text describing the goddesses as being protectively arrayed around the *tp-R*^c is to be read in a circular fashion—verbal and pictorial capabilities of the script are merged.

Drioton proposed to read the group of signs  +  as an orthography of the word *itn*; he transcribed the entire text as *nn m shr pn šp itn msy=f*, translating “Ils sont ainsi: le Disque commence à naître (lit. ‘sa naissance’).”⁶⁸ Piankoff later read *nn m sh(r) pn šp tp stp=s s3 h3=f*, departing somewhat from Drioton’s rendering of the text, and coming closer to the proper reading.⁶⁹ For his new transliteration Piankoff gave no translation; apparently he read the five signs above Isis in the order:



If as seems likely he read the bird for *s3* for  *s3*, he understood “she/they making protection” (*Wb.* IV 339, 16-340, 6).⁷⁰ Shortly thereafter, Piankoff returned to Drioton’s understanding of the text, which he originally sanctioned, reading “They are like this: the Disk begins its birth.”⁷¹ Hornung follows Drioton except in the reading of the subject of the verb *šp*, translating “So sind diese beschaffen: sie empfangen die Sonne (*jtn*), (damit) sie (neu) geboren werde.”⁷²

The cryptic orthography of the first portion of the inscription, *nn m sh(r) pn šp*, poses no problems. Leaving aside for the moment the meaning of the verb *šp*, the reading of  as *itn*, “Disk of the Sun,” is odd. The orthography is unexpected,⁷³ and the manner in which the word would be divided up in the text is disturbing,  being so far removed from . The sign  is, in fact, the second element in the first word of a new line. The signs  are the final signs in the

for the sign  be derived through acrophony from *hn* is thus unnecessary and incorrect. For the *h3*-plant for the *hn*-plant, see A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts. 1^{er} tableau,” *BIFAO* 41 (1942): pl. 3, l. 5.




⁶⁸ In A. Piankoff, “Une Représentation rare sur l’une des chapelles de Toutânkhamon,” *JEA* 35 (1949) p. 114 and pl. VIII, IID (see also Drioton’s general study of the cryptography of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun in *JEA* 35 [1949]: 117-22).

⁶⁹ Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, fasc. 1, p. 30; fasc. 2, pl. 4.

⁷⁰ Piankoff’s reading may be considered possible if one reads *s < n >*, a writing of the third person plural suffix pronoun without the final *n* (W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten* [Berlin, 1962], p. 50, §84, 5 and n. 4).

⁷¹ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 122, fig. 41

⁷² Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 30; regarding his translation, Hornung notes only that “nach Drioton und Piankoff ist *jtn* Subjekt” (*ibid.* p. 30 n. 6).

⁷³ Compare the other spelling on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun:  =   pl. 5C, ln. 14 and pl. 13B, ln. 11.

first line of the scene, following *šp*. They make up the word *tp*, “head,” which appears with the orthographies $\textcircled{2}$ *tp* and $\textcircled{1}$ *tp.w* elsewhere on the shrine (pl. 9B, l. 2). The Ram-headed post is called *tp-R* “Head of Re,” and it is to this head (*tp*) that the *tp* in the cryptic text just above it refers.

Drioton, Piankoff, and Hornung agree that *šp* represents the verb *šsp*, “to receive, begin,” etc.⁷⁴ For this reading, compare the enigmatic orthography of *šsp*, “to receive,” in the middle left portion of this first side of the shrine (pl. 7B). Since *tp* is to be read, and the signs above the head of Isis are part of a separate line of text, *šp* with the meaning “to commence” (so Drioton) is not appropriate (one would be forced to assume that the text is incomplete, and the infinitive following *šp* lost). Taking *šp* as an infinitive “receiving” is possible (Hornung read “sie empfangen”), since *šsp* is used both in reference to the setting of the sun in the West, and the birth of the sun in the east.⁷⁵ A reference to the *šsp*-reception of the sun would, however, be more appropriate as an annotation to the sun disk traveling in the middle register, between the two posts. However, the annotation under discussion should—as does the annotation to the parallel scene below—refer to the scene of the goddesses adoring the sacred post, and not to the solar disk in the middle register.⁷⁶

An alternative is to read *šp* as a cryptic representation of the verb *šsp*, “to shine.” Such a reading could find support in a scene in the third register of the Second Division of the Book of Caverns,⁷⁷ wherein *tp* and *wsr* posts of the sun god are depicted, each with a solar disk before it. These disks could be both reading elements (“the head/neck of Re”), and an indication that the posts are luminous. A more appropriate rendering of the cryptographic annotation on the Second Shrine of

⁷⁴ The form *šp* of *šsp* is attested hieroglyphically, *Wb.* IV 530 (the form is there indicated as late), perhaps already by the time of the First Intermediate Period (see J. Allen, “The Funerary Texts of King Wakhare Akhtoy on a Middle Kingdom Coffin,” in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* [Chicago, 1976], p. 10). The word survives in Coptic as $\omega\pi\alpha$.

⁷⁵ Setting: *Wb.* IV 531, 10; birth: J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 202-3.

⁷⁶ The actor is unlikely to have been other than the goddesses. If one were to allow that the sun disk in the middle register, between the “head” of Re and the *wsr*-neck of Re, might be the actor, the annotation could then refer to Re receiving his “mysterious head” in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 115, l. 6):

iw h3.t-i tp-i m tpḥ.t-s šsp-i tp-i š3y

My corpse and my head are in her cavern, and I shall receive my mysterious head.

⁷⁷ Piankoff, *BFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 10 (within the niche). The posts also appear in the first division of the Book of Gates, with a different significance (E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, pp. 29-44). In N. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration* (New York, 1953), pl. 4 (south wall of the sanctuary [A]), in the middle of register 6 (=section 17 on p. 12 of the description of the plates), a god and two flanking goddesses are depicted within a disk, which rests on a large *šsp*-sign. This may be a parallel to what is depicted on the Tutankhamun shrine.

Tutankhamun discussed here is *nn m šh(r) pn šp tp*, “these are in this fashion, the head (of Re) shining.”⁷⁸ Grammatically, *sn m-ḥ3=f* is circumstantial;⁷⁹ if it stood alone, it could be expected to take the form *wnn=sn ḥ3=f*, occurring in the parallel scene immediately below as *wnn=sn ḥ3=k*.

The head is the ram head, and may also be a reference to the sun disk itself, presaging the equation of head and sun in Ptolemaic texts.⁸⁰ The pillars located in the upper and lower registers at the beginning of this treatise recall the opening scene of the Book of Gates.⁸¹

⁷⁸ A probable play on the words *šsp*, “to receive,” and *šsp*, “to shine,” is found in the first scene of the middle register in the fourth hour of the Book of Gates (scene 18; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 111); *špw pn n dbn m nṯr.w šsp=sn wī pr=l m tn m šty.t*, “this light be to those surrounded by deities, when they receive me as I go forth from this, from Shetayet.”

⁷⁹ See Barta, *ZÄS* 112 (1985): 101-102.

J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*, vol. 1 (Louvain, 1992), p. 367.

As noted by Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 31.

FIRST SIDE, SCENE 2 (PL. 4C)

NAMES:

Label to the *wsr*-pole:

Wsr R^c *Wsr*-Throat of Re

Label to the left goddess:

Dw3.t^a Netherworld

Label to the right goddess:

Smy.t^b Necropolis

NORMALSCHRIFT ANNOTATIONS:

Above the head of *Dw3.t*:

wnn=sn ḥ3=k

It is around you (as protection) that they exist.

Above the head of *Smy.t*:

ḥ3=k mi R^c r^c nb

May you live like Re every day.

^a The woman with hands raised in adoration is *dw3*, a graphic variant of A30, the standing man with his arms raised in adoration.

^b This name has been read by Drioton/Piankoff and Hornung as *Št3y.t*, and this is possible—compare the orthography of the name *Št3y.t* in the second sarcophagus from the left in the upper left section of this side of the shrine. However, as noted already, this opening scene of the enigmatic composition parallels the beginning of the Book of Gates. There, the two deities kneeling to either side of the *wsr*-neck of Re are named *D3.t* and *Smy.t*, “Netherworld” and “Desert.”⁸² It would be desirable to find those names here, and such readings of the enigmatic names are indeed possible.








Through the numerous interchanges of land and water signs, the *t3*-sign here can have the value *m*. The initial, lake-*ṣ* sign can have the value *s*.⁸³

⁸² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 4.

⁸³ Not from *st3t*, as Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 409.


Through the numerous interchanges of land and water signs, the *t3*-sign here can have the value *m*. The initial, lake-*š* sign can have the value *s*.⁸⁴ The flat sign which follows can have the value *m*, through the numerous and often complex substitutions of land signs for water signs.⁸⁵ The lake *š* can have the value *m* through substitution with the *mr*-sign, and can function as a substitute for the land sign N 23⁸⁶ The sign

⁸⁴ Not from *st3t*, as Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 409.

⁸⁵ A bewildering array of confusions and substitutions are possible, and these are not limited to cryptic texts. As an example, note the *š*-sign for the *sp3.t* sign is well attested for the First Intermediate Period: Fischer, *Denderah in the Third Millenium B.C.*, p. 95 and n. 424 (≡ for ); p. 149 ( for ≡, and vice versa). To Fischer's examples add the following: *sp3.t* is spelled with ≡ in the inscriptions of Ankhtifi (see Vandier, *Mo'alla. La tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep* [Cairo, 1950] p. 301). The *š*-sign for the nome sign is also found in K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1933) p. 46, l. 8. Further examples of ≡ for the  sign may perhaps be found in Siut III. H. Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut* (Glückstadt, 1937), p. 22, n. 41, reads ≡ in Siut III as "vielleicht nur eine graphische Variante zu "; the land sign is, however, clear elsewhere in this inscription (i.e.  = l. 10 [p. 44]). ≡ in lines 17 and 19 (p. 45) is an element in the orthography of the words *imntyw* and *iszbytw*, the "west" and "east districts" (see Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 32, no. 78.0334; so understood by W. Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben* [Wiesbaden, 1965], p. 79, citing Vandier, *Moalla.*, p. 200 [n. d]). In Ankhtifi and Siut III, ≡ in this context probably stands for  (or perhaps for  [A.-P. Zivie, "Les carrières et la butte de Yak," *RdE* 30 (1978): 153, n. 15]). In Siut III, line 18, we read:

tp-šm^c rdi.n=f n(=i) ≡ n rdi=i dmi=f

"The chief of the south gave me the ≡, for I did not let him reach(?)..."

If it is land which is yielded, ≡ here may stand for  (Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut*, p. 18, l. 18, translates "Land (?)"). ≡ could also be *š*, a portion of a waterway, either the main canal of an area (on this use see H. Brugsch, "Der Möris-See," *ZÄS* 31 [1893]: 19), or a portion of the river itself (Peasant B1.239; H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* [Vienna, 1913], p. 32, where *š wr* indicates the portion of the Nile between Philae and the Abaton; A. Gardiner, and H.I. Bell, "The Name of Lake Moeris," *JEA* 29 [1943]: 39-40); see also the watercourses mentioned in the Book of Gates, not *š* "lake," but "division of a watercourse" (see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 50-1 [n. 4]; Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben*, p. 79 reads "den See" in Siut III, 18, understanding [n. f] "das Hafenbecken ?"). Although these references are given in full in J.C. Darnell, "'Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu,'" in B. Bryan and D. Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology* (San Antonio, 1994), pp. 38-39, n. 19, they have been added here in full because of distribution problems involving that volume (G. Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* [Wiesbaden, 1998], vol. 2, p. 470, n. 1098 indicates that he was unable to obtain *Essays in Egyptology*).

⁸⁶ The sign *š* as *m*: attested in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 46; *š* as land sign: J. Vandier, *Mo'alla, La tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep* (Cairo, 1950), pp. 167, 301; H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy* (New York, 1979), p. 35; idem, *Denderah in the Third Millenium B.C.* (Locust Valley, 1968), p. 95 and n. 424, p. 149 (*š*-sign for the *sp3.t*); *Urk* I, p. 46, l. 8.

— (N 17) can have the value w ⁸⁷ through substitution for the island sign N 18. N 18 can itself have the cryptic value im ,⁸⁸ and can also alternate with the im -sign, which can have the values mi and im .⁸⁹ The idb -sign N 21 can also have the value m , derived apparently from mr .⁹⁰ Reading the land sign without the three pellets here for the iw -sign substituting for mr , a value m is possible, allowing a reading of the goddess' name as $sm̄.t$, "Desert."⁹¹ These interchanges of land and water signs may appear somewhat unstructured, but they are attested in cryptographic texts, and are explicable through the principles of substitution of kind (land and water), and graphic similarity. The names of the two goddesses adoring the wsr -pole are thus the same as those of their counterparts in the opening section of the Book of Gates— $D̄z.t$ and $Sm̄.t$.

The ram-headed ba -bird within the disk is the solar deity traveling within his disk; so in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the great god enters the Netherworld within the solar disk:⁹²

$\overline{p}.in\ ntr\ pn\ 3\ m\ itn=f\ m-h̄t\ spr=f\ r\ mr.w/\bar{s}.w\ \bar{s}t̄z.w\ \dots$

Then this great god enters in his disk, after reaching the mysterious domains...

⁸⁷ Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 108; Drioton, in *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 44.

⁸⁸ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 49.

⁸⁹ N 18 for mr —Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 409; mr as m —*ibid.*, p. 409; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933): 46; mr as mi —*idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 409; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 63, l. 6 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 348).

⁹⁰ The sign \overline{m} can alternate with the $t̄z$ -sign for purely graphic reasons (*ie.* Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 63; Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 108, n. 6); there may also be connection with the word $mry.t$, "riverbank" (J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* [Cairo, 1973], pp. 94-97; R. Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead* [Freiburg and Göttingen, 1986], pp. 79-82 *et passim*; *idem*, *JEA* 73 [1987]: 159; A. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina* [Leiden, 1990], pp. 219 (her doubts concerning Ventura's reading of $mryt$ as covering an area wider than the actual bank of the river in the Deir el-Medina documents are probably unwarranted—see Darnell in Bryan and Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, pp. 35-39 and n. 15 on p. 37).

⁹¹ Though rare, full writings of the word $sm̄.t$ are attested (*Wb.* III 444); a possible cryptic version of the more usual, abbreviated form of $sm̄.t$ perhaps occurs at the bottom of the first column of text from the right in the left-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI (Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 182; here pl. 30, left-hand text col. 5; for a discussion of the reading see Chapter 4, p. 273). A full writing may have been thought desirable here to avoid a possible confusion of an abbreviated form with $sp̄z.t$ (note S. Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, vol. 1 [Cairo, 1991], p. 16).


⁹² Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 16, ll. 5-6ff.; for the solar deity within his disk, see also M. Smith, *On the Primeval Ocean* (Copenhagen, 2002), pp. 120-124.

In order to express “Resident of the Disk,” Egyptian made use of the terms *imy itn*, “he who is in the disk,” and *nb itn*, “lord of the disk,” epitheta having reference to the nocturnal form of the sun, traversing the night in the womb-disk, to be reborn out of the disk in the morning.⁹³ The forms *imy itn*⁹⁴ and *nb itn*⁹⁵ are attested for Amun—Amun-Re, lord of the disk/inhabitant of the disk, the night-traveling sun god who makes transformations.⁹⁶ The god Amun seated within the disk of the sun is the *ba* of Re.


⁹³ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 39-40; on the solar disk at the beginning of the morning as the womb of the sun, see L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history* (Uppsala, 1986), p. 22; see also the forthcoming publication J.C. Darnell, “For I See the Color of his Uraei”: *Gnosis and Alchemy in Ramesside Egypt, and the Amarna Origins of the Concept of the Solar Sympatheia*.

⁹⁴ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 40 n. 6 (see also *ibid.*, p. 40 n. 9 for several examples of Amun depicted inside the disk of the sun in the solar boat, the pictorial expression of the epitheta *imy itn* and *nb itn*).

⁹⁵ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 40. In line 11 of graffito Medinet Habu 47 (Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti Facsimiles*, [Chicago, 1937], pl. 20), dated to year 15, the 21st of Payni, in the reign of Cleopatra and Caesarion, we read of a priest of *imn-m-ip.t-S.wt nb itny* (H.-J. Thissen, “Zu den demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu II,” *Enchoria* 3 [1973]: 38-39, l. 11; *idem*, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu* [Sommerhausen, 1989], p. 44).

⁹⁶ For the writing of the name of Amun in the Hibis temple in Kharga Oasis as  (Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*, vol. 3, pl. 33 [south wall of hypostyle M; middle register of the plate, top of l. 7]; H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum, Altägyptische Inschriften, gesammelt, verglichen, übertragen, erklärt und autographiert*, 6 vols. [Leipzig, 1883-91], vol. 4, p. 633, l. 7 [translation p. 675]; B. Van Rinsveld, “Une cryptogramme d’Amon,” in C. Cannuyer and J.-M. Kruchten, eds., *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l’Égypte pharaonique et copte* [Ath, Brussels, Mons, 1992], p. 267), Drioton (*ASAE* 44 [1944]: 21-22) read *imi n R^c* which he would render as “l’Habitant du Soleil,” a rebus for *imn*. Drioton’s *imi n R^c* is impossible in Egyptian—the indirect genitive should not follow the nisbe *imy*. Because Amun is *nb itn* and *imi itn*, it is reasonable to see in the Hibis hieroglyph a reference to Amun. It is a pictorial representation of Amun as known from elsewhere (see the examples cited by Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 40 n. 9), and is an elaboration of the use of the *n* “hidden” in an oval to write the name of Amun (see F. Daumas et al., *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d’époque gréco-romaine* vol. 3 [Montpellier, 1990], p. 470).

FIRST SIDE, SCENE 3 (PL. 5A):

The upper and lower section of the beginning of this treatise correspond to the upper and lower registers of the First Hour of the Book of Gates; the heraldic group may then correspond to the middle register of the First Hour. As in the beginning of the Book of Gates, so here, the solar deity does not possess a human body; in the first hour of Gates he is a scarab within a disk, here the ram-headed *ba*-bird within the disk. The groups of signs stretching out to the left of the disk are only partially enigmatic text, primarily they are representations of the course of the sun through the Netherworld. Below the groups of signs are zig-zag lines which recall the vertical beams of light pouring down from the various groups of sun disks and walking legs on the second side of this shrine, and are thus likely to be another comparison of water and light.⁹⁷ As such, they suggest the sign  (N4), and the word *šny.t*, “rain storm” (*Wb.* IV 502, 15-503, 4). The encircling and enchanting movement of the sun around the cosmos is often expressed through the verb *šni*, “to encircle;” the light/water is here likely to be a pun on the verb *šni*, “to encircle, enchant” (see further below, the discussion of the annotations to the large, central figure on this side of the shrine).


The first column of two squares of signs can be read:

- 1) *ʿq pr.t <m> ʿmn.t*
- 1) Entering and Exiting⁹⁸ the Netherworld
- 2) *ʿq^a ʿmn.t*
- 2) Entering the Netherworld

^a The arm over the walking legs is a writing of *ʿq*, the *q* and walking legs confused, here most likely the purposeful exploitation of a recognized confusion of signs for cryptographic ends.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ As in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 342e: “mon feu se répand, ma salive est brûlante sur ma bouche” (translation of P. Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire* [Paris, 1986], p. 553). See further below, the discussion of the goddesses performing *nini* with light/water in Scene 8 of the Second Side of the shrine (pp. 147-8).

⁹⁸ *Wb.* I 232, 1.

⁹⁹ This orthography of *ʿq* occurs at the end of the first column from the right on the exterior foot of the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV (the copy published by Lefébure, *Tombeau*, pl. 31, and reproduced by K. Myśliwiec, “La renaissance solaire du mort,” *Bulletin du Centenaire (BIFAO 81 Supplement* [1981]): 96, fig. 2 and E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* [Mainz am Rhein, 1990], p. 125, along with the photo in Hornung, *Königsgräber*, pl. 92, omits the bottom right corner of the sarcophagus, which has been restored); note also the unprovenanced writing  in E.A.W. Budge, *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary* vol. 1 (London, 1920), p. 138.

There remain six columns, twelve squares total. All groups include the sign of walking legs except for the middle column, which contains only two feathers, apparently writings of šw, "light." The walking legs are absent, suggesting a lack of motion, a standstill, apparently a reference to the standstill of the bark of the sun on the spine of Apep in the middle of the day and night, the ḥ^c of midnight and noon.¹⁰⁰ The column following that of the standstill incorporates the head and forelegs of a scarab, apparently an allusion to a change in solar manifestation near the time of the standstill and the battle with Apep. This *hpr hpr.w* is indeed attested for the sun when in the vicinity of Apep, and other potentially dangerous beings.¹⁰¹ The groups farthest to the left recall the opening line of the text accompanying the middle register of the enigmatic text on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22C, l. 1), apparently *iw R^c*, "Re comes." These groups appear to represent the twelve hours of the night, divided into six pairs recalling the six divisions of the Book of Caverns. They begin on the right, nearest the ram-headed *ba*-bird entering the Netherworld between the two posts; they end on the left, towards the immense central deity, who ultimately represents the eastern end of the Netherworld, the end of the night.

Exact readings of these groups are difficult to give with certainty, and the groups appear to be more heraldic than inscriptional. However, some readings may be proposed. 2A is perhaps *ḳ Šw*, "Shu entering," and 2B *iw Šw*, "Shu coming." 3A and B may be the same, the reversal of the walking legs recalling that between row 5 and rows 6 to 7, reversals of direction mirroring the *perpetuum mobile* of the sun. 4A and B are *Šw*, "Shu," but without motion, perhaps to be read <ḥ^c> *Šw*, "Shu <standing still>." 5A and B may represent *iw hprw Šw*, "the manifestation of Shu coming;" 6A and B and 7A and B are all the same, perhaps *iw itn Šw*, "the disk of Shu coming." Grammatically these heraldic groups may be examples of the *sdm=f* as a synchronous present tense, the concomitant use of the *sdm=f*.¹⁰² A more

¹⁰⁰ J. Assmann, *Re und Amun, die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (Freiburg und Göttingen, 1983), p. 78. For ḥ^c as a term for stars "standing," see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970), p. 32 n. 2; *idem*, *Grabung im Asasif* vol. 2 *Das Grab des Basa* (Nr. 389) *in der thebanischen Nekropole* (Mainz am Rhein, 1973), p. 61 n. a to T 14. See further the discussion of *ir ḥ^c* in Chapter 5, pp. 287-8.

¹⁰¹ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 167-8 (scene 27, Fifth Hour of the Book of Gates), vol. 2, p. 130 n. 4. See further the discussion of *hpr hpr.w* in line 2 of the second column in the rightmost annotation accompanying the *Schutzbild* in the Corridor G ceiling treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 30, and Chapter 4, pp. 238-40).

¹⁰² Some references to this are M. Gilula, "Coffin Texts Spell 148," *JEA* 57 (1971): 15; R. Hannig, *Die Schwangerschaft der Isis*, in *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath* (Hildesheim, 1990) p. 93 and n. 9; *idem*, "Zum mittelägyptischen Tempussystem," *GM* 56 (1982): 45-46; F. Junge, *Syntax der mittelägyptischen Literatursprache* (Mainz am Rhein, 1978), p. 101 (brief discussion of the "dramatic" *sdm=f* in the third example, Khakheperresoneb recto 11); and L. Žabkar, "A Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator at Philae," *ZÄS* 108 (1981): 147 n. 47, and 168-71 (note that *ini* means "to fetch," the *sdm.n=f* form meaning "to bring,"

probable example of this form of the verb occurs at the beginning of the middle register of the main portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22A and p. 191; *cf.* also the discussion of pl. 22C, l. 1, and p. 200). The verbs in the first two of these annotations, in the first column from the right, are infinitives, an observation that supports the reading of the other groups as circumstantial *sdm=f* forms concomitant to the action depicted, employed as labels.¹⁰³

see also *idem*, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae* [Hanover and London, 1988] n. 112, pp. 177-78).

¹⁰³ For the infinitive and the circumstantial *sdm=f* used as labels, see É. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System in Old and Middle Egyptian* (Geneva, 1986), p. 26 and nn. 131-132.

FIRST SIDE, SCENE 4 (PL. 5B)

NAMES:

Štzy, “the mysterious one”

The solar deity is *Štzy/Štzw*, “the mysterious one,” in the 52nd address in the Great Litany.¹⁰⁴ *Štzw* is the name of the fifth adoring, disk-headed being in the middle register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic composition (pl. 22B). Such names are a reference to the corpse as *Štzw* (see below, Chapter 5, pp. 289-93).

Imy-dz.t or *Imn.ty*, “he who is in the Dat” or “he of the West”

In the third litany to the sun, the solar deity in the Netherworld is called *imn.ty*, “he of the West;” the figure to the 27th address is called *imn.t*, “West.”¹⁰⁵ The sun is referred to as *imn.ty* on several occasions in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.¹⁰⁶

Iʿrw.ty, “he of the uraeus”

The sun god takes this name in the 22nd address in the Great Litany.¹⁰⁷ The name is there determined by two uraei, suggesting the enigmatic orthography here.¹⁰⁸

n-ḥr, “turned of face”

The use of the bird for *n* appears to derive from the use of the duck for *m*,¹⁰⁹ which itself could at times alternate with *n*.¹¹⁰ *n-ḥr* is the name of one of the

¹⁰⁴ E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* (Geneva, 1975-76), vol. 1, p. 59, vol. 2, p. 114 n. 141. This appellation is applied again in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 146. *Štzy* appears in the texts accompanying the scene of the ithyphallic deity in the tomb of Ramesses IX (F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX* [Cairo, 1907], pl. 92, sect. N; Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pp. 64-5).

¹⁰⁵ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 32 and 124, vol. 2, p. 128 n. 292.

¹⁰⁶ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 5, ll. 6, 7, and 9; pl. 6, ll. 1, 2, 3, and 5; see also pl. 6, ll. 2-3 and 5 (*pn-imn.ty*).

¹⁰⁷ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 27, vol. 2, p. 106 n. 63.

¹⁰⁸ In the Book of Caverns there is a cobra-headed female deity called *Iʿrw.ty* (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: 58 [pl. 78, l. 23], and pl. 66, l. 8; pl. 67, l. 6; in the text preceding the Sixth Division, Re addresses *Iʿrw.ty*: *idem*, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 80, l. 6; pl. 97, ll. 7 and 8; pl. 99, l. 1).

human-headed haulers of the solar bark in the concluding scene to the Book of Caverns.¹¹¹ In the second scene in the second register of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns, a deity *ʿnn-ib*, called *ʿnn-hr* in the Petamenope version of the scene, is one of two beings who charm the *nik*-serpent for Re.¹¹²

ʿpr-hr, “he provided with a face”

Drioton¹¹³ reads the entity’s name as *Ḑd3-hr*, which would mean “fat of face.” According to Drioton the spewing mouth can have the values *t* and *d*, in Eighteenth Dynasty and Ptolemaic cryptography.¹¹⁴ Drioton cites several examples of the spewing mouth having the value *t* in the Eighteenth Dynasty private enigmatic texts which he there discusses, but gives no example of the sign having the value *d*. Later, when discussing the cryptic writing on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Drioton gives the spewing mouth the value *t* > *d*, in this name (his IIa, 5). Despite the fact that Drioton gives no example of the spewing mouth with the value *d* in the Ptolemaic period, such would not be unexpected, the dentals long having fallen together by that time.¹¹⁵ Interchange of the dentals could also be allowed for the

¹⁰⁹ I.e. Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 42.

¹¹⁰ Birds have the value *n* in cryptography (cf. Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 413; Sauneron, *L’écriture figurative*, pp. 140-141; Fairman, *ASAE* 43 [1943]: 225) based on the interchange of *m* and *n*; for this interchange, see E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 1 (Rome, 1955), pp. 54-55, § 123; Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, p. 27, § 43, 6).


¹¹¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 46.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 32, pl. 148, no. 21. In the first scene in the third register of the Fifth Division, a punished enemy of the sun is called *ʿnn-hr* (*ibid.*, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: 57, pl. 78, no. 22). The name also suggests *M3-h3-f* (D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten* [Glückstadt, 1976], p. 29; Book of the Dead chapters 99 [Intro. §S 2-9] and 153 [§S 1] of the Book of the Dead), and *Hr-h3-f* (chapters 125 [§b S 27] and 153 [§S 4] of the Book of the Dead). In keeping with the solar context one might also compare the *3sb hr pr m h3ht*, “burning of face who came forth going backwards,” one of the seven blessed in § S 13 of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead (E.A.W. Budge, *Book of the Dead* vol. 1 [London, 1898], p. 59 l. 8).



¹¹³ *JEA* 35 (1949): 118 (and p. 114, in the article by Piankoff in the same number of *JEA*).

¹¹⁴ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 39 (no. 43). For the value *d* for the spewing mouth in Ptolemaic usage, the Montpellier sign list (F. Daumas et al., *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d’époque gréco-romaine* vol. 1 [Montpellier, 1988], p. 161) cites only the above mentioned Drioton reference.






¹¹⁵ Compare Δ for *t*—Sauneron, *L’écriture figurative*, 8 p. 187 [#377]; Δ for *t*—*ibid.*, p. 128 [#76] (According to J. Vergote, *Grammaire copte*, vol. 1b: *Introduction, phonétique et phonologie, morphologie synthématique (structure des sémantèmes), partie diachronique* (Louvain, 1973), §§17-19, the collapse of *t* and *d* in Egyptian, apparently complete in Demotic, occurred sometime between the New Kingdom and the Saite period. See also A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1933), §54, p. 25; Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 7 (§1.11); Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 78-79, 95. The examples given by E. Edel, “Zwei ägyptische Ortsbezeichnungen,” *Or.*






cryptic signs, and is attested on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun.¹¹⁶ For  to have the uncommon value *d* here, however, *Dd3-ḥr* should be the only possible reading of the enigmatic name;¹¹⁷ it is not.










A name *Dd3-ḥr* is unattested in the Underworld Books, although the appearance of the deity's head may suggest a name "fat of face." However, on the other side of the shrine, the middle row of mummiform deities in the upper register has "fat" heads portrayed in front of the headless "mummies." The heads have the labels *tp-Ḥr*, *ḥr-Ḥr*, *wsr.t-Ḥr*, etc.—their names have nothing to do with their "full" appearance.

The spewing mouth is not attested for the value *t* or *d* from the early cryptic corpus, although such values are not inconceivable.¹¹⁸ If  has here its more usual value of *p*,¹¹⁹ then another name is possible.  can be given its normal value *ʿ*, as in the enigmatic name immediately preceding the one in question on the Tutankhamun shrine—*ʿn-ḥr*. Reading *ʿp* for the first two signs, and assigning the


48 (1979): 88-89, of two foreign toponyms for which Thutmoside *t* is replaced by early Ramesside *d*, appear to represent attempts by the Egyptian scribes more correctly to represent the native pronunciations of the toponyms (see Vergote, *Grammaire copte*, vol. 1b, pp. 18-19 [§19]). This suggests that the *t* and *d* were not at that time entirely collapsed in Egyptian; or, that is, at least the former distinction between *t* and *d* was correctly understood by the scribes of the time.

¹¹⁶ On the second Tutankhamun shrine:  for *t* < *di* (see Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 [1983]: 34),  as a writing for *tp*,  for *⊖* for *⊖* (upper right corner, in *šp tp*; see also É. Drioton, "Amon, refuge du coeur," *ZÄS* 79 [1954]: 9; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 [1936]: 29 [ for ]).

¹¹⁷  for *d* is possible ( for *d*;  treated as a variant of  is attested—Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 39; collapse of *d* and *d̥* is acceptable for the New Kingdom—J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 790-792; Vergote, *Grammaire copte*, vol. 1b, §22).  for *z* is also conceivable, but not attested elsewhere in the cryptographic texts of the Solar-Osirian Unity.











¹¹⁸ Through hieratic confusion the mouth *r* could appear for *t*, but there is otherwise no evidence of this value being passed on to the spewing mouth in pre-Late Period cryptography. According to É. Drioton, "Plaques bilingues de Ptolémée IV," in A. Rowe, *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria* (Cairo, 1946), p. 101, the sign  acquires the rather uncommon value *t* through acrophony from  (Demotic *tp*, Coptic *τωπε*), assuming that the mouth would be called "that which tastes." Such an origin of the value *t* for  seems unlikely, and is in fact unnecessary; there is a more reasonable explanation. A certain amount of confusion was possible in Late Egyptian hieratic between the signs , , , and  (see A. Gardiner, "The Transcription of New Kingdom Hieratic," *JEA* 15 [1929]: 54). For example, the word *d3iw* is not infrequently written as though it were to be read *rw*, beginning with  (J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* [Leiden, 1975], pp. 265 [and n. 61], 267 [n. 76]). Perhaps this is in fact the origin of the value *t* for , or at least a contributing factor.

¹¹⁹ See Grdseloff, *Archiv Orientalní* 20 (1952): 482; C. De Wit, "Some Values of Ptolemaic Signs," *BIFAO* 55 (1956): 116, n. 1


















value *r* to the sign ¹²⁰ the name can be read as *ʿpr-ḥr*, as Hornung has proposed,¹²¹ a name attested in the *Amduat*.¹²² The reading *ʿpr-ḥr* is more certain than the reading *Dd3-ḥr*, for *ʿpr-ḥr* is a name attested elsewhere. The possibility of an alternate reading of the name alone is enough to cast into doubt this supposed Eighteenth Dynasty example of the uncommon value *d* for the sign.

Hs3.ty, “he of the wild (face)”

This lion headed entity precedes *miw.ty*, “cat-shaped one,” and recalls in its appearance the lion *miwy* on the second side of the shrine (pl. 13A), there parallel to a cat *miwy* (pl. 9B). In the fifth scene in the second register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, a crocodile headed entity called *hs3* unites with *pn-Hpny* is called *hs3*.¹²³ This suggests a personification of the eye of the sun, and recalls the epithet of Amun-Khepri in Chapter 163 of the Book of the Dead as

¹²⁰ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 44; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 24 ($j > r$ in *nṯr* ); Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 69 (Book of Caverns, writing of *nṯr*); *contra* Drioton, the sign  does not acquire the value *r* through acrophony from the word *rnpyt*, but rather from its use as *i*. In *nṯr*, the final *r* is weak (Coptic **ΝΟΥΤΕ**), so in writings of *nṯr*,  actually stands for the reed leaf (compare the orthography of *nṯr* as  in the tomb of Ramesses VI; for the reed leaf used to represent final *r* in other words, see *ZÄS* 72 [1936]: 28). By extension from the use of  /  to represent final *r*, the reed leaf  can stand for the preposition  (E) in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 90, l. 4 (enigmatic ) and l. 6 (Normalschrift ) = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, pp. 435-36.

¹²¹ Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 30; Hornung (p. 30 n.7) rightly termed Drioton’s translation “unnötig kompliziert.”

¹²² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 181 (#754) = Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. III, p. 751. In the Ramesses VI version, the name is written    , with  for . A use of  for  is attested, originating in the similarity between the two signs in Hieratic (De Wit, *BIFAO* 55 [1956]: 116-117). the face can itself be used simply for  (Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 38; Fairman, *ASAE* 43 [1943]: 217 [#113a]; *idem*, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: 75; Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 1, p. 144 [E 17]).  for  is the origin of the writing    (note that in Demotic *ḥr*, **Ⲭⲓ**, “upon” [Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 319-324], could be written as  or  –  alone [see for example Graffito Medinet Habu Nr. 47, l. 2]; regarding the apparent abbreviated writings of *ḥr* “side” cited by Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 318, and the proposed meaning “region” for *ḥr*, see H.-J. Thissen, “Zu *P3-ḥr-n-imn* = *Ποανεμοῦνις*,” *Enchoria* 1 [1971]: 75-78, and P.W. Pestman, *Receuil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, vol. 1 [Leiden, 1977], p. 76 n. 19).

¹²³ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 51. The head of a group of punishing demons is called *hs3-ḥr* in chapters 163 (§S1) and 164 (§S2) of the Book of the Dead. For this name compare also the entities *ḥ3y.w-ḥr.w* in the second scene in the third register of section A of the Creation of the Solar Disk.

hs3-dfd, “fierce of pupil.”¹²⁴ In the Book of the Day is a deity whose name may be *hs3.ty wr hk3*, also called *miw wr (?)*.¹²⁵

Miw.ty, “cat-shaped one”

This is the name of the solar deity in the 33rd Address in the Great Litany.¹²⁶ In the vignette to the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead, the solar deity as *miw-3*, “the great tom-cat,” slays the serpent Apep.¹²⁷ The gatekeeper of the final portal of the Netherworld in the Book of Gates is also called *miw.ty*.¹²⁸

Iʿry, “ascending/approaching one”

In the Eleventh and Twelfth Addresses of the Great Litany, the solar deity is one who draws near to things; the verb used is *iʿry*.¹²⁹

Eleventh Address:	<i>iʿry r qrr.wt</i> Who draws near to the caverns
Twelfth Address:	<i>iʿry r sšt3 inpw</i> Who draws near to what Anubis has hidden

The head of the entity on the Second Shrine suggests the figure to the 53rd Address to Re, *wbn-3b*.¹³⁰ The choice of this head for the deity *iʿry* is perhaps a pun on the word *ʿry*, “horned animal.”¹³¹ On the left side of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI entities labeled *ʿry* (pls. 15-16; pl.

¹²⁴ Compare also the deity *nh3-hr* in the fifth address in the Nu version of the Profession of Innocence in chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead.

¹²⁵ Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 7 (and n. 1). In the first name, reading the water sign as a dental causes no problem (— as *t3* = Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 63; as *d* = Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 68, l. 5), but Z 11 as *hk3* is otherwise unattested.

¹²⁶ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 38; vol. 2, p. 109 n. 93. There are also deities *miw.ty* in scene 100 of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 402, vol. 2, p. 286), and in the fourth register of the Fourth Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: 40 and pl. 48, l. 7).

¹²⁷ H. Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet* (Leiden, 1991), p. 38; J.-P. Corteggiani, “La «butte de la Décollation», à Héliopolis,” *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 145-147.

¹²⁸ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 402, vol. 2, p. 286 (scene 100, end of the lower register of the Twelfth Hour).

¹²⁹ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 16-7, vol. 2, p. 103 n. 42.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* vol. 1, p. 61.

¹³¹ Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, pp. 67-8, no. 77.0692, noting H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II: The Orientation of Hieroglyphs Part 1. Reversals* (New York, 1977), p. 129 and n. 429, who comments on the variant *ʿry* for *ʿr*.

17A and B, Chapter 4, p. 165) hold solar disks and are further representations of this solar *ỉꜣꜣ*.¹³²

ANNOTATION (PL. 5B):

nn n ntr.w m šꜥꜣ pn

m qr(r).wt=sn imy.wt^a Hꜣꜣ(t) b

wnn hꜣ.t (?)^c=sn m kkw^d

These gods are in this fashion

in their caverns which are in the Upper Region:

It is in the darkness that their corpses(?) exist.

^a The sign F 27 has the value *im* in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 16, this use of the sign a *pars pro toto* substitution for the *hn*-sign, which appears elsewhere with the value *imy*. This value of *hn* originates in a “monogrammic” writing of *m-hnw*.¹³³

¹³² In the company of the punishing lion- and cat-faced forms of the sun, the name *ỉꜣꜣ* on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, written with two staircase signs may play on the word *ỉꜣ* for stairway (*Wb.* I 208, 3), and suggest the Judgment Hall of Osiris, the deity as “he of the stairs (of judgment)” (for such a play on words in the seventh litany to Re, see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 141 n. 459). There are also deities *ỉꜣꜣ* and *ỉꜣꜣ-wꜣꜣ.t* in the Book of the Day, written as though “horned animal/gazelle” (see Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 7 [and n. 8] and p. 11); as one is lion-headed (suggesting solar connections), the use of the determinative is probably playful. The second example, *ỉꜣꜣ.t wr.t*, is in the company of *bꜣ nkw n Hr-wꜣꜣ, Hr-šꜣꜣ, bꜣ nkw n Rꜣ*—the entity is definitely solar. This is perhaps the being depicted by a wooden figure in the British Museum (EA 50703 said to be “probably from the tomb of Horemhab”—for an image, see E.R. Russmann, *Eternal Egypt* [London, 2001], p. 159), a horned, animal-headed demon housed in a case containing similar figures, at least some of which derive from the tomb of Ramesses I (J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings* [New York, 1981], pp. 65-6; N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings* [London, 1990], p. 91 and n. 6 [p. 99]). On the exterior foot end of the sarcophagus of Tadipakem, CCG 29316 (Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, vol. 2, pp. 108-109, pl. 32), a variant of the opening scene of the Litany of Re is flanked below by an antelope head facing out to each side. The beings of the upper scene are described as the *hnꜣꜣ*-crocodile and the *wꜣꜣmmw*-serpent (the published copies are somewhat faulty; they were collated by the author in the Cairo Museum in September, 1994); both are said to be guardians of the portals of the Netherworld. The *ỉꜣꜣ*-antelopes are thus associated with the edges of the Netherworld, and with beings protecting these liminal areas.

¹³³ Cf. A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 1, p. 54j; vol. 4, p. 124f; vol. 5, pp. 339b, 364e, 367c, etc. On the origin of the value, see R.O. Faulkner, “Abnormal or cryptic writings in the Coffin Texts,” *JEA* 67 (1981): 173, and already P. le Page Renouf, *ZAS* 12 (1874): 102.







^b Piankoff, Drioton, and Hornung read this group as *Dz.t*. The name should be the same as that of the first mummiform figure from the left in Scene 7 of this side:



The lack of the final *t* in this suggested writing of *dz.t* would not be disturbing,¹³⁴ but Drioton's derivation of a value *tz* for the road sign here, through interchange with a land sign (he suggests N23),¹³⁵ is not paralleled elsewhere in religious or secular cryptography.¹³⁶ Similarly, his assumption of a value *t* for the final plant sign is inconsistent with the enigmatic syllabaries in vogue during the New Kingdom,¹³⁷ and at variance with the spelling of the similar name of the first


¹³⁴ Cf. P. Leopold II, 2.8 (there used for the substructure of a pyramid, into which thieves tunnel and through which they gain access to the burial chamber [J. Capart, A. Gardiner, and B. van de Walle, "New Light on the Ramesseid Tomb-Robberies," *JEA* 22 (1936): 178; N. de G. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (No. 82) (London, 1915)]).

¹³⁵ Repeated by Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 34.




¹³⁶ Of the group  in a copy by Gunn of the inscriptions on stele Neuchâtel 428, J. Malek, "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqâra," *JEA* 74 (1988): 128-129, pl. 20, reads *r* "to ascend," suggesting " presumably for  of *ir*" (p. 129 n. i). Rather than an actual interchange of the signs, this could be simply an omission of the plants of the road sign, due either to the ancient carver, the modern copiest, or erosion (the portion of the stele in question is now much damaged). Málek's reading *ir* is itself not certain, requiring the insertion of an *n* not present on the stele after . Van Dijk suggested the reading *r-gs* to Málek, taking the copied  as ; this reading is to be preferred. In any event, this is hardly an example of a substitution of the canal sign for the road sign.


¹³⁷ É. Drioton, "La stèle d'un brasseur d'Héliopolis," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 20 (1938): 234, n. 4, read the second plant sign in the name *itny.t* as *t* (see Chapter 4, pp. 220-2), but the parallel from the Tutankhamun shrine suggests that the final *t* is lost, and the two plant signs stand for the two reed leaves. Note that in the text of the stele which forms the subject of Drioton's article, the plant sign stands not for *t*, but for *mz'-hrw* (for the plant as *mz'-hrw*, see B. Gessler-Löhr, "Zur Schreibung von *mz'-hrw* mit der Blume," *GM* 116 [1990]: 25-43; for the plant *mz'-hrw* not necessarily indicating death, see K. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* [Wiesbaden, 1985], vol. 1, p. 55, n. 45). The lotus could have the value *t* at Esna (S. Sauneron, "Remarques de philologie et d'étymologie (en marge des textes d'Esna)," in *Mélanges Mariette* [Cairo, 1961], p. 237; *idem*, *L'écriture figurative*, pp. 90-91 and 155 [no. 202], probably derived from the use of the bloom as *mz'-hrw*, with an appearance similar to that of *t*, and often used after the names of women). Based on Drioton's proposed value *t* for the plant sign in the text on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Hornung, *Das Buch von den*





Pforten des Jenseits, vol. 2, pp. 37 and 38 n. 3) has suggested reading  in the text of the second scene in the first hour of the Book of Gates (*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 5) as *dz.tyw*, "Unterweltliche." Hornung notes that the text in Pedamenope gives *hnt.yw*, "was (according to Hornung) keinen Sinn ergibt." This could, however, refer to the denizens of the first chamber of the Netherworld, the *hnt*, and deities *hnt.yw*, residents of this chamber, are mentioned in the 73rd Address in the Litany of Re (Hornung, *Das Buch der*

goddess from the left in the upper left of this side of the shrine. One could propose a phonetic value *t* for the road sign, derived from its use in writing the word *t3y/ty/dy*, “here,”¹³⁸ and a spelling of *d3.t* as though it were the word *t3y*, “here,” is attested.¹³⁹ The road sign for *d* or *t* or *d3.t* is, however, otherwise unattested in New Kingdom cryptography. Another reading is possible, however, a reading for which the sign values and word orthographies find parallels elsewhere in the cryptic corpus; such a reading is also better as a parallel contrasting with the designation of the lower area as *htmy.t* (lower right annotation).

In the tomb of Ramesses IX, the road sign has the value *hr* for  in the word *hry.t*, “the upper region,” the *d3.t hry.t* and the sky of the upper world. Reading the sign  in this annotation as *hr* for , the group in question can be read as *hry(.t)*.¹⁴⁰ This would be an occurrence of the term *hry.t*, “Upper Region,” perhaps

Anbetung des Re im Westen, vol. 1, p. 82, vol. 2, p. 121 n. 202; see further pp. 421-24). For the lotus as *hni*, see Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 2, p. 410 no. 325, and compare p. 406 no. 231. E.F. Wente (personal communication) has suggested a possible reading *nfr.tyw* for the Book of Gates term (for the lotus as *nfr*, see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 344), a reference to the dwellers of the Netherworld as denizens of *nfr.t*, a term for the Underworld attested once in the Amduat (*Wb.* II 261, 12; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, 84, bottom (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 417); *idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 100). The always conceivable use of the reed leaf for *t* through hieratic confusion with the tall-*t* is not found in New Kingdom cryptography (see Drioton, *SASAE* 2 [1946]: 105), although non-enigmatic confusions do occur (this is the origin of  for *d* in *wdn* in *Wb.* I 392, 9 [cited by Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 2, p. 418, no. 467]). M24 and M13; M28 and M 16 as writings of *t3.wy* (Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 410) do not appear ever to have lead to a value *t* for any one of the members of the groups (the single apparent occurrence of the value *t* for the *wq* sign at Edfu, which Fairman, *ASAE* 43 [1943]: 232, no. 215, derived from *wq* > *wt* > *t*, may actually be *wq* for *wt* [the occurrence is in the word *msw.t*, “brood,” of *Wb.* II 140, 11-13, where the plant sign may represent *wt* just as well as *t* alone]). The *tr*-sign (M 6), though used for *tr* in *ntr* in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 1, p. 20a (Faulkner, *JEA* 67 [1981]: 173), does not appear to have been used for *t* in the New Kingdom enigmatic corpus (examples in later monumental cryptography based on a confusion of *tr* with the *rnp.t*-sign are found in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 410).

¹³⁸ Compare the orthographies  in J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Brussels, 1939), p. 22, l. 2 and p. 43, l. 3, and  in *ibid.*, p. 42, l. 15 (on *t* for *d*, see Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, §54, p. 25; Vergote, *Grammaire copte*, vol. 1b, §§17-19; Edel, *Or.* 48 [1979]: 88-9).

¹³⁹ In F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, vol. 2 (London, 1905), pl. 17, l. 20, there is a pun on *ty.t* (𐛥𐛏), “underworld,” and *ty* (𐛥𐛏), “here.” Note also that hieroglyphic *t3 d3r.t* corresponds to demotic *dw3.t d3r.t* in G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg* (Leipzig, 1913) pp. 42-3; p. 90, no. 154; p. 63*; see also Chapter 5, pp. 314-5 n. 177.

¹⁴⁰ This is *hry.t* with the final *t* omitted, parallel to *hr.t* without the final *t* (see P. Vernus, review of the Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu* vol. 1 *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, in *JEA* 70 [1984]: 164 [= The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1: *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court* (Chicago, 1979), pl. 9, l. 6; pl. 90, l. 12]).

a shortened form of *d3.t hry.t* (the full form appears in the Book of Caverns, in the Book of the Day and the Night, and in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk; the shortened form found here occurs in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, and in the enigmatic composition in the tomb of Ramesses IX).¹⁴¹ A reading *hry.t* here is consistent with the position of the gods described, they being in the upper register of the scene. Their feet are in fact on a level with the *p.t* sign above the disk of the ram-headed *b3* of the sungod. This register is at the level of the head of the Re-Osiris figure at the center of the scene, this location further supporting a reading *hry(.t)*, "Upper Region (of the Dat)."¹⁴²

The reading of this group should be the same as that of the name of the first goddess from the left in Scene 7 of this portion of the shrine (pl. 7A). She is followed by the goddesses *Šty.t*, "Shetayet,"¹⁴³ *Qrt(y).t*, "cavern dweller," *Db3t(y).t*, "sarcophagus dweller," *Nsy.t*, "she relating to fire," *Mwy.t*, "she relating to water," and *T3y.t*, "she relating to the earth." Following *Šty.t*, the name of the two goddesses *Qrt(y).t* and *Db3t(y).t* refer to the place of burial; the trio *Nsy.t*, *Mwy.t*, and *T3y.t* personify elements of the Netherworld. The names would then appear to fall into a pair describing the Netherworld as a whole, followed by groups describing the components of the Netherworld: a pair personifying the burial place, and three goddesses representing the elements in the Netherworld. The name of the first goddess should then describe a large area of the Netherworld, and be parallel to *Šty.t*. Reading the first name as *Hry.t*, "Upper Region (of the Dat)" does this. It

¹⁴¹ Book of the Day and the Night: Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 25; Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk: Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 45 and pl. 25, l. 2 (full), pp. 12-13 (shortened); Ramesses IX: Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 77. See C. Leitz, "Die obere und die untere Dat," *ZÄS* 116 (1989): 41-57 for some references to *d3.t hry.t/hry.t*; also A. Volten, "Das Harpunierergestirn," *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 357, n. 5. On *d3.t hry.t* see also A. Moret, "La légende d'Osiris à l'époque thébaine d'après l'hymne à Osiris du Louvre," *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 735 n. (25). See further below, pp. 375-80.

¹⁴² *Hry.t* here may also refer to the upper way, the *w3.t hry.t*. According to the text in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, p. 203b:

w3.t hr(y).t p.t *w3.t hr(y).t t3*

the upper way is heaven, the lower way is earth.

(see also J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* [Leiden, 1971], p. 182, text n. 448; on the *w3.wt hry.t*, see Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 30 text note 13). In the Tutankhamun shrine, the *hry.t* is above the sky sign, and in the Ramesses IX treatise, the hands of the ithyphallic Osiris in *hry.t* are in the area of the plummeting, stellar *nb.w-d3.t*. This suggests a survival in the cryptic Netherworld books of the early concept of the Dat as a starry realm (see E. Hornung, "Dat," *LdÄ*, vol. 1, col. 994). The residents of both the upper and lower Dats could all be considered collectively as the "Westerners" (see J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* [Freiburg and Göttingen, 1999], p. 89, no. 12, l. 6).

¹⁴³ On a goddess Shetayet as a personification of the Netherworld, see Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 44, n. 5.

describes the upper register of the Dat, in which these goddesses are depicted on the shrine.

^c The three-pronged plant for *h* originates from the substitution of this plant for the *h3*-sign, itself employed for simple *h*.¹⁴⁴ A variation of this cryptographic substitution of the *h3*-sign for the three-pronged plant is found in the use of the reed-leaf in a writing of *hnw* in cryptogram 78 in the Book of the Day and of the Night.¹⁴⁵

^d The plant for *k* here has its origin in the animal skin $\overline{\text{f}}$ for *k*,¹⁴⁶ derived through substitution from the *k3*-bull as *pars pro toto*, and a resulting exploitation—to cryptographic ends—of a similarity of the hieratic forms of the animal skin and the plant sign. For the *pars pro toto* use of the animal tail to represent the bull there is the parallel of the similarly derived use of the skin sign for *im* (and the resulting flesh sign for *m*). The flesh sign v (F 51) represents the preposition *m* several times in enigmatic inscriptions in private tombs at Dra Abu-n-Naga.¹⁴⁷ A foreshadowing of this sign-value may be the use of the animal skin F 27 for *im* in the *Coffin Texts*,¹⁴⁸ that value a *pars pro toto* substitution for the *hn*-sign for *imy*,¹⁴⁹ originating in a “monogrammic” writing of *m-hnw*.¹⁵⁰ For the interchange of the signs $\overline{\text{f}}$ and v , one may compare the use of v for *k*, derived from that value of sign $\overline{\text{f}}$, in the writing of *kkw* in the Third Division of the Book of Caverns.¹⁵¹ The flesh sign has the value *m* in an enigmatic orthography of the divine name *im* in the tomb of Parennefer at Dra Abu-n-Naga (see above, Chapter 2, p. 26), and the name *ims*, the fourth standing, disk-headed figure in the middle register of the main section of the

¹⁴⁴ For this use for the *š3*-sign, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 45. For the *h3*-plant substituting for the reed leaf, see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 341 and R. El-Sayed, “Deux statues inédites du Musée du Caire,” *BIFAO* 84 (1984): 133, n. zz; used for *h*: Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 45.

¹⁴⁵ Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 90.

¹⁴⁶ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 42; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*; A. Grimm, “Zu einer kryptographischen (ägyptischen) Schreibung des Substantivums *KKW* ‘Finsternis’ im Höhlenbuch (Livre des Quererts),” *GM* 32 (1979): 23-6; W. Westendorf, “Die Tierfell-Hieroglyphe mit dem Lautwert *k*,” *GM* 40 (1980): 57-58.

¹⁴⁷ K. Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*.

¹⁴⁸ De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 16.

¹⁴⁹ In *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 54j; *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 124f; *ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 339b, 364e, and 367c; etc.

¹⁵⁰ See R.O. Faulkner, *JEA* 67 (1981): 173, and already P. le Page Renouf, *ZÄS* 12 (1874): 102; for the animal skin F 27 substituting for the *hn*-sign, see A.I. Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi El-Hudi* vol. 1 (Warminster, 1980), p. 51, text WH 24, l. 6 (in the word *hnwty*).

¹⁵¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 26, l. 8.

Corridor G ceiling treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22, fig. B; see Chapter 4, pp. 196-7).¹⁵²

The orthography of the name of the goddess *Rkhy.t* in the lower right of the second side of the shrine (pl. 3) suggests that the scribes of this composition were indeed making use of a visual similarity between the hieratic forms of the signs of the animal skin and the three-pronged plant. The name of *Rkhy.t* employs a vestigial form of the skin sign on the second side of the shrine, a form derived from the hieratic, which looks like the central prong of the three-pronged plant. Interestingly, the interchange of the three-pronged plant with the skin sign appears more suitable for pre-New Kingdom hieratic,¹⁵³ and the orthography of the animal-skin *k* in *rkhy.t* as a single-pronged plant recalls a form of the sign of the animal skin which is not uncommon during the First Intermediate Period.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² See also A. Daneri Rodrigo, "An Enigmatic Inscription at Aksha," *JSEA* 15 (1985): 68-71 (reading *m*, not *im* as Rodrigo). The group $\square \circ \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ should be read *Pwn.tyw m h'y*, etc. Compare the description of the Ptolemaic expedition encountering natives in the area of the elephant hunting grounds, apparently in the area of Kassala (see the author's forthcoming discussion of the location of Ptolemais theron):

wr bīz n nsw.t m ib=sn

h3 n=f wr.w=sn h(r) inw=sn

iw nr n nsw.t m ib=sn

So great was the awe of the king in their heart(s),
that their leaders came down to him bearing their gifts,
the fear of the king being in their hearts.

(K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* 1, part 1 [Leipzig, 1904] 102, ll. 13-15). The awe of Egypt and her king, without the need for coercion, leads the natives to abase themselves.

¹⁵³ Compare the similarity of signs 166 and 268 in G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie, die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 15 and 25, with the same in *ibid.*, vol. 2 (1927), pp. 14 and 24.

¹⁵⁴ Vernus, *RdE* 25 (1973): 227, n. w. Note, however, that a derivation from a New Kingdom hieratic form of the animal skin sign is not out of the question (cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 2, p. 14, no. 166).

FIRST SIDE, SCENE 5 (PL. 5C):

NAMES:

Hpry, “Khepri”

Khepri is the name of the figure for the Second and Twelfth Addresses to the sun in the Great Litany of Re,¹⁵⁵ and name no. 501 in the Amduat.¹⁵⁶ The presence of *Hpry* in the company of *B3-htm* here suggests the opening of the second litany.¹⁵⁷

ihy irw n=i w3.t
iw=i ʕp=i m-htw b3 Rʕ
ihy ir n=i w3.t
pn Hpry
 Oh make a way for me,
 for I travel after the *ba* of Re;
 oh make a way for me,
 this one, Khepri¹⁵⁸

B3-htm, “Destroying *Ba*”

The name *B3-htm* occurs in the sequence of *b3*-plus-adjunct appellations of the solar deity in the fifth litany to Re in the Great Litany.¹⁵⁹

B3-htm pr m htm.t
 destroying *ba* who comes forth from the place of destruction

The orthography of *htm*, the *s3*-bird for the *htm* bird with following *m* compliment, corresponds to the orthographies of *htm* in *htmy.t* in the annotation to this scene (𐀓 for 𐀔), and to *htm* in the label ʕ.wy *htmy* at the left end of the second side of the shrine (𐀓 for 𐀔).

¹⁵⁵ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 6 and 17.

¹⁵⁶ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 122 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 543); vol. 2, p. 130 (interpreted as *hprwy*, “Der zu den Erscheinungen gehört,” a nisbe on *hprw*).

¹⁵⁷ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 94-5.

¹⁵⁸ On this use of *pn*, see *ibid.* p. 100 n. 18; one should also compare the use of *pn Hpry* as a compound in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 30, l. 6), and note the extensive use made in that text of *pn* plus nomen (see the index under *pn*, *ibid.*, p. 81).

¹⁵⁹ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 139; vol. 2, p. 131 n. 325.


Hr-ḥnh-ḥpr(.w), “Horus Living of Manifestation”

Reading the first scarab as *ḥnh*.¹⁶⁰ This name is attested as a label to a falcon headed entity adoring the rising sun in the concluding scene in the Book of Caverns.¹⁶¹

Tkz (?), “Ika (?)”

Piankoff¹⁶² compares the name *ikk* of *Wb*. I 140, 10, noting that the name also appears in the Book of Gates.¹⁶³ Drioton suggested comparing the possible value *ik* of the scarab here to *ik*, “déterminé par un scarabée, *Pyr.* 806b (P).”¹⁶⁴ This latter is the *ikw-tz* of *Wb*. I 139, 5-6. This is most speculative, although the suggestion may derive some support from the jackal’s head atop the scarab body of the being, which suggests the name *igzw* of *Wb*. I 140, 14, a name for Anubis attested in the Book of the Dead, a possible source of punning with the scarab as *ik/ikk*.

Bz-Tz-tnn, “Ba of Tatenen”

This is a more fully cryptographic writing of the name, written  in the middle register of the Seventh Hour of the Amduat.¹⁶⁵ On the Tutankhamun shrine the hobble-*t* of the Amduat orthography is written by the *tz* land sign for *t*,¹⁶⁶ the concluding *-nn* by two ducks.¹⁶⁷ In the Third Address to Re in the Great Litany, the solar deity is Tatenen; in the 66th Address he is the corpse of Tatenen, and the accompanying figure is labeled Tatenen.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁰ É. Drioton, “La cryptographie égyptienne” *CdE* 9, no. 18 (1934): 194; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933): 44; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949): 119.

¹⁶¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 47.

¹⁶² *JEA* 35 (1949): 114 n. 2.

¹⁶³ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits* vol. 1, pp. 279-80.

¹⁶⁴ Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949): 119.

¹⁶⁵ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 122 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 543); vol. 2, p. 130.

¹⁶⁶ H. Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1980), p. 163; compare the orthography with two land signs in the tomb of Ramesses VII (*ibid.* p. 183).

¹⁶⁷ See p. 59 and n. 110.

¹⁶⁸ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 7, vol. 2, p. 100 n. 20 (Third Address); vol. 1, pp. 75 and 270, vol. 2, p. 118 n. 183 (66th Address).

ṭms-ḥr, “Red of Face”

There is apparently no exact parallel for this name, but two appellations of the sun in the Fourth litany to Re are similar:¹⁶⁹

iw n=k ḥ^cw dšr.ty

b3 dšr wb3 imn.t

Jubilation to you, oh one of redness,
red *ba* who opens up the west

The name *ṭms-ḥr* suggests the *perpetuum mobile* of the sun, entering the Netherworld already in the form of the red *ba* rising in the east.¹⁷⁰ Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead, a version of which appears on the right interior panel of this Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, also describes the sun as red:¹⁷¹

wr.t mr.wt=s dšr šny

i ḥnty ḥr-ib ḥw.t dšrw

ḥm nfr n p.t rsy

ḥnm.t-^cnh insy.t

She great of love, red of hair;
oh foremost one residing in the mansion of the red one,
beautiful rudder of the southern sky,
she who is united with life, she of the red cloth

One may also compare the name of the fourth disk-headed being in the middle register of the main portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22B, see Chapter 4, pp. 196-7 below), perhaps to be read *ṭms*.

¹⁶⁹ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 127-8, vol. 2, p. 129 nn. 300-302.

¹⁷⁰ Re rises in redness, which P. Carlsberg I says is “the color which comes in the sun disk at dawn” (O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3 vols. (Providence and London, 1960-69), vol. 1, pl. 44, E, and pp. 48-9); Re also “swims in his redness” (=Sety I Cenotaph = Frankfurt, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 81, lower left). Horus as *b3 imy dšr-f* is the rising sun (L. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* [Chicago, 1968], p. 8 and n. 21). The time of the sun’s rising is the *wnw.t ṭms.t*, “the red hour” (Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 422, no. 78.4673). On red as the color of the sun at the cusps of the worlds, see also L. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt* (Chicago, 1995), p. 56. See further below, the discussion of the symbolism of the color red (pp. 73 and 197). For *ṭms-ḥr* compare also the name of one of the seven blessed in section S 13 of Book of the Dead chapter 17a: *dšr-ir.ty imy ḥw.t insy*, “red-eyed one who is in the mansion of the red linen.”


¹⁷¹ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pl. 42, vertical columns 8-9 from the left. See also below, the discussion of *ḥbs* in the lower left section of the second side of this shrine, pp. 134-9.

Šnbty

Zandee and Hornung read the name of the second of four falcon-headed beings in the upper register of the Twelfth Hour of the Book of Gates as the *šnbty* of *Wb.* IV 514, 1-3, a term for the solar falcon.¹⁷² This designation of the sun as the mummiiform *šnbty* parallels the use of the term *šm/šm* (*Wb.* I 225, 15-226, 5), also originally a reference to a similar mummiiform falcon image. In the Second Division of the Book of Caverns, Osiris is addressed as:¹⁷³

šm imy db3.t=f nb šb.wy š m qrr.t=f

the divine image who is in his sarcophagus, lord of the two horns, great one in his cavern.

This describes the giant Osiris at the eastern horizon, as shown in the center of this side of the shrine, and in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX.¹⁷⁴ The use of the designation *šm*  to refer to the Mendesian ram in the Late Period (*Wb.* I 226, 7) supports the conclusion that this description of Osiris from the Book of Caverns depicts Osiris as the giant eastern mummy with the solar falcon's head, the unified Re and Osiris about to be reborn.

šnp(w), “Anubis”

In the solar context in which these figures occur, the presence of Anubis, in a row of entities beginning with Khepri, recalls the Twelfth Address to Re in the Great Litany:¹⁷⁵

hkn n=k Rš q3 šm

šry r ššt3 šnpw

twt is h3.t špri

Hail to you Re, high of might,

who draws near to what Anubis has hidden –

you are the corpse of Khepri.

The accompanying figure to the Great Litany is labeled Khepri. Anubis also appears in the first scene in the first register of section D of the Book of the Creation

¹⁷² Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 382; vol. 2, p. 270.

¹⁷³ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 23, l. 3.

¹⁷⁴ According to Chapter 185 of the Book of the Dead, the *šm.w* images of Osiris are installed in Heliopolis (T.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* [Chicago, 1974], p. 203), suggesting the representation of the combined Re-Osiris.



¹⁷⁵ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 17, vol. 2, p. 103 n. 44. Note also, as regards the vocabulary of the Twelfth Address, the designation of the final deity in the upper left section of this side of the shrine as *šry*, “the one who goes up.”

of the Solar Disk, guarding the mysterious chest;¹⁷⁶ as here, Anubis is there in the realm of *ḥtmy.t*. The Solar deity passes through the cavern of Anubis and delivers a lengthy address to Anubis in the text preceding the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns. As Anubis is here in the lower register, opposite the *ʿfd.t* containing the corpse of the solar Osirian deity, so Anubis is the hider of the corpse of Osiris in the Fourth Hour of the Amduat.¹⁷⁷

ANNOTATION (PL. 5C):

nn n ntr.w m šḥr pn
m qr(r).wt=sn imy.wt ḥtmy.t
wnn ḥ3.wt^a=sn m kkw-sm3w^b
<ʿ>pp R^c
ii/iw^c b3.w=sn m-s3^d itn=f
st(w)t=f ʿk^e r qr(r).wt=sn

These gods are in this fashion
 in their caverns which are in the place of destruction.
 It is in the complete darkness that their corpses exist.
 When Re <pa>sses by,
 their bas follow after his disk,
 his rays having entered into their caverns.

^a The reed-leaf as 3 is an example of an enigmatic use of a not uncommon sound change found in texts written wholly in *Normalschrift*.¹⁷⁸ For the use of the reed leaf for 3 in a partially cryptic orthography in the Netherworld Books, one may compare the writing of the name *Nḥ3-ḥr* as  in the Book of the Day and Night.¹⁷⁹ The bird following the reed leaf writes the plural -w ending. Below , where one expects the plural strokes (compare the orthography of *ḥ3.t* in the First Side, Scene 9 [pl. 8, ln. 8]), there is another bird instead. This final bird may represent the plural strokes, through interpretation of the strokes as themselves

¹⁷⁶ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 22, l. 6.

¹⁷⁷ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 65, ll. 1-2 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, pp. 352-53). Note also the *inpw-hny*, “Anubis of the *hn*-chest,” in the upper register of the Fifth Hour of the Amduat (*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 80 [no. 343] = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 404; vol. 2, pp. 96-7).

¹⁷⁸ For examples of interchanges of 3 and *i* see Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, pp. 10-11, § 22, 1.

¹⁷⁹ G. Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit. Une composition égyptienne de l’au-delà* (Fribourg and Göttingen), vol. 2, p. 104; *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 250 reads this as *nḥj ḥr* “Celui au visage quémendeur.”

indicative of the plural *-w*.¹⁸⁰ Also possible is the use of the *w* to support the feminine ending, a not uncommon Late Egyptian orthography.¹⁸¹ This orthography of *h3.wt* appears to occur in six of the eight preserved versions which Hornung copies for the 36th address in the Great Litany of Re.¹⁸²

^b This writing of *m3w* as three birds occurs in the name *m3w-^c* in the lower left section on the second side of this shrine (pl. 12); twice in *kkw-sm3w* (pl. 21, ll. 26 and 38) and once in the name *m3wt.t* (pl. 24, l. 10) in the Corridor G ceiling composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI; and in *kkw-sm3w* in the Nut Book in the Osireion.¹⁸³

^c Piankoff and Drioton read *ṣp*, and take *iw* as “are,” not as “to come;” Hornung follows them.¹⁸⁴ There is no evidence for the plant sign here having the value *w*, as Drioton proposed. For his cryptogram 32 in the Book of the Day and the Night, Drioton suggested reading the *w3d*-sign as *w*, and one might from this suggest a simple substitution of the reed leaf for *w3d*, but Drioton’s reading is inaccurate, and there is no suggestion from the New Kingdom cryptic corpus of a plant sign for *w*.¹⁸⁵ For this reason, a reading *ii* is to be preferred to Drioton’s *iw*. The sign of the walking reed leaf (M 18) is little employed in cryptography,¹⁸⁶ suggesting that the

¹⁸⁰ The opposite of this, the use of the plural strokes to write *w*, occurs in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 427; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 109.

¹⁸¹ Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, §§139-41, pp. 61-62; Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 6 (§1.9).

¹⁸² Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 41.

¹⁸³ Ramesses VI: main portion of the ceiling, upper register text no. 2, ll. 26 and 38 (*kkw-sm3w*), lower register text no. 2, l. 10 (*m3wt.t*); Osireion: Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 52, n. 1. See also Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 [1936]: 24.


¹⁸⁴ Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 30.



¹⁸⁵ Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 87 and 98. The section in question is not to be read *wṣṣ-f hpr hr.w fdw hr nhb.t-f*, but rather is a garbled version of the parallel text in *Medinet Habu* vol. 6 (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6: *The Temple Proper Part 2, The Re Chapel, The Royal Mortuary Complex, and Adjacent Rooms, with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall* [Chicago, 1963], pl. 420, §B 2: [*b3 Wsir b3 Gb*] *b3 Šw b3 Hpri hr.w fdw hr nhb.t w.t*, “[*ba* of Osiris, *ba* of Geb], *ba* of Shu, and *ba* of Khepri, four faces upon one neck” (see Assmann, *Re und Amun*, p. 263). There is no evidence in the use of *i* for *w* in the use of the running man, normally *in* in cryptography (Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 421; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 69, l. 3), for *wn* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, l. 1; this is rather derived from the word *wni*, “eilen” (*Wb.* I 313, 10-314, 6).

¹⁸⁶ The sign is attested as *ii* in cryptography at Dra Abu-n-Naga (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*); it can later substitute for the walking pot *in* (H.W. Fairman, “On the Origin of *2iWME*,” *JEA* 54 (1968): 238; compare also the use of the walking reed leaf for the

two plant signs here are indeed a version of the optimal enigmatic orthography of *il*—two plant signs, each with the value *il*.¹⁸⁷

^d In order to read *m-s3*, it is necessary to read the cloth and bird signs in reverse order. Alternatively, although somewhat less likely, one could read the cloth sign as *ms*—see É. Drioton, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 424), the following bird for *s3*, together a writing *ms3* for *m-s3*.

^e The pouring vessel on its side : Piankoff¹⁸⁸ read *stwt.f ʿq r qrrwt.sn*; Hornung’s translation shows that he follows the same reading.¹⁸⁹ According to Drioton, “vase Renversé sur son support = ʿq (III b, 16), de ʿq ‘chaviré’.”¹⁹⁰ Hornung does not include the sign in his list of cryptographic sign values for the Second Shrine. On this same side of the Second Shrine, in the middle register of the left half, the pot—this time not pouring out—is found on its side over the sign of the

 stand:  (pl. 7B). There Drioton and Piankoff, followed by Hornung, read *kkw*, “darkness.” According to Drioton:¹⁹¹ “vase Renversé = *g > k*, par acroph. de *g33* ‘chaviré’ dans *kkw*, VI b).” Again, Hornung does not include the sign of the vessel on its side in his list of cryptic signs from the Second Shrine.

Drioton regards the vase and stand in pl. 5C as a bound group, and the signs do indeed touch, whereas the vessel and stand in pl. 7B are clearly separated. Drioton’s derivation of different values for each vessel from two different words meaning “chaviré,” neither word attested in a use describing a ceramic vessel,¹⁹² strains credulity. The pouring vessel on its side is most likely a variant of the simple vessel

walking *nw*-pot for *in* in a *sdm.in-f* form in the Pithom stela of Ptolemy II Philadelphus [Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, p. 92, l. 12]).

¹⁸⁷ For *il* as a circumstantial form, see H.J. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses* (Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities 2/5; Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 5-16; Gilula *JEA* 57 (1971): 15. E.F. Wente further suggests the examples de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, pp. 255d and 330c; Hornung, *Amduat* vol. 1, p. 95, l. 8.

¹⁸⁸ Piankoff, *JEA* 35 (1949): 114; *idem*, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, p. 31.

¹⁸⁹ Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 30.


¹⁹⁰ Piankoff, *JEA* 35 (1949): 119.


¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² ʿq(w)/ʿg3: Wb. I 234, 22 (ʿq[w]); 235, 9 (ʿg3); Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol 1, p. 75, no. 77.0772; L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* (Berkeley, 1982), vol. 1, p. 93. Note the graffito of the Viceroy of Kush who says that he was *mi tsm ʿ3 ʿg3 sw hr wnm-f*, “like a great dog who rolls himself over at his right side” (the king’s; see E. F. Wente, in H. Rieke, G. Hughes, and E.F. Wente, *The Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* [Chicago, 1967], p. 23, citing pl. 21). ʿg3 does not necessarily refer always to rolling over completely, but also threatening to roll over, listing—compare J. Černý and A. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1957), pl. 79, vs. 1: *ir ʿg3-f irt t3w-wr*, “if it lists over, make for *t3w-wr*.” *G33*: Wb. V 149, 12; see also Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 2, pp. 169-70.

on its side. The vessel appearing to rest on the stand in pl. 5C is likewise a sporting arrangement of the same signs as found in pl. 7B.¹⁹³ Ideally, the groups in pl. 5C and pl. 7B should have the same reading.

The context is clearer in pl. 5C, where a reading ϵq for the group does indeed appear to be the most reasonable solution. Due to the collapse of the gutturals, the stand g could easily represent q .¹⁹⁴ In the Solar-Osirian corpus, the stand represents q in srq , "to breathe," in the end of the enigmatic text accompanying the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 28, lower annotation, l. 10; see Chapter 4, p. 228). The vessel on its side should then represent ϵq , or simply ϵ .

The sign of a pot on its side, spewing forth liquid has the values ϵb , $w\epsilon b$, and $i\epsilon i$,¹⁹⁵ and the pouring pot most likely acquired the value ϵ from its use in writing the verb $i\epsilon i$. The prominent handles on the tipped-over pots on the Tutankhamun shrine would have reinforced the value ϵ through the resulting similarity of appearance with the (spewing) pustule. The sign may also have been treated as a variant of the spewing pustule deriving the value ϵ from that sign. The vessels here in question have slight necks, but no prominent lip; they are oval in shape with handles in the middle. These characteristics suggest the pustule, and its variant the spewing pustule. Confusions of pots and pustules already occur in the Old Kingdom.¹⁹⁶ In the tomb of Senenmut, some versions of the spewing pustule which appear to be a hybrid of the pustule and the lips from the side, suggestive of a vessel with a mouth and handles—.¹⁹⁷ The value ϵ for the pustule is attested already in the

¹⁹³ For this playful pairing of a pot and the sign of the stand, arranged as though the pot is resting on the stand, compare the orthography of the label to a thurifying priest , $w\epsilon b$ $hry-hb$, in the Min Festival scenes in the second court of the great temple of Medinet Habu (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 4 *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* [Chicago, 1940], pl. 201, l. 17, priest holding a censor before the $k3-hd$ in the procession); cf. also M. Cramer, "Ägyptische Denkmäler im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover," *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 101 and pl. 9, fig. 2, although there the pot does not quite rest on the stand.

¹⁹⁴ Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*, p. 43, § 66, 3.

¹⁹⁵ P. Kaplony, "Wasser," in *LdÄ*, vol. 7, col. 32, n. 91.

¹⁹⁶ H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.*, p. 198 (and the page references in the sign index under Aa2, p. 240). The ear-like protrusions of the pustule lead to confusion with handled vessels, as well as with the hr -face and its ears (H. I. Amer, "L'offrande spécifique des bracelets- $h3drt$ à Dendara et Edfou," in *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. 1 [Montpellier, 1986], p. 23, n. 13).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. P.F. Dorman, *The Tombs of Senenmut, the Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353* (New York, 1991), pls. 68-69, line SW4 (in nhh). Note also that the spewing mouth substitutes for the pouring $w\epsilon b$ pot in Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*, vol. 3, pl. 33, ll. 5-6 (the suggestion by Guglielmi, noted in B. Ockinga, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit im Alten Ägypten und im Alten Testament* [Wiesbaden, 1984], p. 27 n. b to text 28, that Davies' copy is inaccurate is an unnecessary accusation). For the spewing mouth substituting for the pouring vessel, compare the writings of $w\epsilon b$ in PT §920b, §921b, and §2054 (compare the elongated shape of the $w\epsilon b$ vessel in A. Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas* [Princeton, 1968], pl. 13 [§275b]). In the P version of the word $b\epsilon$

cryptography of the Eighteenth Dynasty (see pp. 46-8 above), which easily explains the use of the vessels on their sides for ϵ in pl. 5C and pl. 7B. can in pl. 5C reads ϵq , as Drioton, Piankoff, and Hornung have understood through context. For the reading of the end of pl. 7B, see below.¹⁹⁸

FIRST SIDE, SCENE 6 (PL. 6A)

The enigmatic annotation which accompanies the central standing figure is repeated twice. Each annotation is arranged vertically, facing in towards the figure, one column in front and another in back. The columns of text are split between the upper and lower uroboroi which encircle the giant figure. The texts read:

Label to the upper uroboros:

mhn “Mehen”

Label to the large standing figure:

dw3 wnwn R ϵ itn pw wnwn

Adoration of the circling one—the circling one is Re/the sun disk.^a

^a The annotations accompanying this central figure on the first side of the shrine, except for the label of the serpent *Mhn*, are somewhat difficult to understand. Piankoff read the label within the upper uroborus as *imn wnwn.t*, stating that the two lower signs in each group “font allusion au verbe *wn*, *Wb.* I, 313 (10), *wnwn*. Ce dernier mot déterminé aussi par la mèche de cheveux *Wb.* I, 318 (1).” He does not offer an explanation of the texts within the lower serpent.

The first two signs of this lower annotation appear to read *R ϵ* or *itn* for the disk, followed by a spitting head, which is most likely an elaborate version of the spewing mouth. This would allow one to read *R ϵ /itn pw...*, “... is Re/the sun disk.” The three following signs reproduce the bottom two signs of the upper annotation, with a *rmn*-arm inserted between them.


in PT §426a, the spewing mouth is shown only as a stream of water, written over the *b*, suggesting the abbreviated version of the *w ϵ b* pouring-pot over the *b*-foot (cf. pl. 12, §264c).

¹⁹⁸ The vessel may have derived the value ϵ from the term ϵ , “Napf” (*Wb.* I 158, 13-18).

Along with the possible reading *imn*, the upper sign of the upper annotation could be read *dw3*.¹⁹⁹ The final word in the upper annotation is apparently, but for the minor variation of the added *rmn*-sign, the same as the final word in the lower annotation. Assuming that the two texts are related, as they both appear to annotate the figure of the giant deity, one could suggest a combined reading *dw3 ? R^c pw ?*, "Adoration of ?—? is Re." This specifies a glorification of the standing figure through an epithet, and the equation of this epithet with Re. Piankoff read the unclear group in the top as *wnw.t* from *wnwn*; this latter is a possible reading, with the sign of the hair, otherwise a determinative to this word, standing for *wnwn*, with the addition of the walking legs to make this reading more certain. Nothing in the writings indicates the admittedly small jump to reading *wnw.t*, "hour." Piankoff's reading *wnwn* is, however, reasonable. Reading *wnwn* in the top and bottom portions of the text (with the *rmn*-arm in the lower portion an optional *n* complement),²⁰⁰ one may render the enigmatic annotations as proposed here.

The verb *wnwn* is appropriate to the annotation's proximity to the uroboroi encircling the head and feet of the giant deity, and a description of the sun as one circling about recalls the image of the cosmos as *šnn.t itn*, "that which the disk encircles."²⁰¹ The statement that the disk is the one who performs the motion *wnwn* also alludes to the motion *wnwn* of the sacred uraeus, the eye of the sun, also called *wnwn.t*, as it circles about and entwines itself on the brow of the ruler (*Wb.* I 318, 7).²⁰² The annotation thus equates the encircling uroboroi with the disk of the sun,

¹⁹⁹ Compare the similarly truncated but ram-headed sign in *dw3.t* in F. Abitz, "Die Veränderung von Schreibformen im Königsgrab Ramses' IX.," in H. Altenmüller and R. Germer, eds., *Miscellanea Aegyptiologica* (Hamburg, 1989), p. 4.

²⁰⁰ For the *rmn*-arm as *n*: H. Dümichen, "Neuentdeckte Nomoslisten aus den Zeiten der Ptolemäer-Herrschaft," *ZÄS* 1 (1863): 5 and 7; Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 43. For the arm as *ny/n*, note the use of the arm for *n* (apparently deriving from the use of the negative arms for writing the preposition *n*—see H.G. Fischer, "Five Inscriptions of the Old Kingdom," *ZÄS* 105 (1978): 57. For the single and final *n* complement of *wnwn*, compare the writing  (Wb. I 318).

²⁰¹ *Wb.* IV 493, 4-6. On the enchanting circular movement *šni*, with which *wnwn* here appears to be synonymous, see R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1993), p. 57 n. 266 and p. 59 n. 271. The hair sign could in fact be read as *šni*, from the word for hair (*Wb.* IV 499, 9-501, 3); the verb *šni*, "to move around," etc. (*Wb.* IV 489, 1-491, 5), does not, however, appear to have employed the sign of the walking legs. The word in the lower portion of the annotation might, with the *rmn*-arm, be taken as a writing of the verb *šn^c*, "to drive back" (*Wb.* IV 504, 5-12 [and 13]). The sense "it is Re/the disk who drives back" requires the understanding of an undefined evil, and results in the loss of meaningful parallelism with the first portion of the annotation, which the similar enigmatic orthography implies (the presence of the *rmn*-arm in the rare word *šny* of *Wb.* IV 503, 11-12 should not, in view of that word's rarity, be considered in an examination of the cryptography here). For the Solar-Osirian deity going around and enchanting the Netherworld, see the discussion of the *Schutzbild* on pp. 264-5.

²⁰² A term *wnwn.t* "she who writhes about," is the name of a serpent (*Wb.* I 318, 15).

itself often represented as the fire-spitting uraeus. This depth of meaning should assure the accuracy of the proposed reading.²⁰³

The cryptography of the annotation accompanying the giant central figure is atypical for the other enigmatic texts on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun. Only the sign of the *rmn*-arm as a possible phonetic complement is to be read phonetically; the other signs are ideograms.

The large, central figure on the first side of the shrine, Osiride in appearance and labeled as Re, is a depiction of the unified Re-Osiris, an image of the gods Re and Osiris at the moment of their combining at the eastern horizon (see the discussion of the images of the giant, unified Re-Osiris, in Chapter 6 below).

FIRST SIDE, SCENE 7 (PL. 7A):

NAMES:

Hry.t, “the upper region,” and *Štȝyt*, “Shetayet”

On these personifications of the Netherworld, see above, the discussion of *hry.t* in the upper right section of this side of the shrine.

Qrt(y).t, “cavern dweller”

In the 28th Address to Re in the Great Litany, and at the beginning of the concluding lines of the same composition, the deity is called *qrr.ty*, “cavern dweller.”²⁰⁴

Dbȝt(y).t, “sarcophagus dweller”

This is the feminine form of the name given to Re in the 35th Address of the Great Litany.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ The use of *wnwn* in association with uroboroi at the head and feet of the giant, in the firmament and in the Netherworld, may also pun on the term *wnwn.t* as a place of the stars, which can be located both in heaven and in the Netherworld (see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 149 n. 550).

²⁰⁴ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 33 and 272, vol. 2, p. 108 n. 81 (28th address); *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 85, vol. 2, pp. 121-2 n. 209 (conclusion to Great Litany).

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 40 and 268, vol. 2, p. 109 n. 98 (citing the *hȝ.t dbȝ.ty* in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk).

Nsy.t, “she relating to fire”

This name occurs with a similar cryptic orthography in the Ramesses VI version of Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 78, no. 25 (Fifth Division); a goddess named *nswt* also appears in the cavern of *t3y.t* in the same division.²⁰⁶

Mwy.t, “she relating to water”

This name recalls that of the entity *mw.ty* mentioned near the end of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns, who appears shortly after reference is made to the *ba* of *Db3.ty*, “the one of the sarcophagus.”²⁰⁷

T3y.t, “she relating to the earth.”

This goddess is mentioned several times in the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns.²⁰⁸ For the orthography with initial *t*, there is a similar orthography of this name in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 74, l. 1.

ANNOTATION (PL. 7A):

nn n ntry.t m shr pn m db3.wt=sn

sn m33=sn hd.wt itn=f

b3.w=sn 'pp=sn^a htw=f

h3.w<t=sn mn m s.t=sn>b


These goddesses are in this fashion in their sarcophagi:

they beholding the light of his disk.^c

Their *ba*'s enter after him,

<their> corp<s>es <remaining in their places.>

^a Drioton and Piankoff read simply *'p=sn*, taking the plural strokes following *'p* as otiose. This passage is parallel to a portion of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk:²⁰⁹

b3.w=sn 'pp ()=sn m-ht=f
h3.wt=sn mn m s.t=sn ...

²⁰⁶ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): 58 and 61; pls. 78, 25 and 79, 33. These are the same name (compare the hybrid of these two forms as *nswty* in *idem*, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 56).


²⁰⁷ *Idem*, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 142, l. 5. For goddesses *mw.t* and *nsy.t* together, compare the association of fire and water, discussed below regarding the fire as water in the *nyny*-greeting (p. 147).


²⁰⁸ *Idem*, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pls. 71, l. 1; 73, ll. 1, 2, 4-5, 5-6, 6-7, 9; 74, l. 1; 79, no. 31.


²⁰⁹ *Idem*, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 18, ll. 6-7.

Their *ba*'s enter after him,
their corpses remaining in their place(s) ...



There and in the passage on the shrine, 'p + plural strokes appears to be a writing of 'pp, the second *p* misinterpreted as plural strokes.²¹⁰ There are, fortunately, a number of certain parallels from the Netherworld Books for 'pp written as 'p + plural strokes. In a portion of the concluding text to the First Hour of the Amduat, all surviving versions but one have: 'pp *ntr pn hr=sn*; the version in the tomb of Sety

I has .²¹¹ In the Ramesses VI version of the Book of the Creation of the Solar

Disk, text XVIII on the right wall of the sarcophagus hall reads 'p ()=f *b3=sn m-*

htw=f,²¹² the version of this text in the tomb of Ramesses IX reads 'pp ()=f *b3=sn m-htw=f*,²¹³ "With their *ba*'s after him does he enter," showing that the plural strokes in the Ramesses VI version are a misrepresentation of the second *p* of 'pp. The construction Noun + nominal *sdm=f*, where the first element is *b3.w* and the second 'pp=*sn*, occurs in the lower register of the Sixth Hour of the Book of Gates:²¹⁴ *b3.w=sn 'pp=sn r sh.t-i3rw*, "their *ba*'s enter into the field of Yaru."

Alternatively one could read 'pw, taking this as a participle,²¹⁵ and translate: "It is their *bas* which have entered, they being in his following, their corpses remaining in their places ..." ²¹⁶

²¹⁰ Je. Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, p. 43 n. 4 = pl. 30B; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 8 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 112); for the use of plural strokes in *p* for *pw*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 2, ln. 7 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 112 [T III]), vol. 2, p. 5 n. 24; *ibid.* vol. 1, p. 75 n. ff (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 368 [T III]); vol. 2, p. 93 n. 5. A confusion of plural strokes and *p* might also explain the odd compression of the plural strokes of *š.w* in *š.w n sh.t htp* in the version of chapter 110 of the Book of the Dead on the north wall of room 27 in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6, pl. 473, l. 7). There is a possible occurrence in the Osirieion version of a portion of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff, "Le Livre des Quererts, sixième division," *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: 35, n. 2). A single stroke appears to write *p* in a text in the First Hour of Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 3, l. 1 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 111), in  for , unless this is to be read *ntr.w*.

²¹¹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 169.

²¹² Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 9, ll. 4-5.

²¹³ Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 92, §P, l. 3 from the left.

²¹⁴ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 241.

²¹⁵ Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, vol. 2, p. 362 (§844) and p. 372 (§872). Compare Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 1, l. 7: *b3.w nn 'p.w idb.wy*, "it is these *bas* which pass by the two banks."

²¹⁶ One may also note that already during the New Kingdom, the walking legs attract plural strokes (Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, vol. 1, p. 118 [§207-208]).

^b Drioton and Piankoff read at the end *nt(r) ʿz*; Hornung²¹⁷ follows this. This is not a good writing of *nt(r) ʿz*, and another solution must be sought. The ʿ-sign and the two *sz*-birds recall the orthography of *h3.wt*, “corpses,” occurring in several of the enigmatic annotations on the second side of the shrine.²¹⁸ This suggests that the ending of this annotation was broken off after the *w* of *h3.w[t]*. One may propose an ending such as that in the parallel from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk cited above: *b3.w=sn ʿp=sn m-ht=f h3.wt=sn mn m s.t=sn*, “their bas enter after him, but their corpses remain in their places.”²¹⁹

^c That a Netherworld denizen resides in a sarcophagus does not always mean that the light of the sun could not penetrate to him. Entities in sarcophagi may be either blind²²⁰ and unseeing,²²¹ or they may receive and behold the light of Re.²²²

²¹⁷ Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 31.

²¹⁸ Upper left, middle left and right, lower left and right.

²¹⁹ Quoting Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 18, ll. 6-7. Or, less likely, the annotation could be complete, the second bird representing the final *t* of *h3.t* (through substitution with the *tyw* bird—for examples see Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105; *idem*, *ASAE* 40, p. 413), the word appearing here as a proper name applied to Osiris, placed in apposition to *f*, a reference to the solar deity as “corpse” (*tw* is *h3.t mdw ʿh.t=f*, “for you are the corpse, whose *ʿh.t*-eye speaks”—Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 66).

²²⁰ Compare the deity *kmn-ir.ty* in the third *nm.t* in the upper register, main (left) portion of the ceiling in Corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI (Chapter 4, pp. 171-3).

²²¹ Normally the improperly buried and the damned would not see (J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* [Leiden, 1960], pp. 244-245). Denials of the presence of adequate light and air in the West on the stele of a properly buried couple from Zawiyet el-Meitīn in Middle Egypt are apparently exaggerated expressions of grief, more in the realm of earthly doubt and despair than actual expressions of eschatology—see H. Kees, “Ein Klagelied über das Jenseits,” *ZÄS* 62 (1927): 73-79, particularly p. 76.

²²² To the two falcon-headed entities *Tiw* in the fourth scene in the second register of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns, also called *db3.tyw*, and shown in their sarcophagi, Re says: *hy n=in iw=i shd=i tn shd=i tn nn kky.w*, “joy to you – I illumine you, I illumine you, oh ones of darkness” (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 130, ll. 4-7); they ask that Re turn his face upon them, that they might see (*m33=n*) him (*ibid.*, pl. 130, l. 9-pl. 131, l. 1).

FIRST SIDE, SCENE 8 (PL. 7B)

NAMES:

Dw3.ty, “adorer”

This corresponds to the name of the adoring entity *dw3.ty* in the fourth scene in the first register of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns.²²³ *Dw3.ty* is also the name of the second in the row of adoring figures facing the approaching solar bark in the middle register of the main section of the enigmatic composition on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22B, second line from left).

šsp-ʿ “receiving of arm”

This name could contain the word *šsp*, “to shine,” and refer to the arms of the deity as giving off light, as do the names *m3w-ʿ* and *ḥsy-ʿ* here. The annotation above these deities refers to them receiving (*šp*) the light of the *3ḥ.t*-eye, suggesting that this is rather “receiving of arm.”²²⁴

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 30 and pl. 147, no. 11. The names of the following entities, three of which describe the raised arms of the deities, suggest that this name is not related to *dw3.t*, “Netherworld” (but note that the name of the first of nine praising deities in the third scene in the upper register of the First Hour of Amduat, who are represented here by the names *m3w-ʿ* and *ḥsy-ʿ*, is *ḏ3y-d3.t* [Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 22 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 120), vol. 2, p. 13]). The orthography suggests “adorer” rather than “Datian” as a reading, although the latter is possible (see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 104 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 146], vol. 2, p. 31); *imn.ty*, “Westerner,” is also possible. On the lintel of the door of the third hall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the figures of the kneeling king adoring the sun are labeled *dw3.ty*, “adorer” (Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 61).

²²⁴ Compare the name *šspw* of the fifth hauler of the solar bark in the second scene in the middle register of the Eleventh Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 790 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. III, p. 774), the entities *šspy.w-ʿ-ʿf* in chapter 168 of the Book of the Dead (A b § S 18) and the use of *šsp-ʿ/ḏr.t* to mean “take one’s hand in a friendly and helpful manner” (*Wb.* IV 532, 3-6).

Mꜣw-ꜣ “shining of arm”

Here the two plant signs read *y* for *w*. This name occurs as a label to the fourth mummiform being from the left in the lower left section of the second side of this shrine; it is also the name of the next-to-last of nine entities praising Re in the third scene in the upper register of the First Hour of the Amduat.²²⁵ The following name *ḥsy-ꜣ* in that scene is a possible interpretation of the name of the final deity in this group on the shrine.²²⁶

ʿḥy, “shining one”

This is the name of entity number 181, in the lower register of the Second Hour of the Amduat.²²⁷ The sign of the child has the values *ḥ* and *ḥ*²²⁸ from *ḥ/ḥy*, “child.”²²⁹

Stw.ty, “he relating to the rays of light”

This name appears to be otherwise unattested. However, the name of the first seated female being in the lower register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic composition, *styt*, “she relating to the beaming” (pl. 24, l. 2 [bottom]), a name attested for the first goddess in a group of five in the fifth register of the Book of the Day, is similar.²³⁰

Ḥꜣy-ꜣ, “shining of arm”

The name of the last of nine praising deities in the third scene in the upper register of the First Hour of the Amduat is *ḥsy-ꜣ*,²³¹ a possible reading for this enigmatic name. The name *mꜣw-ꜣ* in this register of the first side of the shrine is also present in that group of Amduat beings. The name of the final adoring entity in the parallel middle register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G

²²⁵ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 7 (no. 29) = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 122.

²²⁶ A goddess *mꜣwt.t* is the second in a row of seated figures in the lower register of the main portion of the Corridor G enigmatic composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 24, l. 10).

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35, vol. 2, p. 54.




²²⁸ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 36; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949): 118; *idem*, *CdE* 9, no. 18 (1934): 193; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; A. de Buck, “The Dramatic Text,” chapter 9 in H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1 (London, 1933), p. 84, n. 25; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 24; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 34.

²²⁹ *Wb.* III 217, 3-8; Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 267, no. 77.2950

³⁰ Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 30.

³¹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 30 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 122.

enigmatic composition is *ḥsy*, without the *ʿ* at the end. The determinative of the disk present here before *ʿ*, however, speaks for the reading *ḥzy-ʿ*.

In the middle left section of the first side of the shrine (pl. 7B), Drioton read as *ḥdy-ʿ*, a name twice attested in the *Amduat*;²³² yet Drioton's proposed reading of  here as *d* is to be rejected. However, *ḥsy-ʿ*, with the sign  representing *s*, is also possible, and this name is found in the upper register of the first hour of the *Amduat*²³³ in connection with words for shining arms (*ḥd*, *mz*). *Ḥzy-ʿ* with the bird  for *z*, would also be possible here. On the basis of the sun disk determinative, *ḥzy-ʿ* is read here.²³⁴

The “cord” leading from the disk in the belly of the giant deity proceeds to the left, above the fingertips of the adoring deities in the left middle register. The enigmatic annotation above the figures does not describe them as grasping the rope, and the parallel from the enigmatic ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses supports the interpretation that their arms are raised in adoration. The rope is that which appears in other treatises pulling the bark of the sun. That bark is not present here, and the rope is the only representation here of the path of the sun. As the road of the sun takes the form of the rope used to haul the solar bark, so in a Ramesside text the road to Thebes is likened to a rope, pulling in foreign captives and tribute.²³⁵ On the shrine the path of the sun is the rope which hauls the bark of the sun, though that bark remains unseen in the enigmatic treatise.

ANNOTATION (PL. 7B)

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn



šp=sn mz.wt šh.t=f^a

šp^b=f ḥz.wt Dwz.tyw (could also be read *imn.tyw*)

ʿpp=f

²³² *Ibid.* pp. 7 (no. 28) = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 122; and *ibid.*, p. 36 (no. 189) = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, pp. 216-17.

²³³ *Ibid.* p. 7 (no. 30) = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 122.

²³⁴ According to Drioton, on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun can have, among others, the values “=  *t* ou *d* > *t*, par acroph. (dans *t3-tnn*, III a, 5-*ḥdy*, VI a, 6-*ḥdwt*, VI 6).” The value *t* for  in *t3-tnn*, from the *tyw*-bird, is not disputed here. The falcon can have the value *ḥ* at Esna (from *ḥr*), and could pass this value on to other bird hieroglyphs through substitution (Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 142 no. 140 [*m* = *ḥ*; p. 144 no. 152 [*w* = *ḥ*]), but there is no evidence for this in this corpus. Also just possible for the name would be a reading *mzw-ʿ* (found in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 7 (no. 29 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 122); for the potential interchange of -y/-w/-ty endings, see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 94, §172).

²³⁵ The text is P. Harris I, 7, 3—see P. Grandet, “La route de Thèbes comparée à une corde,” *RdE* 40 (1989): 191-4.

sun illuminating the Datians, one may compare a portion of the upper register of the Third Hour of the Book of Gates, Scene 10:²⁴¹

mi r=k r=n ḏ3-m-wi3=f
sttw n=f ir.t=f tk
shḏ 3h.t=f d3.tyw
 Come away to us, oh one who sails in his bark,
 for whom his eye sets fire to the taper,
 that his 3h.t-eye might then illumine the Datians...²⁴²

The corpse is the womb of the sun, the great standing central figure here being the *ntr-3 imy ir.t=f*, “the great god in whom is his (solar) eye.”²⁴³ For the 3h.t-eye of the Osirian solar corpse benefiting the Datians, compare the conclusion to the 57th Address to Re in the Great Litany:²⁴⁴

twi is h3.t mdw 3h.t=f
 For you are the corpse of the one whose 3h.t-eye speaks

This speech of the 3h.t eye of the solar deity is the light which Re sheds in the Dat (see below).

^b The *pr*-house has the value *p*, attested elsewhere; cf. the writing of *pn* in l. 73 of the second section of the middle register of the main portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 23).²⁴⁵

^c Q has the value ‘n, “to turn,” in the central register of the high ceiling of corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, in a text describing disk-headed deities with their arms raised in adoration of the traveling, ram-headed manifestation of the sun: *sn n=sn m-ht ḏwi nti pn 3 r=sn*, “they turn back after this great god calls to them” (pl. 23, ll. 44-48). Thus in terms of their position in the treatise and the pose of the beings they describe, the two passages are similar.

One might read the final group of signs as *ḥmw*, “divine images,”²⁴⁶ perhaps the whole as *sn n=sn ḥmw*, “they have their ḥmw-images,” but this leaves the hobble-ḏ

²⁴¹ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 60-1 (following the version in the tomb of Horemheb).

²⁴² In the third scene of the upper register in the Fourth hour of the Book of Gates (scene 17), the uraei on the “waterway of the uraei” call to Re: *twi is 3hw d3.t* (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 107).

²⁴³ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 9 and n. 4; see further the section on *imy.t*, pp. 220-2.

²⁴⁴ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 66.

²⁴⁵ On Middle Kingdom examples of the *pr*-courtyard for *p*, see A. Roccati, “Remarque sur le graphème □ au Moyen Empire,” *RdE* 21 (1969): 151-3.

and the plural strokes below them unexplained. The signs beginning with *t* could write *mhr.w*, with the pot-^c representing the arm in the standard orthography of the word; the plural strokes would then be otiose. In the penultimate scene to the enigmatic composition in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 37A, l. 1), the *n* ring represents a circle, being the pupil with the value *r* or *ir*. Read thusly here, we have *sn r=sn <...h>tw q b3.w*, with the verb + *=sn* and the beginning of *htw* omitted.



d Reading | as *q*, as in the lower right section of this side of the shrine (pl. 5C; see above pp. 76-8), the conclusion of this section may be interpreted as *sn n=sn <h>tw q b3.w*. This is similar to the conclusion of the cryptic text in the upper left section of the second side of this shrine (see pl. 9A), which ends with *sn r=sn p=sn htw b3.w* "they set out after the bas."

²⁴⁶ A term used in the Book of Caverns, out of the corpus of the Netherworld texts (for references see W. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltsbüchern* [Frankfurt am Main, 1990], p. 42). For the *hm* as a peculiarly Datian element, which might be singled out as remaining in the Netherworld when Re passes by, compare *b3=f r p.t sm=f r dw3.t* in the tomb chapel of Bakenkhons (no. 35; on *hm* see W. Spiegelberg "Die Falkenbezeichnung des Verstorbenen in der Spätzeit," *ZÄS* 62 [1927]: 29 and n. 1; K.-Th. Zauzich, "Zwischenbilanz zu den demotischen Ostraka aus Edfu," *Enchoria* 12 [1984]: 67-70). This shows *hm* used as a synonym to *h3.t* (see below, p. 74).

FIRST SIDE, SCENE 9 (PL. 8)

NAMES:

Right standing mummy: *Htmy-ꜥ*, “destroyer with respect to arm”

Htm is more commonly spelled with the *m* phonetic complement following the bird.²⁴⁷

Left standing mummy: *Hbsy-ꜥ*, “clothed with respect to arm”

Neither of these first two names appears otherwise to be attested. The *hbsy-ꜥ* has a close parallel, however, in the *hbs-ꜥ* in the lower left section of the second side of the shrine (pl. 12), and recalls the entity *hbsy* in the upper left portion of the same side.²⁴⁸

The human-headed serpent: *Tpy*, “(human) headed one”

This name is known for human-headed snakes in the Amduat, the Book of Gates, and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.²⁴⁹

Within the uppermost oval, containing the mummy wearing the White Crown, is a small oval, the label *dbꜣ.t*, “sarcophagus” (*Wb.* V 561, 9-12).²⁵⁰ The human-headed serpent thus circles about the sarcophagi of the corpse of the great god in the

²⁴⁷ Cf. the name *Bꜣ-htm* (p. 70 above) and the word *htmy.t* in ll. 6-7 of the annotation to Scene 5 of the First Side of the shrine (pl. 5C); for *htm* here without the *m* complement, note the orthography of the name of the goddess *htmy.t* in Scene 8 of the Second Side of this shrine (pl. 13B and pp. 145-6).

²⁴⁸ For *hbsy-ꜥ* compare also the mummiform deity *hbsw* in the first scene in the upper register of the Ninth Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 625 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. III, p. 660).

²⁴⁹ Amduat: *tpy-sꜣw-mꜣn*, “(human) headed one who guards the way”—see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 279 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 355); vol. 2, p. 83 (second scene, upper register, Fourth Hour), depicted as having a human head. Book of Gates: *tpy*, “human-headed one,” *idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 338 and 340, vol. 2, p. 230-232 (scene 63, upper register of the Tenth Hour), depicted as having eight human-headed cobra-like hoods. Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk: Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 29 (in n. 3 he compares the occurrence of the name *tpy* on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun).

²⁵⁰ Cf. the label over a similar oval with occupying figure in the third scene in the third register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 23). The sign could also be read as a very abbreviated writing of the term *dbꜣ.ty*, “he of the sarcophagus” (*Wb.* V 562, 7), a designation of Osiris; the sign would then be label to the upper mummy (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 54 and n. 1).

Netherworld, the Solar Osiris, shown as split into his two constituent parts—the corpse of Osiris (wearing the White Crown), and the corpse of the sun.²⁵¹ The layout of the scene, and the names of the standing figures, recall a scene in the lower right of the bottom register in section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.²⁵² There a falcon-headed mummy *Hr-d3.ty*, “Datian Horus,” stands to the left, facing a human-headed mummy *B3-t3-imn*, “Soul of the Hidden Land,” on the right; between them are two ovals, a prone figure lying face down in each. The leftmost figure is *št3-ʕ*, that on the right *imn-ʕ*. The bodies of Horus and Osiris appear together in a single oval, with Horus emerging from Osiris, in the third scene in the second register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The serpent *tpy* guards the way down into the bowels of the underworld in the Fourth Hour of the Amduat, and is appropriate here as a representative of all of the powers guarding the chrysalis of the sun, soon to be reborn.²⁵³

In the enclosure in front of *htmy-ʕ*, above the head and breast of a ram emerging from the ground line, are a bent arm and four hands. This group, in its use of four of the same sign is suggestive of, the hill with four flesh signs, representing the “secret image” of Osiris in the fourth register of the First Division of the Book of Caverns, the similar scene in the first scene in the fourth register in the Fifth Division, and a scene in the fourth register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. In section A of the Creation of the Solar Disk the oval with the flesh signs is to the right of the scene of the Aker; to the left of Aker are two deities in ovals, one called “hidden of arm,” the other “secret of arm.” These designations recall the names of the standing, mummiform deities in this section of the shrine.


The reading of the signs is interesting. One may read the bent arm as a variant for the normal arm ʕ, as found in the names of the entities in the section above. The four hands suggest “four hands.” In cryptography, the arm can represent the hand as *d*;²⁵⁴ here the hands appear to represent the arm, specifically four arms. The first arm provides the reading ʕ, and the four hands the plurality and number. Reading

²⁵¹ For the great god (*nṯr ʕ3*) in the Netherworld as the unified Re-Osiris, see A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri* (New York, 1957) pl. 7 (papyrus of *Tnt-dīw-Mw.t*), third scene (bottom of the second column of text behind the three deities seated upon a standard) and Seventh scene (top of the first column behind the two oars) - *Rʕ-Wsir nṯr-ʕ3*.



²⁵² Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 26.

²⁵³ This scene also recalls the fourth scene in the middle register of the Third Division of the Book of Caverns. There the serpent “Great One” encircles three sarcophagus-ovals, one vertical and containing a standing figure, the remaining two horizontal, one with the ram’s head of the sun, the other with the eye of the sun, perhaps an allusion to Osiris. The body of Osiris is protected in the coils of a serpent in the third scene of the bottom register in the Third Division, parallel to the representation of the corpse of Khepri reclining within the winding body of the serpent “Many-Faces” on the right of the middle register of the Sixth Hour of Amduat, and recalling the “Flesh of Osiris” and the “Flesh of Atum” in the upper register of the Seventh Hour of Amduat (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 536 and 543).

Cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, ll. 1-3.

all together, ‘ plus “four hands,” a reading *‘fdw-dazwet*,²⁵⁵ is possible. All taken together, the signs are a remarkable cryptic writing of *‘fd.t*, “chest,” the use of four hands recalling the orthography  (Wb. I 183, 15-8).²⁵⁶ This is the canopic chest of Osiris.²⁵⁷ Using the four hands also recalls the four flesh signs, and the hands, taken as *pars pro toto* for four arms, may alone write *‘.wt*, “limbs,” the members of Osiris lying in the mysterious chest. There is also a chest of Re, the sarcophagus of the solar Osirian deity,²⁵⁸ and the ram emerging from the ground line

²⁵⁵ For this plural form of *dr.t*, see Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 220a. ‘ plus the four hands may also suggest the form *ⲁⲩⲧⲉ* of “four” (see G. Fecht, “Die Kategorie der Kollektiva (Synchronie und Diachronie),” in *L'égyptologie en 1979, Axes prioritaires de recherches* [Paris, 1982], vol. 1, p. 30).

²⁵⁶ For this form of cryptography, a number of the same sign to be read as the name of the number with the word for the repeated image following, compare 1) *shz.w*, “scribes,” written as six *hz*-signs, for *s(w) + h/š(z).w* in cryptogram D 5 on the Eighteenth Dynasty stele Louvre C 65 (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 26 and 32); 2) the orthography of *shr* as *shy*, written with six signs of the child with his hand to his mouth (*s(w) + hy*) in the enigmatic text of Padykam from Tuna el-Gebel (Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 393). For *shr* as *shy*, compare the orthographies in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 53 n. d (Third Hour) (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 302), and The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 2: *Later Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1932), pl. 82, l. 16; pl. 86, l. 25; and pl. 107, ll. 8-9 (see the discussion of *shr* written as *s* and  in the chapter of the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic composition, p. 177). Drioton suggested *s(w) + šr(y)*, which is also possible. For a similar cryptographic rebus, with two occurrences of the assimilation of like consonants, compare , *hwsī-sd-db*, for *hsbd/d* (S. Aufrère, “Caractères principaux et origine divine des minéraux,” *RdE* 34 [1982-83]: 8 [and the references cited there]). Alternatively, rather than reading *‘fdw-dazwet*, one might suggest a reference to the term *ifd.t*, “four unities, four feet of an animal” (Wb. I 71, 5-8). The writing here, with the four hands, suggests that the final dental *d* was not fallen away at the period of the composition of this cryptogram (on the orthography *‘f* of *‘fd.t*, see M. Weber, “Eine Statuette des Month-Priesters Pen-maa,” in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Alten Ägypten* (Leuven, 1991), p. 345).

²⁵⁷ M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, *Een Mysteriekist Ontsluierd* (Leiden, 1969); on the word *‘fd.t* in demotic, see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotica* 2, pp. 42-4; S. Vleeming, “A Dromos Tax,” *Enchoria* 15 (1987): 147-54. For general remarks on acutal *‘fd.t* chests, see E. Brovanski, “Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature for Boxes and Chests in the Old Kingdom,” in E. Teeter and J.A. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 29-30.

²⁵⁸ On the chest of Re see J.F. Borghouts, “The Enigmatic Chests,” *JEOL* 23 (1973-74): 358-64. The chest of the *nb-izh.w*, example no. 6 (p. 361) is perhaps depicted at the top of pl. 92 in Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX* (oval above adoring deity rising from the ground). Compare the chest with the beaming sun atop it in the third register on the same plate (perhaps derived from the scene in the fourth register of the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns), and note that this chest is in the same area as that which the ram rising from the ground occupies on the opposite wall (*ibid.*, pl. 92; this relationship is easily seen in F. Abitz, “Bauablauf und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses’ IX.,” *SAK* 17 [1990]: 33), parallel to the figure in the *‘fd.t* on the Tutankhamun shrine (see pl. 8). Compare also the chest in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, in the “Book of Aker”

within the bottom of the chest suggests this chest of Re. The ram, as the *ba* form of the sun in the Netherworld, here emerges from the place of destruction and is reborn within the mysterious chest.²⁵⁹

The motif of the ram emerging from the ground occurs again in the tombs of Ramesses VII²⁶⁰ and Ramesses IX.²⁶¹ In the center of the scene which appears in each of those tombs is a large disk, at each side of which is a bearded, human-headed figure facing out away from the disks, his arms raised in adoration. Facing the leftmost figure is an animated *wsr*-pole, arms raised in adoration, while facing the rightmost figure is the rising ram.²⁶² In the tomb of Ramesses VII the ram is named *h3.t R^c*, "corpse of Re," a name appropriate to the rising ram on the Tutankhamun shrine, within the chest containing the solar Osirian corpse (the name is omitted in the tomb of Ramesses IX). The text over the sun disk, present in the tomb of Ramesses VII but omitted in that of Ramesses IX, is:

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn
hkn=sn n irw R^c
h3.t ʿ3(.t) imy(.t) 3h.t
h3.t ntr št3.t
dī=sn ʿ=sn n b3-b3.w
iw R^c dwl=f sn
pr=sn m qrr.ty(?)
 These gods are in this fashion,
 they praising the *irw*-form of Re,
 the great corpse which is in the horizon,
 the secret divine corpse,
 they extending their arm(s) to the *Ba* of *Ba*'s.
 Re calls them,
 and they come forth from the two caverns (?).

[Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. A, far bottom right], where the "crying" eye in the chest with four flesh signs at least suggests a shining solar eye).

²⁵⁹ For the *ʿfd.t* as located within the *hṫmy.t*, the "place of destruction," compare the first scene in the first register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. D), where the *ʿfd.t št3.t* is in the area of punishment. This is on the same level as the feet of the large goddess in the third scene of the same register, her feet said to be in the "lower dat," the *hṫmy.t* (see the discussion below pp. 376ff.).

²⁶⁰ The third scene in the upper register of the left wall in the sarcophagus chamber; see Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pp. 64-5, pl. 117.

⁶¹ Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 90.

¹² In these later parallels to the Tutankhamun image, the ram has his forelegs raised before him.

The ram here is the *b3-b3.w*, the ram form of the sun,²⁶³ as well as the great corpse in the horizon. This great corpse is that depicted on the other side and discussed above; it also appears reclining as the eastern horizon in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX; in the graffito accompanying and referring to that figure, the deceased king is also called *b3=k špsy*, “your august ram-form.” The deities praise the ram and the corpse at the same time; these appear together in the *ʿfd.t* on the second side of the Tutankhamun shrine.

ANNOTATION (PL. 8):

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn
m qrr.t im(y).t Htmy.t
iw b3 R^c dwt=f h3.wt=f im
ʿq=f m qrr.t tn
h3.ty tpy im^a
shd R^c im.yw=s m hrw^b=f
srq=sn m-ht dwt

These gods are in this fashion
 in the cavern which is in the Place of Destruction:
 The *b3* of Re calls his corpses therein,
 when he enters into this cavern,
 the light of the (human-)headed one being therein.
 It is by his voice that Re illumines those who are in it.
 It is after being called that they breathe.

^a The three-pronged plant has here the value *h3*; for the orthography of *h3.ty* here, compare the writing of *h3.ty* in the word *wh3.ty*, “the two cauldrons,” in the Book of Caverns. In the second scene in the fifth register of the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns an enigmatic annotation accompanies the two arms emerging from the ground, supporting a large cauldron in which suffer the tormented flesh, *ba*’s, and shades of the damned (pl. 43A):

ʿwy htm.t^a pr^b=sn m d3.t hr wh3.ty^c ...

The two arms of the place of destruction come forth from the Dat, bearing the two cauldrons ...²⁶⁴

²⁶³ On *b3-b3.w* as “Widder der Widder,” see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 78-81; for the phrase *b3-b3.w* see also G. Vittmann, “Die Autobiographie der Tathotis,” *SAK* 22 (1995): 296-297, n. 14.

²⁶⁴ Piankoff did not translate this line; E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* (Zürich and Munich, 1972), p. 384, offered, “Die beiden Arme kommen hervor aus der Dat, indem sie die ...(unklar) halten,” leaving out the birds following *ʿwy*.

^a The first bird is for *htm*, the second for *t*.²⁶⁵ In the Osireion version, the flame has the value *t*.²⁶⁶ In the second scene in the third register of the Fifth Division of Caverns, similar cauldron-carrying arms are said to emerge *m htm.t*, and are called *ꜥ.wy htm.t* in an accompanying enigmatic annotation.²⁶⁷ One may compare also the *ꜥ.wy-htm.w hn.ty htm.t* in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.²⁶⁸

^b The Osireion version shows a semi-cursive bird, for *p3*, as *p*.²⁶⁹

^c The three-pronged plant has the value *h3*, while the grasshopper has the value *w*.²⁷⁰ In the Osireion version, the *t* is written elaborately as the loaf of bread on the mat, normally *htp*, which then receives its usual phonetic complements for that more common use of the sign. The cauldrons are apparently two in number, one for each of the two demons depicted, and the following text mentions *ktwy*.²⁷¹

The *tpy*, “(human-)headed one,” is the *tpy* appearing in the accompanying scene—the human headed serpent winding repeatedly around the two sarcophagi. For the enigmatic orthography of *tp* as *dp*, compare the writing of *tp*, “head,” as *dp* in Scene 1 on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 4B, top).

Yet another, though less likely reading is to take the first four signs of col. 11 as a writing of *it<n> Rꜥ*, with the first disk as the determinative of *it<n>* and the second as *Rꜥ*. The first disk could be read as *n*, through substitution with the *nīw.t*-city sign for *n*. The other orthographies of *itn* on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun have disk determinatives (pl. 5C; pl. 7A), suggesting that the *n* of *itn* is indeed absent in this orthography. The *it<n>* orthography of *itn*, supporting Fecht’s reconstruction of the pronunciation of the word as *jati*, does occur in the name *it<n>y.t* in an annotation to a portion of the Book of the Creation of the

²⁶⁵ Through substitution of G 38 for the *tyw*-bird—see Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105; Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 413.



²⁶⁶ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 47; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 109.

²⁶⁷ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 66, l. 7, and pl. 67, ll. 1-3.

²⁶⁸ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 10, ll. 5-6 (text accompanying the second scene in the third register of section A). Note also the *ꜥ.wy hry(t)* and the *ꜥ.wy nm(t)* in the fourth register of section D of the same composition (*ibid.* p. 58).


²⁶⁹ For the *p3*-bird for *p*, see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 413.

²⁷⁰ For this value of the grasshopper, see pp. 108-10. Similarly, the lion used for *r* acquired the value *w* in at least two texts (Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 93, cryptogram no. 109; Drioton, *SASAE* 2 [1946]: 101 [Drioton’s acrophonic derivations of the value *w* for the lion are unnecessary]).

²⁷¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): 62, n. 5 and pl. 75, l. 2. There is no relation between the word  and the probable *ir.ty*  of Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 1, l. 9 (and p. 6 n. 8).

Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses III,²⁷² and in several writings of *itn* in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.²⁷³

The orthographies of *itn* without the final *n* lend support to the suggestion that *itn*, “disk of the sun,” was vocalized as *jati/jata*.²⁷⁴ There are other writings of *itn* which have thus far also been left out of any discussion of the pronunciation of the word, and which also support the loss of the final *n* of *itn*. An orthography of *itn* as *it< n >* occurs in the name *it< n >y.t* in an annotation to a portion of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses III,²⁷⁵ and in several writings of *itn* in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.²⁷⁶ In the Osireion version of the

Twelfth Hour of the Book of Gates, *itn* appears to have had the orthography ²⁷⁷, essentially a writing of *it*, “father.” Such an orthography fits well with Fecht’s reconstruction of the pronunciation of *itn*, “solar disk.” There is an apparent writing without *n* in the tomb of Bakenamun.²⁷⁸ One may also compare the writing of *itn* as

²⁷² J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* vol. 1 (Paris, 1844) pp. 422-3; Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 42, n. 1; this text is now destroyed. See the full discussion in chapter 4, pp. 319-322.



²⁷³ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 79, pl. 11, ll. 1 (text 22: *it< n >=f ʿ3 šw.t*), 3 (text 22: *it< n > ʿh.ty*), 6 (text 23: *it< n >=f ʿ3 šw.t*).


²⁷⁴ Fecht, “Amarna Probleme (1-2),” *ZÄS* 85 (1960): 84-8; see also C. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou-Simbel* vol. 1 (Cairo, 1968), p. 138; Vergote, *Grammaire copte*, vol. 1b, p. 88; the orthography of *itn* without the final *n* (cf. M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* [Brussels, 1938], p. 26, l. 4 and p. 158, l. 10) was observed already by le Page Renouf, *ZÄS* 12 (1874): 105 (see also B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* [Baltimore, 1991], p. 355). For the loss of the final *n*, compare J.J. Clère, “La chute de l’*n* du suffixe -*čn* de l’ancien égyptien,” *Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d’Études Chamito-Sémitiques* 2 (1937): 66-68, on the pronunciation of *tn*, and Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (PhD Dissertation, 1970), pp. 32-34, and P. Vernus, “A propos de la fluctuation P/F,” in J. Osing and G. Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass* (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 452-53, on the loss of final *n*. See also K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4, pp. 129-30 (*tn* instead of *t*); B. Gunn, review of C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre* (Copenhagen, 1937), in *JEA* 28 (1942): 72 (citing *šhm.tn* for *šhm.ti* on the sarcophagus of Anchnesneferibre); and M. Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1992), pp. 176-77 (*t* and plural strokes for *tn/tn*).

²⁷⁵ J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* vol. 1 (Paris, 1844), pp. 422-3; Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 42, n. 1; this text is now destroyed. See the full discussion in Chapter 4, pp. 220-22.

²⁷⁶ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 79, pl. 11, ll. 1 (text 22: *it< n >=f ʿ3 šw.t*), 3 (text 22: *it< n > ʿh.ty*), 6 (text 23: *it< n >=f ʿ3 šw.t*).

²⁷⁷ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 377 (Twelfth Hour).

²⁷⁸ In the first column on the left jamb of the entrance to the tomb; see M. A.-Q. Muhammed, “Two Theban Tombs, Kyky and Bak-En-Amun,” *ASAE* 59 (1966): pl. 95. In the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu there is an example of *itn*  corrected from *id*  (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 2, pl. 83, l. 56); as J. Wilson suggested (“Ancient Text Corrections in Medinet Habu,” *ZÄS* 68 [1932]: 55, no.

a reed leaf and disk in J. Monnet, "Un vase à libation royal du culte d'Amon-Rē de Gematon," *RdE* 9 (1952): 94; as well as several orthographies of *itn* in *Gm-p3-itn* appearing in M.F.L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, vol. 1, Text (London, 1949), p. 43, text n. 5. The orthography  at Dendara²⁷⁹ suggests the possibility of a pun based on a similarity in pronunciation of *iz.t* and *itn*. As Sauneron suggested,²⁸⁰ the use of the sun disk for *t* at Esna may derive (through the consonantal principle) from *itn* vocalized as *iati*.²⁸¹

Reading *it<n> R^c* at the beginning of the line, the following signs of col. 11 and the first three of col. 12 could be a writing of *n^cy=f*. Retaining the reading *im* for the final two signs of col. 12, one might then read the whole of cols. 11 and 12 as *it<n> R^c n^cy=f im*, "the disk of the sun travels therein." In *n^cy*, the serpent would represent *n*,²⁸² and the spewing mouth *ḥ*. The value *n* for the serpent most likely derived through an hieratic confusion.²⁸³ The value *ḥ* for the spitting mouth derives from substitution of the spewing mouth for the suppurating pustule (see pp. 46-8). The reverse of this substitution, with the mouth sign lending a value to the pustule, is also attested.

According to Fairman, a multiliteral sign can reduce to a uniliteral value if that sign consists of a strong consonant and one or more weak consonants; the strong consonant would provide the new, uniliteral value. "These weak consonants originally seem to have been only *z*, *i*, *w* and the feminine ending *t*, but in the course of time *r*, *t*, *d* and *ḏ* all shared this weakness and could be dropped. These weak consonants could fall away from any part of the word, beginning, middle or end."²⁸⁴ Perhaps following this rule, Sauneron explained the value *r* for the suppurating pustule in the temple of Esna as deriving from the word *rḏw* (*Wb.* II 469).²⁸⁵ This

59 and 48, n. 4), this is probably one of the "errors which probably originated in copying from a hieratic manuscript." The *d* likely resulted from a misreading of the ligatured *t* and *n*, and is not evidence for the pronunciation of *itn* at the time.

²⁷⁹ H. Beinlich, "Ein Morgenlied an Osiris aus dem Hathor-Tempel von Dendera," *RdE* 32 (1980): 24-5.

²⁸⁰ Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 160.

²⁸¹ The orthography of *šnw itn*, "what the sun's disk encircles," in R.A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* 2 vols. (London, 1974), p. 88, l. 7 also appears to be a writing of *itn* without the final *n* (reference courtesy of E.F. Wente). Caminos suggests reading *šnw R^c it*, "what Re the Father encompasses," citing the appellation of the Aton as "Re the Father." This epithet, which B. Gunn, "Notes on the Aten and his Names," *JEA* 9 (1923): 175-76 discusses, may itself pun on the similar pronunciations of *it* and *jati*.

²⁸² Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 413; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933): 43; *idem*, "Amon, Refuge du Coeur," *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 10; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949): 118.

²⁸³ In the Pyramid Texts, both the water-*n* and the horned viper could be confused with the *t3*-land sign (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4, pp. 125-26 [§156]), so a confusion of *f* and *n* is not unthinkable. According to Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 43, the serpent derived the value *n* through acrophony from the term *n^cw* (*Wb.* II 207, 8-14).

²⁸⁴ Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943): 291.

²⁸⁵ Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 131 (nos. 90-91); Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 1, p. 291 (nos. 703 and 705).

would perhaps be an acceptable explanation for the sign's uniliteral value, assuming there were no information providing another pedigree for the spewing pustule as *r*; there is another explanation.

In a scene on the north jamb on the east side of the Ptolemaic pylon at the small temple of Medinet Habu,²⁸⁶ the king offers incense and water to Harsiese and Nephthys. In a line of vertical text in front of him, the king says *hrp(=i) n=k sntr pr m Kpn kbh pr m 3bw*, "I dedicate to you incense which has come forth from Byblos, and cool water which has come forth from Elephantine." Elephantine here has the orthography $\dagger \text{𐀓} \text{𐀓}$. Elephantine was often written with the sign 𐀓 , deriving through Hieratic from the earlier 𐀓 . The spewing variant of the pustule could then function as a determinative of *3bw*, as in the example $\dagger \text{𐀓} \text{𐀓}$.²⁸⁷ By substitution of a sign with a similar appearance, or by confusion if one prefers, the spewing pustule became the spewing mouth in the orthography of the Medinet Habu writing of *3bw*. The spelling of *rd.wy*, "two feet," as $\text{𐀓} \text{𐀓} \text{𐀓}$, 𐀓 substituting for 𐀓 , $\text{𐀓} \text{𐀓}$ having the value *rdw* (*Wb.* II 469, 5-19),²⁸⁸ provides further evidence that the signs 𐀓 and 𐀓 could interchange.

The substitutions of the spewing mouth for the spewing pustule in the Medinet Habu writing of *3bw*, and in the Edfu writing of *rd.wy*, explain the use of the suppurating pustules for *r* at Esna. 𐀓 , as a variant of 𐀓 , could have the value *r*,²⁸⁹ thus 𐀓 , as a variant of 𐀓 , could also have the value *r*.²⁹⁰ By substitution of one "spewing" sign for another, 𐀓 acquires the value *r* from 𐀓 . The interchange of the signs 𐀓 and 𐀓 explains both the value *r* for the spewing pustule, which the consonantal principle might also explain, and the use of the spewing mouth in place of the suppurating pustule in the spellings of *3bw* and *rd.wy*, which the consonantal principle cannot explain.²⁹¹ The substitution of spewing signs explains all

²⁸⁶ *PM* II, p. 462, 10 b II.



²⁸⁷ W. Wreszinski, "Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit nach einem Stele im Vatikan," *ZÄS* 45 (1908): 118; F. R. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité* (Leuven, 1994), pl. 23, l. 9; see also K.T. El-Dissouky, *Elephantine in the Old Kingdom* (U. of Chicago dissertation, unpublished, 1969), pp. 3-15 for orthographies of *3bw*.












²⁸⁸ É. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, vol. 4 (Cairo, 1929), p. 274, l. 1; De Witt, *BIFAO* 55 (1955): 116 terms this an "abusive" use. In the tomb of Senenmut a hybrid of the spewing pustule, the spewing mouth, and a pouring pot is found (*ie*, the determinative of *nhh* in line SW 4 —see Dorman, *The Tombs of Senenmut*, pls. 68-69).

²⁸⁹ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 39; *idem*, *CdE* 9, no. 18 (1934): 193; H. Junker, review of K. Sethe and O. Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit*, in *OLZ* 53 (1958): 335.

²⁹⁰ G. Daressy, "Hymne à Khnoum du temple d'Esné," *RdT* 27 (1905): 89; A.H. Zayed, "Reflexions sur deux statuettes inédites de l'époque ptolémaïque," *ASAE* 57 (1962): 151 and 153-54; Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 1, pp. 161-62.

²⁹¹ According to Fairman, if an explanation for a value of a Ptolemaic sign is proposed, and "if, furthermore, it is discovered that this method helps to explain a whole series of





exchanges of  and —it is “the explanation which is exclusive”²⁹²—and is to be preferred as the explanation of the origin of the value *r* for the suppurating pustule at Esna.²⁹³

The spelling of *ꜥbw* in the Medinet Habu example requires some further discussion. The toponym appears to have three separate determinatives, the second being , a variant of . Though a substitution of  for  is possible,²⁹⁴ it is not common in the orthography of *ꜥbw*.²⁹⁵ The substitution is explicable, however, and adds a new level of meaning to the spelling here chosen for Elephantine. The Nile originates from the efflux, the *rwꜥ*, of Osiris.²⁹⁶  suggests , an orthography of the name of the Inundation, *Hꜥpy*,²⁹⁷ and may embody an allusion to the source of the Nile. That the sign  transforms into  then takes on greater significance— can be a writing of *Hꜥpy*, the Inundation (*Wb.* III 42). So  as the Inundation comes from , the efflux of Osiris, in a spelling of *ꜥbw*, Elephantine, the traditional source of the Nile.²⁹⁸

values, we are justified in suggesting that it formed one of the principles that guided the ancient scribes.” (*ASAE* 43 [1943]: 201).

²⁹² *Ibid.* 202.














²⁹³ The substitution of the pustule for the mouth occurs elsewhere; cf. the use of the pustule for the spewing mouth of the Pyramid Texts in determining *isd* in the version of PT 593 in the Tomb of Mutirdis (J. Assmann, *Grabung im Asasif* 1963-1970, vol. 6: *Das Grab der Mutirdis* [Mainz am Rhein, 1977], p. 85, n. e to text 92).

²⁹⁴ Compare i.e. the substitution of  for , *dw*, in the writing of *ꜥbdw*, Abydos (H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* vol. 1 [Cairo, 1925] pp. 3-4; É. Drioton, *Le texte dramatique d'Edfou* [Cairo, 1953], p. 46);  for , see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 45.

²⁹⁵ See the examples given in Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 1, pp. 3 and 16.

²⁹⁶ K. Sethe and O. Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1957), p. 82, l. 10 (Bab el Amra, Karnak; third scene from the top, N end of W interior = P. Clère, *La porte d'Éueregète à Karnak* [Cairo, 1961], pl. 45), the king says to Osiris: *hꜥp=i n-k Hꜥpi wtt m rꜥw=k*, “I consecrate for you the Inundation, engendered from your efflux;” see J.G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Swansea, 1970), pp. 436-437; Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford, 1956), p. 21 n. 16; H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1956), pp. 408-409; for Osiris and Hapi see also the references cited by D. Kurth, “Nilgott,” in *LdA*, vol. 4, col. 486, nn. 67-68.




²⁹⁷ C. De Wit, “Some Values of Ptolemaic Signs,” *BIFAO* 55 (1956): 116, n. 1. This orthography of Hapi is discussed by M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel (“Die Namen der Götter,” in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years* (*Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*) [Leuven, 1998], vol. 1, pp. 585-7), but she maintains the incorrect acrophonic derivation of the spitting mouth from *psg* and seems unaware of the relationship between this writing and the inundation coming forth from the flesh of Osiris.

²⁹⁸ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 1, p. 3 cites a spelling of Elephantine from the Book of the Dead as             . The *qbḥ* vessel in this writing

In *it<n> R^c n^cy=f im*, “the disk of the sun travels therein,” *it<n> R^c n^cy=f* could be a non-initial main sentence,²⁹⁹ dependent on the *iw* of *iw b3 R^c dwt=f*. The preposition + infinitive without following suffix here has a passive sense.³⁰⁰ The *y* ending of *n^cy* would be unexpected for a non-initial main sentence, however. The alternative reading requires an uncommon, though not unattested, orthography of *itn*; it requires a value ^c for the spewing mouth otherwise unattested in this corpus, and a *sgm=f* form *n^cy*, unexpected in the context. Finally, the reading accepted here—*HA.ty tpy im* has the advantage of referring to a labeled figure in the accompanying scene, and does not require any unusual cryptographic values of the signs.

b In *hrw*, the *hr*-sign represents *hr*, as it routinely does in orthographies of *shr* in the enigmatic texts (cf. pl. 8, ll. 2-3).

One of the most important elements in this annotation is the equation of light and breath; these two life-giving elements are the result of the call of Re in the fourth scene of the third register in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns,³⁰¹ and in the Seventh Address to Re in the Great Litany.³⁰² The call of the sun brings light, for it is the *sh.t*-eye of the sun which calls out.³⁰³ The second scene in the third register of the Second Division of the Book of Caverns, which parallels this scene in the presence of the sun depicted within the *hn*-chest of Osiris (see above, discussion of the *fd.t*, pp. 91-3), also stresses the breath-giving call of the sun:³⁰⁴

appears to allude to the *qbh.w* waters of the cataract region (*Wb.* V 29, 5-6); the determinative  in the Medinet Habu example functions as the two determinatives  and  in the Book of the Dead writing of *abw*. For other examples of *abw* with a water determinative, see El-Dissouky, *Elephantine in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 8-10 (exx. 3 and 4)= E. Edel, *Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der 'Weltkammer' aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre* (Göttingen, 1963), fig. 4 and pp. 124-125; Nr. 5, fig. 13. See also Sander-Hansen, *Anchnesneferibre*, pp. 99-100 for the water determinative of *rdw*, “efflux,” written as though it flows from the corner of the *dw*-mountain (this may refer to the Nile as the efflux of Osiris).

²⁹⁹ See Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, p. 135, and the references cited there.

³⁰⁰ On this see B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris, 1924), pp. 66-68.

³⁰¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 135, ll. 8-9.

³⁰² Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 12: *nls ir.t=f dwt tp=f pn nty dl=f nfw m b3.w n s.t=sn šsp=sn srq=sn*.

³⁰³ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 66, close of the 57th Address: *twt ls h3.t mdw sh.t=f*, “for you are the corpse of the one whose *sh.t*-eye speaks.” This concept may be behind the writing of *hdw.t* as *wd.wy* in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 26, l. 6): *ntr pn 3 mdw=f n=f tf m33=f wd.wy itn=f*, “this god is wont to speak to him, when he sees the light of his disk.” For the dead lighting up at the call of the deity, compare line 4 of the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pp. 246-8).

³⁰⁴ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 20, ll. 2-4. Compare also Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 104, l. 4 (a portion of the introductory text to the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns): *srq h3.wt=f n itn=i*, “through my disk do his corpses breathe.”

nṯr.t ny.t Ḥnty-d3.t wd3.t [ny.t] itm m tḫ.t ny.t hn ny št3
m33w dw3.tyw
srq=sn rf ...

Oh divine eye of the Foremost of the Dat, oh Udjat eye of Atum in the pit
 of the chest of the mystery,
 whom the Datians see,
 with the result that they breathe...

In the version in the tomb of Ramesses IX, a sun disk appears within the chest.³⁰⁵
 The text of this parallel scene from the Book of Caverns parallels the text in the
 section of the Tutankhamun shrine in describing the call of the solar deity as giving
 breath to the Datians. Taken all together, the scenes in this section of the shrine
 suggest the resurrection of Re as Horus from the corpse of Osiris.

³⁰⁵ Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 60.

SECOND SIDE, WITH CLOSING SCENE OF THE REBIRTH OF THE SUN

In the far upper right of the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 3) there is a brief text in *Normalschrift*, referring to the ennead, paralleling the text at the far upper left on the first side of the shrine, located directly opposite. The text on the closing side reads (plate 6B):

wnn=k mm psḏ.t nn tni=k r wꜥ im=sn Wsir nsw.t Nb-ḥprw-Rꜥ mꜣꜥ-ḥrw

Without your being distinguished from one among them^a shall you be with the ennead, oh Osiris, king Nebkheperewre, justified.

^a The king was chosen (*stp*) and distinguished (*stni*) from other mortals,³⁰⁶ but he did not desire to be distinguished (*tni*) from the gods; he wished rather to be indistinguishable from the deities. This desire finds expression again in the text on the wooden chest from the tomb of Tutankhamun, Carter 32, right half of side C, addressed to the great ennead which is in Nut, and the entourage of Re in the Night Bark” (*psḏ.t ʿz.t imy Nw.t šmsw Rꜥ m Sktt*):³⁰⁷

*di=tn Wsir nsw.t Nb-ḥprw-Rꜥ ḥnꜥ=tn
nn tni=f r wꜥ im=tn*

May you set the Osiris, king Nebkheperure together with you, without his being distinguished from one among you.

SECOND SIDE, SCENE 1 (PL. 9A):

NAMES:

The serpent: *īꜣr.t* “uraeus”

This is the name of the identical serpent in the lower left section of this side of the shrine (pl. 12).

Dwꜣ.ty or *Wnw.ty* “he of the Dat” or “he of the hour”

The name of the first standing mummy from the left is *dwꜣ.ty* or *wnw.ty*, written as a star plus *ty* as an ending,³⁰⁸ the name of the second mummy from the left is apparently also *dwꜣ.ty* or *wnw.ty*, the name there written as two stars.

³⁰⁶ See E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches* vol. 1 *die Phraseologie* (Berlin, 1970), p. 71 (§B 1.23).

³⁰⁷ See H. Beinlich and M. Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford, 1989), p. 13.

³⁰⁸ Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, p. 36, n. 3 read: *dwꜣty*, *dwꜣy*, *sšy*, *šsy*, *ḥqsy*, *ššsy*; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 29-34, does not read these names.

Hbsy “clothed one”

This name is parallel to the *hbsw*, “clothed one,” of the Amduat.³⁰⁹

Šsy “he of the mummy wrappings”

This name describes a mummiform deity. The preceding name describes another such mummiform being as “the clothed one,” a reference to the shrouds of that mummy. The following name, *šsy*, may likewise allude to the cloths binding the mummy, if one understands the name to be a nisbe based on the term *šs*, “linen,” a word which can refer to mummy bands (*Wb*. IV 540, 5-6).³¹⁰

Hqsy “the incomplete one”

The name of this entity provides another attestation of this rare term. In the 24th Address to Re in the Great Litany, the eye brought back to the deity is *hqswtt*, apparently the “Unvollständiges Auge”.³¹¹ This is also the name of one of the two watchmen at the seventh gate of the Netherworld in the Book of Gates.³¹²

Iss(y) “the bound one (?)”

This final name suggests a reading *issy* (with the *š*-pool substituting for the island sign as *iw* for *i*), perhaps relating to the verb *iss*, “to bind, to tie up.”³¹³ In the 66th scene of the Book of Gates, in the Tenth Hour, Apep is referred to as *ssi*, apparently Apep as the “bound one.”³¹⁴ On the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun the name *issy* may refer to the being not as wicked, but in reference to the binding

³⁰⁹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 156 no. 625 (*Texte zum Amduat*, vol. III, p. 660), vol. 2, p. 155; compare also the mummiform goddess *hbs.t* of the lower register of the Eighth Hour of the Amduat (*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 150 no. 609 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, 635; vol. 2, p. 150), the mummiform *hbs.t* in a sarcophagus oval of the second register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 52), and the *hbs.t-ššt3.w* in the fifth scene of the first register in the Third Division of the book of Caverns (not mummiform, but in a sarcophagus oval; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: 20).

³¹⁰ See also S. Sauneron, *Rituel de l'embaumement* (Cairo, 1952), p. 56 (index).

³¹¹ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 29; vol. 2, pp. 65 and 106 n. 68.

³¹² Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 272.

³¹³ See Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 236 n. 9 (Hornung cites M. Alliot, “Les rites de la chasse au filet, aux temples de Karnak, d’Edfou et d’Esneh,” *RdE* 5 [1946]: 86 n. 3, and Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze*, p. 46).

³¹⁴ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 346.

mummy wrappings. There are also beings *ssy.w*, “bound ones,” attested in the Book of the Night, associated with the *nn.ty.w*, “those of the nether-sky.”³¹⁵

ANNOTATION (PL. 9A):

nn n nt <r.w>^a m shr pn

hd.wt R^c q.w m h3.wt=sn

dwi=f^b b3.w=sn

sn r=sn p=sn htw b3.w

These *g<ods>* are in this fashion,

the light of Re having entered their corpses.

When he calls their *ba*’s,

they set out after the (other?) *ba*’s.

^a The Red Crown could stand not simply for *n* here, but for *nt* as a writing of *ntr*.³¹⁶

^b The verb *dwi* is here read as a nominal *sdm=f*. The *ba*’s move as a result of the god’s call, and a similar text from the tomb of Ramesses VII³¹⁷ (cited more fully above) states that:

iw R^c dwi=f sn

pr=sn m qrr.ty(?)

Re calls them,

and they come forth from the two caverns(?).

³¹⁵ Roulin, *Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 96—he translates *ssy.w* as “the damned” (see also Roulin’s discussion of *ssy.w* on pp. 46-48). Alternatively one could read the final name as *ssšy*, a name attested for the second of seven beings in the final scene of the lower register in the Eleventh Hour of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 371, vol. 2, p. 263 [suggesting a translation of the name as “Der Rasselnde (?)”]), were one to concede the collapse of the sibilants necessary for writing the name as *sssy* in the Tutankhamun cryptography.

³¹⁶ For the Red Crown as *nt*, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 47; and chapter 4, n. 720. In this case, only the plural ending would be missing (for the plural the presence of the *r* in the writing would be expected [Coptic singular **NOYTE**, plural **ENTHP** [Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 127]; for the loss of the *r* compare the plural of *ntr.w* as *nty.w* in line 63 of the second text in the middle register of the large portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and the writing of *ntrwt* as *nṯwt* in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 143c [cited by Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 212, no. 78.2290], perhaps supplied by the bird [as haplography]).

³¹⁷ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pp. 64-5, pl. 117.

Rather than the *iw* + Noun + *sdm=f* of the Ramesses VII passage, the text on the Tutankhamun shrine employs the nominal *sdm=f* with which to begin an expression of the same concept—the movement of the souls of the dead as a result of the call of the solar deity in the Netherworld. A parallel construction appears for an expression of the same concept in the Great Litany of Re:³¹⁸

ḏwi n=ṯn imy-itn=f

ʿr b3=ṯn r qm3 ṯn

When the one who is in his disk calls to you,
your *ba*'s ascend towards the one who created you.

Egyptologists often treat *ḏwi* as a third-weak verb,³¹⁹ and the appearance of the infinitive form *ḏwi.t* in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk³²⁰ suggests that this was at times opinion of the Egyptians themselves. There is, however, evidence from the corpus of the Netherworld texts of the New Kingdom royal tombs that, in at least certain occurrences of the verb *ḏwi*, the final reed-leaf functions as though it were the final radical of a trilateral verb. In a number of passages in the Netherworld books *ḏwi* with final reed-leaf functions as an initial nominal *sdm=f* form.³²¹ The importance of the final-*i* of the verb *ḏwi* finds support in several confusions of the verbs *dw3*, "praise," and *ḏwi*, "call," in the Amduat,³²² the Litany of Re,³²³ and the Book of Gates.³²⁴

There are other verbs which also appear to be trilaterals with *i* as the final radical, such as *šri*, "to block," and *ṯni*, "to grow decrepit."³²⁵ As an explanation of the apparently trilateral *ḏwi*, one may offer two suggestions: 1) The form of *ḏwi* with *r* attested in a Middle Kingdom tomb at Meir,³²⁶ and sporadically later,³²⁷ and the

³¹⁸ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 203.

³¹⁹ E.g. Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 1, p. 91; J. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (Malibu, 1984), p. 575.

³²⁰ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 5, l. 4.

³²¹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 264-65; vol. 2, pp. 616 and 627; *idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 1, pp. 135, 139, 217, 385; *idem*, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 203; Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 2, l. 2; pl. 6, l. 3; pl. 21, l. 5; pl. 24, l. 8; *etc.*

³²² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 46 (and n. o) = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 279.

³²³ *Idem*, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Wesen*, vol. 1, p. 108.

³²⁴ *Idem*, *Das Buch von Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 385.

³²⁵ See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 209, §270 Obs.; G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1955), p. 116, §220; Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, p. 9 n. 14 (to section Biii); but note that Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 1, pp. 38 and 114 treats both of these verbs as though they were third weak, although he provides no discussion.

³²⁶ A.M. Blackman, and M.R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir 6* (London, 1953), p. 9 (with n. 1), pl. 13 (above the large fowling figure to the right).

infinitive form *ḏwi.t* attested in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, suggest a comparison of *ḏwi* with the verb *ḏmi/dmr*.³²⁸ 2) The verb *ḏwi* may perhaps originate from a fourth weak verb **ḏiwi*.³²⁹ Although there do not appear to be any orthographies of *ḏwi* that might strongly support this suggestion,³³⁰ one may compare the verb *hhi*, apparently originally *hihi*, although the full form of the verb does not appear in any text.³³¹ A derivation of *ḏwi* from an original **ḏiwi* could well explain the mix of masculine and feminine infinitives.³³² In any event, *ḏwi* with final *i* does appear to be an acceptable orthography of that verb in the nominal *sḏm=f* form, at least in the Netherworld Books.


The depiction accompanying this annotation shows the light of Re entering into the standing mummiform figures, the corpses of the annotation. The *ba*'s whom Re is said to call appear as though hovering on waves of light before the standing mummies. The concluding line apparently means that the *ba*'s, when summoned by Re, enter into the entourage of the sun, following alongside the other *ba*'s already called into the following of Re. The voice of Re is perhaps depicted, or at least hinted at, by the flame leaping from the mouth of the uraeus, a depiction of the fiery call of the solar deity.³³³ The stars shedding light towards the mummies are parallel in position and function to the sun disks shining onto the foreheads of the rising mummies in the scene to the far right of the upper register (pl. 10A). The stars here, and the disks in pl. 10A, are representations of the light of the sun in the Netherworld. The close association of stars and disks apparent in the upper register is more explicit in the central scene of the bottom register on this side of the shrine (pl. 13A), where stars atop disks cast light before standing, ram-headed, mummiform beings.³³⁴ The movement of the *ba*'s as they enter into the entourage

³²⁷ Eg. L. Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta, are e bacili da libagione* (Turin, 1977), p. 64 n. 1 and p. 67 (A); P. Vernus, *Athribis, Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes, et à l'histoire d'une ville du Delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique* (Cairo, 1978), p. 68, n. d.

³²⁸ Cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 2, p. 754; compare also the infinitive *sml.t*: Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, p. 119, §228.

³²⁹ I thank Dr. Janet Johnson for this suggestion.

³³⁰ Note, however, orthographies such as  (*Wb.* V 550). In the Ramesses IX version of

the Seventh Address in the Litany of Re, *ḏwi* is indeed written as though it were *ḏiwi*:  (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 12).

³³¹ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 216, §285.

³³² Cf. Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, p. 116, §219.

³³³ A. Piankoff, "Vallée des rois à Thèbes-Ouest, la tombe N° 1 (Ramsès VII)," *ASAE* 55 (1958): 153 (tomb of Ramesses VII - *md.wt=f m ḥdy.t*); Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 31, l. 5 (text accompanying the third scene in the second register of the third division of the Book of Caverns: *lw R' mdw=f n=sn m m3.wt=f* "Re speaks to them through his light"); for spittle as fire, see de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 342o: *ḥt mw=i tp r3=i*, "my saliva burns on the tip of my tongue." See also the discussion of *nḥp* in Chapter 5, pp. 297-9.

³³⁴ For the association of disks and stars in the Netherworld, see below, Chapter 7, pp. 430-2.

of the sun is indicated by the walking legs above the head of each *ba*-bird. The direction of these legs, towards the right, suggests that the large vertically arranged scene at the left end of this side of the shrine (pl. 14), while incorporating aspects of a concluding scene, is also another opening scene, corresponding to the scene of the entry of the sun into the Netherworld located at the right end of the first side of the shrine (pl. 4B and C, pl. 5A).

SECOND SIDE, SCENE 2 (PL. 9B):

NAMES:

The cat: *Miwy*

Piankoff suggested *mīry* (?), and following him Hornung proposed *mīry* or *mīrw* as a reading for the feline's name; neither proposed a parallel.³³⁵ In the 33rd Address to the solar deity in the great litany of Re, the god is called *miw.ty*, "cat-shaped one,"³³⁶ a reference to his form as the Great Cat, *miw ʿ3*, in the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead.³³⁷ The enigmatic name here should relate to such a designation of the sun. As *miw.ty* has already appeared on this first side of the shrine (pl. 5B [seventh entity from the right]), the composer of this version of Tutankhamun's treatise on the Solar-Osirian unity knew—as one might expect—the concept and terminology of Re as the "great cat;" one may expect another reference to this feline form of the sun in the annotation to the seated cat in this scene. The seated lion directly below, in the lower middle scene on this side of the shrine (pl. 13A), has the same name as the seated cat.

The bird for *m*, through substitution with the owl, and the plant for *i* through substitution with the reed leaf, are reasonable cryptographic values. If the name in question is related to *miw/miw.ty*, the grasshopper should have the value *w*. For enigmatic texts before the Roman period, only the value *r* has heretofore been attested for the sign of the grasshopper,³³⁸ and the origin of this value remains obscure.³³⁹ Were the sign of the grasshopper treated as *r*, it is not inconceivable

³³⁵ Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, p. 36, n. 4; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 32.




³³⁶ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 38; vol. 2, p. 109 n. 93. There are also deities *miw.ty* in scene 100 of the Book of Gates (*idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 402, vol. 2, p. 286), and in the fourth register of the Fourth Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: 41 and pl. 48, l. 7).

³³⁷ Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 30 (§15).

³³⁸ Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 414; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933): 44; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949): 119; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 24; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 34.

³³⁹ The most common name for the grasshopper was *snḥm*, often written as though *s3-nḥm*, "son of plundering" (on the names of the grasshopper/locust, see L. Keimer, "Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens (suite)," *ASAE* 33 [1933]: 97-130). If the grasshopper were employed cryptically as an equivalent of the *s3* bird, often the first sign in writing *snḥm/s3nḥm*, the grasshopper might then acquire the values possessed by the *s3*-bird. This graphic form of acrophony, acrographic cryptography, a sign substituting for the first sign in writing the name or description of that sign, appears otherwise unattested. In New Kingdom cryptography the grasshopper appears as *r* and *w*, but not as *s*, and *s* is a value which one might reasonably expect to find for the grasshopper, were it substituting for the *s3*-bird. The grasshopper may represent *s* at Esna, but apparently not elsewhere—Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 152 (no. 192), suggests reading the grasshopper in a writing of the name of Osiris as *s*, a value

that it could receive further enigmatic values derived from those applied to the mouth-*r*. The mouth-*r* has the value *w* in the text on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI.³⁴⁰ The grasshopper, normally with the phonetic value *r* has the value *w* in the second scene of the fifth register in the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns.³⁴¹ In similar cryptographic groups in the Fifth and Sixth Divisions of the Book of Caverns, the grasshopper also has the value *w* in *imy.w*, "those who are in..."³⁴² Reading *w* for the sign of the grasshopper-*r* on the shrine allows the reading of the enigmatic name of the two felines as *mīwy*. The lower feline is a lion, the

which he derives acrophonically from *snhm*. This value is otherwise unattested, and is most questionable in the group which Sauneron discusses. A possible, non-acrophonic explanation can be offered. Bird signs and the mouth-*r* can alternate in the dropped portion of the ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (see the following chapter), with the sign  for *r3*, "goose."  for *s3* could be the origin of  for *s3*, with the loss of the following aleph, simple *s*.

³⁴⁰ The mouth-*r* has the value *w* in the lower register of the main portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, here pl. 24, line 32 (*itn.w*); line 37 (*sn dwi-sn*); the mouth *r* has the value *w* in two occurrences of the word *dwi* in the rightmost text in the *Schutzbild* in Corridor G (pl. 30, ll. 4 and 5 right).

³⁴¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 74 ll. 8-9.

³⁴² The grasshopper for *w* occurs in the group figure *a* occurring in the Fifth Division (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 60, l. 5; pl. 61, ll. 4-5) and as figure *b* in the Sixth Division (*idem*, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 127, ll. 6-7) of the Book of Caverns (see pl. 43, figure B). In the Fifth Division, the group (preserved only in Ramesses VI) is found first on the body of the goddess in the Nut scene, immediately preceding *md3.t štyt.t hprw tpy šp*, "Buch der «Geheimen», erste Erscheinungsform, grosse Revision" (Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, p. 374). In the second occurrence in the Fifth Division, the group occurs in a description of snakes in the Nut scene who *iwty rh* ... *štzyt [...]*. For the first group in the Sixth Division, Piankoff assumed an enigmatic transcription of the preceding line, and read the group here in question as *lrt (sic) hprw* (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: 31); Hornung (*Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, p. 411) read "die Gestalt (?) der Geburt Res schauen." For the second Fifth Division group, Hornung read "ohne das die *Bau* die «Geheimen» kennen..." (*Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, p. 374). A reading *m33 irw* is possible (for three birds as *m3w*, see the Appendix of Cryptographic Values; for the skin sign as *i* compare the discussion of the interchange of the skin sign with three-pronged plant signs in writing the value *k*—see above, pp. 68-9) in the second example of the group, but does not fit the Nut scene label very well. The *w* would also be written only in the P version of the Sixth Division occurrence of the group. A better solution for both is a reading *b3.w imy.w*; for the first example, the label would read "the *bas* which are in the book..." appropriate to a label. For the second example, the reading *b3.w imy.w* gives "assuming an unknown form—it is the cult image of the birth-form of Re—it is the *bas* among whom is the birth-form of Re—it is the two mounds which are in the Dat." Orthographically, the skin sign is for *imy* (see the Appendix of Cryptographic Values). The grasshopper has the value *w* in all but the P version in the Sixth Division, where the grasshopper is for *y* (from the mouth for *i*) and the bird is for *w*. The suggested bird following *b3w*, in the place of the skin sign in the P version of the second occurrence in the Fifth Division (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 61, l. 5), also suggests a writing of *imy.w*. For the mouth-*r* as *w*, from which this value for the grasshopper derives, see p. 168 n. 24.

upper a cat, suggesting the two natures of the solar eye, benevolent and inimical.³⁴³ The names are spelled in the same manner, probably an intentional allusion to the phonetic similarity between *miw*, **EMOY**, “cat,” and *mzi*, **MOYI**, “lion.”³⁴⁴

An alternative reading of the names would see the grasshopper as a substitution for the mouth *r*, deriving the value *t* from the use of the mouth-*r* for *t* through an hieratic confusion. In this way, the two names *miwy* could be read as *mi(w)ty*, “cat-shaped one.”

NAMES OF THE STANDING BEINGS:³⁴⁵

Tp Hr, “head of Horus”

Hr Hr, “face of Horus”

Wsr.t Hr, “throat of Horus”

Hs.t Hr “body/corpse of Horus”³⁴⁶

iwti rh, “unknown.”

iwti rh, “unknown.”

The feet of the first two entities from the left disappear below the ground line, suggesting that the bodies are emerging from the earth, parallel to the rising beings immediately to the right of this scene.³⁴⁷ This differentiation of the beings carries over to the accompanying captions—the names of the deities whose feet lie below the ground line are oriented to the right; the names of those standing atop the ground line are oriented to the left. Below these mummiform entities is a horizontal strip, bounded above and below by double lines. Within this strip undulates the body of a snake; a disk sits atop its body below each of the streams of light poring down from

³⁴³ H. Te Velde, “The Cat as Sacred Animal of the Goddess Mut,” in M. Heerma Van Vos, et al., eds., *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 127-37, Ph. Derchain, *Elkab I: Les monuments religieux à l'entrée de l'ouady Hellal* (Brussels, 1971), pp. 11ff.; *idem*, “La lionne ambiguë,” in L. Delvaux and E. Warmenbol, eds., *Les divins chats d'Égypte: un air subtil, un dangereux parfum* (Leuven, 1991), pp. 85-91; U. Verhoeven and Ph. Derchain, *Le voyage de la déesse libyque, ein Text aus der <<Mutritual>> des Pap. Berlin 3653* (Brussels, 1985); H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende* (Vienna, 1917); W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenaugen (der Papyrus der Tierfabeln-“Kufi”) nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384* (Strasbourg, 1917). The form of the sun *miw.ty* can represent a guardian of the damned from whom the punished can never escape (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 48, ll. 5-7; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 194 and 235).

³⁴⁴ See J. Yoyotte, “Des lions et des chats, contribution à la prosopographie de l'époque libyenne,” *RdE* 39 (1988): 155-78 (especially pp. 156-8).

³⁴⁵ Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, p. 37, n. 1 read: *tp-Hr*, *hr-Hr*, *wsrt-Hr*, *imw(?)Hr*, ... *iry-Hr*; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 32 read *tp-Hr*, *hr-Hr*, *wsrt-Hr*, *imw-Hr*, *iwti-rh*.

³⁴⁶ Cf. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 55.

³⁴⁷ The lower portions of the cat and the line in the upper and lower middle sections also disappear below the groundline.

the disks below the disembodied heads. This strip with serpent and disks recurs in the middle scene of the lower register. As a rough parallel one may cite the figures of the forms of Re as depicted in the Taharqa edifice at Karnak.³⁴⁸ There the forms of the sun stand atop a strip bounded above and below by double horizontal lines. Within this strip, below each form of Re, is a sun disk.

ANNOTATION (PL. 9B):

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn
tp.w=sn^a

These gods are in this fashion;
and their heads/it is their heads.

^a Hornung, p. 32, reads: "So sind diese Götter beschaffen (und?) ihre Köpfe...;" he assumes that this annotation is incomplete.

This scene corresponds to the scene of four headless corpses in the fifth scene of the second register in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns.³⁴⁹ The accompanying text there states:

R^c dd=f r qrr.t tn
i dddy.w iwtj.w tp.w=sn hry.w-ib dbz.wt=sn
dgg m n3.wt=sn ...
imy.w-ht Hr D3.t
idd tp=sn m ir.t=f
i mtn wi p(=i) hr=tn
ir=i n=tn wd-mdw
shd=i tn m-hnt qrr.t štzy.w ...

Re speaks to this cavern:

Oh those relating to the (solar) pupil, without their heads,
who are in the midst of their sarcophagi,
who see with their *n3.wt* (?) ...
those who are in the following of the Datian Horus,
whose heads are placed in his eye;
oh look you, I am passing by you,
giving you instructions,
illuminating you within the cavern of the mysterious
ones...

³⁴⁸ Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, pls. 12 and 14-15.

³⁴⁹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 131, ll. 5-9; see also P. Barguet, "Le livre des cavernes et la reconstitution du corps divin," *RdE* 28 (1976): 36.

The first entity in the Book of Caverns parallel has the name *tpy*, “he of the head,” similar to the name of the first entity on the shrine: *tp-Hr*, “head of Horus.” As depicted on the shrine, Re illumines these temporarily headless beings. As they receive their heads in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns,³⁵⁰ so does Re take up his “mysterious head” in the introduction to the Sixth Division:³⁵¹

iw h3.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s ššp=i tp=i št3y

My corpse and my head are in her cavern, and I shall receive my
mysterious head.

The concern with reattaching the head is also present in the address of the solar deity to Anubis in the text preceding the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns; there Anubis, as one who “ties on the head” (*ts tp*) of various divinities, is requested to tie on the head (*ts=k tp*) of the king.³⁵² This cavern of the return of heads traveling with the sun to their headless mummies is perhaps the origin of *ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΚΕΦΑΛΗ*, “the archons of the place of the head,” in the *Pistis*

³⁵⁰ In the first scene in the upper register of the Tenth Hour of the Book of Gates (scene 61), Re addresses two groups of four entities, who haul on the bowwarps and stern ropes of a cosmic vessel. To the southern deities, Re says: *šsp n=tn tp.w=tn ntr.w*, “receive to yourselves your heads, oh gods” (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 332-3); to the northern gods he likewise says: *tp.w=tn n=tn ntr.w*, “may your heads belong to you, oh gods” (*ibid.* p. 335). As Hornung (*ibid.* vol. 2, pp. 226-7) notes, the deities as depicted in the tombs of Sety I and Ramesses VI have no heads, only the respective Egyptian crowns and uraei. This may be a reference to the return of heads to entities near the end of the sun’s subterranean journey.

³⁵¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 115, l. 6; and compare Khepri later in the Sixth Division as *ts-tp*, “attached of head” (*ibid.*, pl. 144, l. 6). Similarly, in a text accompanying the final, Twelfth gate of the Book of Gates referring to Atum, Khepri, and two tall staves, each crowned by a human head (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 406):

h^c=sn hr tp=sn

hpr=sn hr m3w.t=sn (so Seti I; Osireion has *wnn=sn*; Ramesses VI has *hpr.w=sn*)

h^c tp=sn r sbh.t tn

They are concerned with their head(s),
they becoming manifest upon their staves,
their heads standing at this gate.

(Reading *h^c hr* as “s’occupier de” [Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, pp. 70-71, no. 77.0725], rather than Hornung’s [*Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 287] “Sie stehen auf ihnen.”) According to Hornung, *ibid.*, “mit den “Köpfen” ist wohl die bekronung der Stäbe gemeint.” In the light of the statements in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns, the head of Re is probably also intended (the staves are named *Hpr*, “Khepri,” and *itm* [*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 405]).

³⁵² Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 90, l. 9; pl. 91, ll. 2-5.

Sophia.³⁵³ The heads are said to be placed in the eye of Horus of the Netherworld, and they are called *dddy.w/dfdy.w*, “those relating to the (solar) pupil.” This explains the presence of the cat in the scene on the shrine—the cat is the eye of the sun, the pupil to whom the heads of these beings belong. These headless entities are among the blessed in the Netherworld because their heads are separate from their bodies, mingling with the eye of the sun.³⁵⁴ When the solar deity leaves the Netherworld to reappear in the world of mortals, their heads return to their bodies. In the third register of the Third Hour of the Amduat, the word of the solar deity reunites the Netherworld inhabitants with their heads:

iw ntr pn ʕ3 wd=f n=sn mdw.w

ʕnh=sn dwi=f n=sn

wd=f n=sn mw=sn

šsp=sn tp.w=sn m t3w tp-r3=f

This great god issues orders to them—

when he calls to them they live;

he commends their water to them—

by the breath of his mouth do they receive their heads.³⁵⁵

The breath of the divine mouth can be the light of the sun,³⁵⁶ whose flaming breath the Second Shrine shows pouring into the necks of the headless mummies.³⁵⁷

³⁵³ C. Schmidt and V. Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia* (Leiden, 1978), p. 333, ll. 4-5. For this and the following parallels with the Pistis Sophia, note the parallelism between that Gnostic work and the demotic Myth of the Solar Eye—see F. Lexa, “La légende gnostique sur Pistis Sophia et le mythe ancien égyptien sur l’oeil de Rê,” *Egyptian Religion* 1 (1933): 106-116. On the debt of the *Pistis Sophia* to earlier Egyptian religious concepts, see L. Kákósy, “Survivals of Ancient Egypt. Other Domains of Culture. Egyptian Influence on Gnosticism and Hermetism (A Brief of Survey),” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 (1989): 275-6; *idem*, “Tempel und Mysterien,” in R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz, eds., *Ägyptische Tempel-Struktur, Funktion und Programm* (Hildesheim, 1994), pp. 172-173.

³⁵⁴ On the head as a symbol of the link between God and man, see B.H. Stricker, “The Enemies of Re I: the Doctrine of Ascesis,” *DE* 23 (1992): 57.

³⁵⁵ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 53 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, pp. 302-03); vol. 2, p. 71 text n. 1. In connection with this, compare the title of Spell 532 of the Coffin Texts (de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 126a): *r3 n rdi.t tp n N n=f*, “speech for giving the head of N to him” (probably the actual head of the deceased, not a funerary mask [as J. Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris, 1961), p. 101 n. 5]; cf. H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata* [Leuven, 1996], p. 73). The head of Osiris, severed during the dismemberment by Seth, was perhaps solarized (for the severed head, see Vandier, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, pp. 100-1). The head of Osiris appears at the end of the lowest register of the Seventh Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 133 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 580); vol. 2, p. 139 [no. 555]). The association of water and the breath of the solar deity is perhaps another expression of the concept of fire as a liquid (compare the association of the names of the goddesses *nsy.t* and *mw.yt* above, and fire as water in the *nini*-greeting, discussed below in connection with Scene 8 of the Second Side of the shrine, p. 147).

The scene on the Tutankhamun shrine could serve as an illustration to the description of the return of heads to the bodies of the blessed dead in the Third Hour of the Amduat.

Thus in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns and on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, the first headless being can be called *tpy*, “he of the head” in the Book of Caverns,” *tp-Hr*, “head of Horus” on the shrine. He possesses a head that is about to be rejoined to his body at the close of the Datian day. In a scene from the papyrus of Bakenmut, the solar disk rises from the two hills of the horizon, and the head of the deity, the sun disk of Re-Osiris, rises from between two headless bodies, Osiris as the two hills of the horizon.³⁵⁸ A text on the demotic mummy board of a woman, BM 35464, ll. 10-11, states explicitly that the fate of the head of the deceased is different from that of her corpse:³⁵⁹

šp=w t3y=t he.t r-hry p.t
p3y=t tp r h.t-qnb

May your corpse be received above in heaven,
 and your head in the council chamber.

³⁵⁶ See above, pp. 100-1.

³⁵⁷ For the light shining into the open neck/chest areas of the mummiform beings, compare the text in W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumientiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 4, no. I 7, referring to the corpse feeding with its chest (*šnb.t*). This suggests a further association of *šnb.t* with the mouth, for which one should compare the association of *r3*, *q3q3*, and *šnb.t* as sources of the voice (see M. Smith, “An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 9 (P) + P. Louvre E 10605) (Part 1),” *Enchoria* 15 [1987]: 72, n. d to column I, l. 2, and n. 29, p. 72).

³⁵⁸ For headlessness and the west, see W. Westendorf, “Horizont und Sonnenscheibe,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974): 393-94 and n. 11. For a brief comment on the scene from the papyrus of Heruben, see also K. Myśliwiec, “A propos des signes hiéroglyphiques ‘*hr*’ et ‘*tp*,’” *ZÄS* 98 (1972): 98.

³⁵⁹ G. Vittmann, “Ein neuer religiöser demotischer Text,” *ZÄS* 117 (1990): 81-3. The concept of the fate of the head as separate from that of the body, for at least a portion of the Datian day, compare also text T 20 in the tomb of Basa (TT 389):

sb3=k m p.t *b3(=k) tp t3*

Your star be in heaven, (your) *ba* upon the earth.

(Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa* p. 63 and n. b). This text appears to refer to the head as a star. Gilded mummified heads may allude to a separate, solar/stellar destiny for the head (F. Dunand, “Les «têtes dorées» de la nécropole de Douch,” *BSFE* 93 [1982]: 26-46; T. Zimmer, “La moyenne Égypte: méthodes d’investigation bibliographiques et priorités,” *BSFE* 96 [1983]: 29-30 and n. 18 pp. 32-3; F. Dunand, *et al.*, *Douch*, vol. 1: *La nécropole* [Cairo, 1992], pp. 235-6, p. 249). Compare also the association of the head and the solar disk through headrests—see p. 430 n. 24 below.

This demotic text expresses a variant of the desire that the body be to the earth, and the soul to heaven. In the seventh hour of the Amduat this is expressed as:³⁶⁰

nttn ḥꜥ.w imy.w t3

tn r=tn n=i

sb3.w=tn n imy p.t

You are the standing ones, those who are in the earth;
you belong to me,

and your stars belong to the one who is in heaven...

The stars atop the heads of the Amduat deities (cf. pp. 169 n. 27, 281, 430-2), should—like their souls—go to heaven. In a late version of a text of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the deities at whose fingertips their stellar attributes are shown are said to have:³⁶¹ *itn m ḥr=sn* “disk(s) as their face(s).” Such disk-headed beings appear in the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI. An identification of the heads of the blessed dead with stellar disks, and an equation of these disk-heads with the soul would have resulted in the desire that the head separate from the chthonic corpse and join the voyage of the sun. Heads and stars are associated in the Fourth Hour of the Amduat (with disks atop the heads); and in the papyrus of Bakenmut, *tp.w ṣ3.w*, “numerous heads,” and *sb3.w wr.w*, “great stars,” mingle, apparently shining in the sky, like the head of the sun rising in the horizon between the headless Osiris-mummies to the left at the end of the papyrus.³⁶²

Osiris himself can be headless, in the form of the Graeco-Roman deity *Akephalos*, not simply as a result of his dismemberment at the hands of Seth; this headless form of Osiris was a magically powerful, solar deity.³⁶³ In a Twenty-fifth Dynasty amuletic text, this deity is:³⁶⁴

³⁶⁰ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 129, ll. 4-5 (*Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 567-568).

³⁶¹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 10, n. 1; for disks atop heads and as heads, see the discussions of the stellar *nb.w d3.t* on pp. 278-81 and 430-2.

³⁶² Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 20, pp. 163-8.

³⁶³ See A. Klasens, “An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty,” *OMRO* 56 (1975): 25-6; Y. Koenig, “Un revenant inconvenant? (Papyrus Deir El-Medineh 37),” *BIFAO* 79 (1979): 103-19; Y. Koenig, “Le contre-envoûtement de Ta-i-di-Imen, Pap. Deir el-Médineh 44” *BIFAO* 99 (1999): 267-268. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, p. 168, n. 779 suggests that “textual references to the practice (beheading) are uniformly negative, contra the recent suggestions of Wright 1979, p. 353 (G.R.H. Wright, “The Egyptian Sparagmos,” *MDAIK* 35 [1979]).” The solar Akephalos is an exception, however, as are the references to the heads of the blessed dead accompanying the sun in the Book of Caverns. For numerous other exceptions (textual and pictorial) demonstrating the positive associations of headlessness, see J. Berlandini, “L’‘acéphale’ et le rituel de revivification,” *OMRO* 73 (1993): 29-37 (reference courtesy of Ms. Colleen Manassa). See also the discussion of the deity Akephalos in the Graeco-Roman magical gems, A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), pp. 42-49.

ntf t3 h3.t iwt.t tp p3 s^ch iwtj hR
 ntf k3 pn^c iwn p3 shn shn gr r nhh
 p3 tkm n hrw nb p3 dw3 wr

He is the headless body, the mummy without face;
 he is the color-changing bull, the commander commanding eternal silence,
 the tkm of every day, the great Dawn

This is the mighty eastern giant, his Osirian part as *Akephalos*, his solar part as the Buchis bull, the tkm-form of the sun at the horizon.³⁶⁵ But there was also a desire that the head be knitted onto the body in the Netherworld.³⁶⁶ In the final text to the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns, Khepri is termed *ts-tp*, “attached of head.”³⁶⁷ *Akephalos* was not powerful without his head, but because of what his headlessness implied—his head was with the sun, and was the sun.³⁶⁸

The heads before the headless mummies on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun are connected by light to disks atop the back of the serpent. This representation recalls Amduat and Book of Gates scenes of disks and heads atop the back of Apep,

³⁶⁴ Klasens, *OMRO* 56 (1975): pl. VII, 1 (transcription on p. 24, fig. 1); he discusses the amuletic text passage and the deity *Akephalos* on pp. 25-6, concluding that he is “a solar deity.” Klasens suggests that the reference to “the headless one” (*p3 iwtj tp=f*) in P. Salt 825 is not a text “without a beginning” (so Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825* (B.M. 10051), *rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte* [Brussels, 1965], p. 97), but is rather a reference to *Akephalos*. For the “roaring” of *Akephalos* (*ibid.* p. 26), note that this is not so much the “sun god as a lion” (so Klasens), but rather a reference to the noise of creation at the eastern horizon (on cackling and creation, see p. 443, n. 84). Note A.J. Festugière, *La Révélation d’Hermès Trismégiste* (Paris, 1954), p. 189, on *Akephalos* as “celui qui lance les éclairs et tonne” = Magical papyrus V 156 of Preisendanz’ numeration. The light of the deity and the voice of the deity are equated, and this for the headless *akephalos*, the headlessness merely heightening the emphasis on the portentiously unseen solar head.

³⁶⁵ For *pn^c iwn* there may be a comparison with the changing colors of the heavenly cow (see L. Motte, “La vache multicolore et les trois pierres de la régénération,” *Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte* [1989]: 147-9 [§4.3]). For *tkm*: see Klasens, *OMRO* 56 (1975): 27; U. Köhler, *Das Imiut* (Wiesbaden, 1975), part B, pp. 427-8, n. 2; and the references in G. Vittmann, “Ein Mumienbrett im Britischen Museum,” in M. Bietak, et al, eds. *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten, Festschrift Gertrud Thausung* (Vienna:, 1994), p. 242 and nn. 97-8. See also the discussion of this deity in Chapter 4, pp. 194-5 and Chapter 7, pp. 447-8.

³⁶⁶ See M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (London, 1987), p. 123. For Stricker, headlessness can be a representation of formlessness, and the embryo, a symbol of rebirth (B.H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus* vol. 5 [Leiden, 1989], pp. 672-85; *idem*, *DE* 23 [1992]: 45 ff., p. 76).

³⁶⁷ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 144, l. 6.

³⁶⁸ For this notion compare the statement in Pap. Deir el-Médineh 44, l. 11 “the mummy, the flaming one (*nbyw*) without a face”—Koenig, *BIFAO* 99 (1999): 268, n. x, says the reading is “satisfaisante, mais le sens ne convient guère. S’agit-il d’une erreur?” But the allusion is clear—Osiris *akephalos* is the mummiform portion of the unified Re-Osiris, so he is most certainly “flaming” in a sense.

emerging from the coils of the serpent. The heads emerge and rise up to rejoin the headless corpses. The position of the disks near the feet, and of the heads in the area of the feet in the parallel scene on the papyrus of Heruben recalls a text from the sixth and seventh scenes in the second register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, wherein the guardians of the *rkhyt*, “the burning ones,” in the east are referred to as:³⁶⁹

s33.tyw n nty(w) tp(.w)=s(n) m kkw rd.wy=sn

Guardians of those whose heads are in the darkness of their feet

Iconographically, the “fat” heads of the beings resemble the head of the form of Re *snkw-hr*, “dark of face,” in the Litany of Re, possibly a reference to the swathed face of the mummy.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 28, ll. 4-5. Piankoff suggested (p. 53 and n. 5) that this portion of the text be viewed as a copying error for an original such as *tp=s m kkw rd.wy=s m kkw*, citing Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 80, l. 2, there a description of the *štzy.t* of Nut.

⁷⁰ Hornung, *Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 117 and n. 172 (form no. 62).

SECOND SIDE, SCENE 3 (PL. 10A):

NAMES:³⁷¹

The serpents: each is named *Mhn*.

The names of the rising entities are: *Mhn.y*, “he of Mehen”

The first *s3*-bird in this name substitutes for the *m*-owl, and has the value *m*. The second *s3*-bird in the name also substitutes for the owl-*m*, but has the value *n*, through exploitation of the frequent *m* and *n* confusion. The last of the twelve bearers of the *Mhn*-serpent in the middle register of the Eleventh Hour of the Amduat is called *mhn*y, “he of Mehen.”³⁷² Here the first of six beings atop *Mhn* - serpents has the name “he relating to Mehen.”

Ms-n-h3.wt, “(re)born of corpse”

The fish following the *s3*-bird for *m* at the beginning of the name stands for *s*, a value which occurs in other New Kingdom enigmatic texts.³⁷³

Ms-n-ꜥ.wt, “(re)born of members”

The arm following *ms* has the value *n*;³⁷⁴ the ꜥ, and *s3*-bird for *w*, of ꜥ.wt have been transposed, apparently for graphic reasons. The names of this and the preceding entity refer to the births of the two beings out of the coils of Mehen.³⁷⁵

³⁷¹ Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 32 did not read these names, concluding (n. 15) that they “sind zum grossen Teil unklar.” Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, p. 37, n. 2 read: “... *nhp-h3t-Rꜥ*.”

³⁷² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 187 (no. 797) = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. III, p. 775; vol. 2, p. 179.

³⁷³ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 44; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 414; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*.

³⁷⁴ Here the arm D 36 substituting for the arm D 41, which elsewhere has the value *n* in cryptography (*cf.* Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 43).

³⁷⁵ *Cf.* the birth of the sun god from snakes in the Underworld Books as discussed by Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, pp. 56-58 (ref. courtesy of Ms. Colleen Manassa).

In the context of rising up to new life, the names of these two beings recall the name of the entity *msw.t*, “birth,” in the company of a being *ḥꜥy*, “rising up,” in the first scene of the second register in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns.³⁷⁶


Wttw, “begotten one”

The double strokes below the hobble-*t* may be a dual writing substituting for the correct doubled hobble-*t*. More likely, *ty* writes *tt* through exploiting the not uncommon confusion of *tt* and *ty* in hieratic³⁷⁷ (this confusion is again exploited in the enigmatic orthography of the divine name *hnty*, “the one of the forehall,” on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI – see pl. 21, l. 10, bottom). For this name, one may compare the entities *wꜥw(?)* and *wtt* in the Book of the Day.³⁷⁸ Following names beginning with *ms*, “born of,” the divine name “begotten one” is appropriate here. The second name in this group is *Ms-n-ḥꜥ.wt*, “(re)born of corpse;” for a similar use of *wtt*, one may compare the designation of Aker in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk as *wtt-ḥꜥ.wt*.³⁷⁹

Nmtw.ty, “one related to going about”

This name is a nisbe of *nmt.wt*, “one relating to going about.”³⁸⁰ The term is here parallel to *ms* and *nhp*, and should refer to the soon to be attained movement of the rejuvenated dead and the newborn sun.³⁸¹ The association here of names



³⁷⁶ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 148, no. 18. The group  might at first suggest the term *ꜥꜥ.w*, “ejaculate” (see pp. 320-1 n. 203-5), but the snake does not appear to be used for this term. A reading of the name as *ms-n-ḥꜥ.wt* would be tempting, although the value *h* which Drioton proposed for the bird elsewhere on the Second Shrine, and in cryptography from Dra Abu-n-Naga, does not actually appear here, or elsewhere in the enigmatic Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (see above, p. 87).

³⁷⁷ Compare the orthographies of *hnty* as though it were *hntt* (*Wb.* III 304).

³⁷⁸ Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 27 and 30.

³⁷⁹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 5, l. 7.

³⁸⁰ The use of *y* to write expected *w* is found elsewhere in the corpus here treated (ie. *pthy* in the tomb of Ramesses VI); on the interchange of *-y/-w/-ty* endings, see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 94, §172. If the ending were understood as an haplography, one could suggest *nm.ty*, “he belonging to the slaughtering place” (for examples of which see Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, p. 41), but this does not fit the context of the other names. This may be behind the apparently garbled enigmatic names in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 148, no. 17, found with deities *ḥꜥy* and *mswt*, who recall the poses and names of entities depicted here. See also Chapter 5, p. 304 n. 135.

³⁸¹ For the dead as “goers about” compare the term *nmt.yw* for ghosts (*Wb.* II 271, 20-21). For the sun, compare the epitheta *pꜥ-nmt.wt* and *ꜥp-nmt.wt* (see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 113 n. 133).

containing *nmtwt* and *nhp* recalls a portion of the “Abbreviated Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing” published by M. Smith.³⁸²

p^cy=k m rs₃w m hrw m s₃t ir r^c nby

nmt=k r t₃ m hr hrw

You will fly up from Rosetau by day, in exultation every day;
you will go about on earth daily.

Nhp-h₃.t, “leaping of corpse”

The disk determinative following the word *h₃.t* could be read as *R^c*, although this would not fit well into the name of the being. A substitution of a circular sign for the flesh sign (*ρ*) is conceivable;³⁸³ the best explanation of the circular sign at the end of the name *nhp-h₃.t* is, perhaps, to see in it a solar determinative to the entire name. The action *nhp* as performed by the corpses of the blessed dead is instigated by Re, and is performed for Re.

The *ba*’s of the inhabitants of the Netherworld are often said to rise up and join the following of the sun.³⁸⁴ *Nhp* refers to an ascension out of the Dat, in P. Vienna 3865, 1:³⁸⁵

m_i m htp Wsir Wn-nfr

hkn=k n pr im=k

nhp=k m Dw₃.t=k

bs=k m db₃.t=k hr hrw s₃=k

Come in peace, oh Osiris Onnophris,
may you rejoice over him who comes forth from you (Nile),
may you spring forth from your Dat,

³⁸² Smith, *Enchoria* 15 (1987): 69 and n. *d* to col. I, l. 10 (p. 76).

³⁸³ Cf. the writing of *iwf* = *iwf Wsir*, “flesh of Osiris” (Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 [1936]: 24), where a flesh sign F 51 appears to represent the circular pustule, or perhaps the pupil for the eye as a faulty enigmatic writing of the name of Osiris.

³⁸⁴ The sun can *snhp* the denizens of the Netherworld, awakening them and causing them to rise up (*R^c hns.n=f D₃.t hrw nb r snhp ₃h.w*: Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, vol. 2, p. 473 [text A 6, i ll. 3-4]). In the enigmatic treatise on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun the beings are said to arise (*r*) at the call of Re; one of the mummiform entities is named *nhp-h₃.t*. This rising even extends to corpses rising and joining their *bas* (compare the corpses of the ennead of the west ascending to their *bas*: *h₃.wt=sn r-sn n=sn*, “their corpses ascend to them” [Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 52, l. 6]). This leaping up could also allude to a specific festive gesture. According to Assmann: “*ffft*, eigentlich “hüpfen”, bezeichnet in Hymnen des NR gern die freudige Bewegung des vom Sonnengott aus dem Todesschlaf erweckten Lebens;” this “Freudensprünge” can designate “den gestischen Aspekt des Festjubels” (Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 249).

³⁸⁵ F.-R. Herbin, “Une liturgie des rites décadaires de Djemê, Papyrus Vienne 3865,” *RdE* 35 (1984): 107, 109-10, 124, pl. 9.

and may you emerge from your sarcophagus, at the voice of your son !

According to Herbin, “l’emploi du verbe *nhp* ... pour exprimer la sortie d’Osiris lors de sa Douat est inattendu;” he suggests that, as the Nile can be said to *nhp* at the time of the Inundation, this is another reference, along with the *pr im=k*, as well as the use of the verb *bsi*, to Osiris as a “dieu fécondateur.” The verbs *nhp* and *bsi* could well suggest the welling up of the waters of the Inundation. Primarily, however, *nhp* and *bsi* in P. Vienna 3865, 1 refer to Osiris rising up from his Dat and his sarcophagus. In general, *bsi* “implique toujours, comme le suggère l’image du poisson incliné vers le haut, une idée d’ascension d’un monde inférieur à un monde supérieur.”³⁸⁶ “Emergence” is the primary meaning of *bsi* in P. Vienna 3865, 1—a movement from the Netherworld to the world of the living.³⁸⁷ *Nhp* is there used in parallel with *bsi*, and *nhp* appears also to have been employed in tomb of Ramesses IX to describe a similar “emergence.”³⁸⁸ Initially this *nhp* is the rising up from death caused by the triumph of the sun over the dark forces of Apep and his serpent horde; here the entities *nhp n*, “leap up to,” the sun, while in the Book of Gates they somewhat less poetically *ḥꜥ n Rꜥ* “stand up for Re.”³⁸⁹ *Nhp* is resurrection out of the subterranean burial, and *nmt* is the freedom of movement of the risen soul on earth.

This scene is paralleled by figures in the bottom register of the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 31), and by the penultimate scene in the same work (pl. 36).

ANNOTATION (PL. 10A):

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn
mḥn.w=sn s3w ḥ3.wt=sn ḥrr.wt n.t itm/Rꜥ-(i)tm
ḏwi=f n b3.w=sn

³⁸⁶ J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIII^{èmes} Dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l’initiation des prêtres d’Amon* (Leuven, 1989), pp. 147-202 (quotation from p. 202). On *bsi* and sunrise, see also M. Malaise, “Bes et les Croyances solaires,” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 691-2; H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata* (Leuven, 1996), p. 381.

³⁸⁷ Compare the name of the portal at the end of the Eleventh Hour of the Book of Gates *š3.t bsw*, “she who is secret of emergence” (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 373; vol. 2, p. 265).

³⁸⁸ For *nhp* parallel to *bsi*, having a meaning of passing from one realm of existence to another, see J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques, I. «Le livre de protéger la barque du dieu»,” *Kémi* 19 (1969): 45, ll. 7-10. There, the defeated Seth and his henchmen are ordered to *hp*, “jump,” because they have been defeated and decapitated. In p. 47, ll. 1-2, they are told to *ḥ3 ir=k*, “begone.” This suggests a reading “pass away” or “pass on” for *hp*.

³⁸⁹ On *ḥꜥ n Rꜥ* in the Book of Gates, see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 227 n. 1. For more on *nhp*, see the discussion of the verb on pp. 297-9.

sn r=sn ꜥp=sn

These gods are in this fashion:

Their Mehen snakes which guard their corpses are the Hereret snakes of Atum/Re-Atum.

When he calls to their bas,
they approach.³⁹⁰

This text, and the names discussed below, refer to these figures as rising up from the *mḥn*-serpents. The blessed dead can be said to be reborn from the coils of the Mehen-snake, and from the fiery breath of the serpent as well.³⁹¹ For this reason fire emanates from the noses of the snakes, for this flaming breath appears to have been expelled through the serpent's nostrils.³⁹² Before each of the rising, mummiform beings is a disk shining light onto the foreheads of the mummies. Below each disk are walking legs, pointing down towards a star. One may read this group as *Rꜥ ꜥq m d3.t*, "Re enters into the Netherworld."³⁹³

³⁹⁰ Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 32, read: "So sind diese Götter beschaffen. Ihre Mehen-Schlangen hüten ihre Körper, die Schlangen (*ḥrrt*) des Atum (?). Wenn er ihren Ba's zuruft, sind sie es, die aufsteigen."

³⁹¹ See Piccione, "Mehen, Mysteries, and Resurrection from the Coiled Serpent," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 43-52, noting especially PT §541 (Utterance 332; cited *ibid.* p. 48):

dd mdw N pw nw pr m mḥn

pr.n N m ḥḥ=f inny

Recitation: It is this N who has come forth from Mehen,
from his fiery blasting breath did N come forth

On pp. 49-50, Piccione lists examples of resurrection from serpents in the Netherworld Books. The examples from the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity provide explicit evidence of resurrection from the coils of Mehen.

³⁹² G. Jéquier, *Les pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit* (Cairo, 1933), pl. 26, ll. 697-8:

iwr N.t m fnd

ms N.t p(w) m msd.ty

sḏr N.t m q3b <.t> =k ḥms N.t m mḥn=k

"In the nose is Neith conceived—thusly is Neith born in the nostrils;
as Neith rests in your coils, so Neith dwells in your Mehen-game board."

(Piccione, *JARCE* 27 [1990]: 48, discusses this passage).



³⁹³ O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1, ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmographischer Text* (Copenhagen, 1940), pp. 48, 50, and 23*, pl. 5; see further the discussion of the prone mummiform figure and the accompanying annotation at the lower right of pl. 10 B (side two, middle, left).

SECOND SIDE, SCENE 4 (PL. 10B):

ANNOTATION:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
hḏ.wt R^c q.w m hz.wt=sn
hkn=sn mzz=sn bz=f
tf^a ḏwi=f r bz.w=sn
sn m htw=f
sšm=sn sw m š[tzy.t] b

These gods are in this fashion,
 the light of Re having entered into their corpses.
 When they see his *Ba* they rejoice,
 he calling to their *ba*'s,
 they being in his following,
 they conducting him in Sh[etayet].

^a For the particle *tf*, see A. Piankoff, "La particule  ou , BIFAO 47 (1948): 171-74; Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol 2, p. 102 n. 32. Interestingly, only the *š* of *štzy.t* is written here, whereas in the following annotation, all but the *š* of *štzy.t* is written.

^b Hornung read: "So sind diese Götter beschaffen. Das Licht Res ist in ihre Körper eingetreten, und sie jubeln, wenn sie seinen *Ba* erblicken. Wenn er ihren *Ba*'s zuruft, sind sie hinter seinem *Ba*, sie folgen hinter..."³⁹⁴ Hornung's proposed **ht bz=f* for cols. 11-13 requires that the plural strokes following the *s3*-bird in col. 12 be otiose, and leaves the end of the text difficult to understand. The verb at the end of this text is *sšm*, "guide, lead," not *šms*, "follow." The serpent at the top of the 13th column represents the pronoun *f*, a reference to Re. The following signs represent *sšm=sn s(w) m š[tzy.t]*, "they guiding him in Sh[etayet]." This understanding of the signs requires the *s3*-bird to represent *s* for the dependent pronoun *sw*, a not unthinkable use of the sign, although an uncommon cryptic orthography of *sw* – the only other enigmatic writing of the dependent pronoun *sw* on this shrine is quite different (pl. 11, l. 8). For the restoration of *š[tzy.t]* at the end of this annotation, compare the parallel in a portion of the enigmatic texts on the Corridor G Ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 21, ll. 48-50):

... =sn bz.w=sn q m-ht R^c sšm sw m štz.t
 their [...], their *ba*'s entering after Re,
 they guiding him in Shetat.

A close parallel for much of the annotation of pl. 10 B appears in the middle register of the Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling (pl. 22, fig. C, ll. 2-8):

nn n ntr.w m sh(r) pn
hḏw.t R^c qw m h3.wt=sn
b3.w=sn p=sn htw=f
sšm=sn sw m šty.t

These gods are like this,
 the light of Re having entered into their corpses.
 Their *ba*'s travel, they passing after him,
 and conduct him in Shetayet

The lion-headed demons here, for whom no names are given, are the only clear pharaonic representations of the forerunners of the lion-faced archons who sucked the light of the sun from Sophia in the *Pistis Sophia*.³⁹⁵ According to Chapter 32 of Book 1:

αὐτὴ ἀσπесоῦσθαι ἐφ' ὅσον νοῦσθαι ἡζο ἡμοῦι χε
 ἐσεομεκῆς αὐκωτε δε ερος ἡβι νεπροβολοογε τηροῦ
 ἡζυαikon ἡπαυθατης αὐτὴ ἡβι ἡβι νοῦσθαι ἡζο
 ἡμοῦι αὐωμῆς ἡ ἡδυναμικ νοῦσθαι ἡβι τσοφια αὐτὴ
 αὐωτῆς ἡπесоῦσθαι αὐωμῆς αὐτὴ τeczγλη αὐνοῦς
 εβολ επεχαος

And she moved towards the lion-faced light-power, that she might swallow it. But all the material emanations of the self-willed one [aldabaoth] surrounded her, and the great lion-faced light-power swallowed the light-powers which were within Sophia. And it purified her light and she swallowed it, and her matter was cast into the Chaos.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁵ The lion-headed entities on the Tutankhamun shrine suck in light from the sun; they do not "breathe fire toward it" (so Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 95). For a collection of references to lion-headed beings, see C. De Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leiden, 1951), pp. 371-90. On the faces of the beings, not their bodies, as those of lions, see I.S. Gilhus, *The Nature of the Archons, a study in the soteriology of a Gnostic treatise from Nag Hammadi (CGII, 4)* (Wiesbaden, 1985), pp. 50-51.

³⁹⁶ Schmidt and Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia*, p. 46, ll. 8-13.

The beings on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun have lion heads, redolent of the fiery light of the sun, but their bodies are clothed, and the pose of their arms is identical to that of an enigmatic orthography of *imn*.³⁹⁷ This combination of a fiery nature (the feline head) and a dark nature (the hidden, cloaked body) suggests the description of the archon Ialdabaoth in the Pistis Sophia, an archon.³⁹⁸

ΕΡΕ ΤΕΦΠΑΩΕ Ο ΝΚΩΖΤ ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕ ΤΕΦΚΕΠΑΩΕ Ο ΝΚΑΚΕ
whose one half was fire, and whose other half was darkness

The lion-headed entities wear their mane-like hair in a manner identical to that of the goddesses in the lower right section of this side of the shrine. This feminine appearance of the hair presages a description of certain punishing angels in the Apocalypse of Elijah.³⁹⁹

ΕΠΟΥΖΩ ΕΝΤΖΕ ΝΟΥΠΑΡΔΑ[ΛΙΣ] ... ΕΠΟΥΦΟΥΕ ΒΗΛ ΑΒΑΛ
ΝΤΖΕ ΜΠΦΟΥΕ ΝΝΖΙΑΜΕ
whose faces are like that of a panther, ... and whose hair is flowing like the hair of women ...

The androgyny which these lion-headed entities exhibit⁴⁰⁰ is that of the primal beings in creation literature, the creatures who existed before the differentiation of the sexes. For the Egyptians all of creation consisted of pairs; when these pairs are not differentiated, they mirror the time of chaos before creation. These androgynous, feline-headed demons ingesting the light of the sun assist the sun in his return to primal matter, a state of chaos. The scene on the Tutankhamun shrine is another statement of the concept of rebirth through the return to primal chaos such as that depicted in the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat, wherein the bark of the sun passes through Apep. The arms of the entities are hidden within their clothing, concealing their hands which hold the mysteries. This pose is known for priests carrying sacred objects in later Isiac and Osirian ritual.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁷ And *ink*, from *inq*, “umfassen u. ä.,” *Wb.* I 100, 19-101, 7—see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 11 and 37 (with n. 1).

³⁹⁸ Schmidt and Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia*, p. 46, ll. 14-17 (Book I chapter 18).

³⁹⁹ G. Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias, eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse* (Leipzig, 1899), §4, 18-9, and § 5, 1-2.

⁴⁰⁰ On the androgyny of Ialdabaoth and his progeny, see Gilhus, *The Nature of the Archons*, pp. 48-50.

⁴⁰¹ See P.W. Van der Horst, *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher* (Leiden, 1987), p. 58, n. 19 to fragment 10. Note also the wrapped, *sdr*-secluded Sem-priest in the Opening of the Mouth (see the discussion in H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein* [Heidelberg, 1998], pp. 8-16).

In front of each of the lion-headed beings is an enigmatic annotation, consisting of a bark atop walking legs over a land sign. This group also appears in front of each of the lion-headed beings in the following section of the second side (pl. 11), with the addition of the bent arm following the land sign in each of the annotations. Presumably the bark is a reference to the bark of the sun, and the land sign refers to the Netherworld as *t3*, "the earth" (cf. *Wb.* V 213, 8-10). The walking legs symbolize the progress of the bark of the sun through the Netherworld; if one connects the bent arm of the second version of the annotation with a verb of motion, a reading *nꜥi*, "to travel" (*Wb.* II 206, 17-18) is possible,⁴⁰² a word appropriate both to travel on water and on land, and particularly appropriate to the nocturnal progress of the sun which occurs both on water and on the sandbanks of Apep, all within the "earth." The group of bent arm and walking legs which appears in front of each of the female entities in pl. 13 B is also most likely to be read as *nꜥy*, "traveling," there a reference to the progress of the disk in front of the face of each of the goddesses. The apparent insertion of the land sign within the two elements used to write this verb in the second version of the annotation (pl. 11) may then be taken to indicate the eternal cycle of the sun's journey above and below the earth. A possible reading of the groups in pls. 10 and 11 is:

wi3 nꜥi t3

It is the bark that travels the earth⁴⁰³

THE GROUPS OF SIGNS BETWEEN THE LION-HEADED DEITIES:

The group of four disks, with four walking legs and a central *ḥꜥ*-sign, is a representation of the daily round of the sun.⁴⁰⁴ The group, and its counterpart in

⁴⁰² Reading the land sign as *n*, and the bent arm as *ꜥ(w)y*, through the old use of that sign to write the dual of *ꜥ*, "arm," for which see K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Glückstadt and Hamburg, 1935-62), vol. 2, p. 153; *idem*, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, vol. 1, p. 306; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. 124, §289; and H.G. Fischer, *Varia Nova, Egyptian Studies 3* (New York, 1996), pp. 180-186.

⁴⁰³ Alternatively, one could read the walking legs as *sqd*, "to travel," for which cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 79, l. 8 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 403). The bent arm in the second version of the annotation might then represent *t* (cf. Drioton, *ZÄS* 79 [1954]: 9; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 62, ll. 1-3 [bent arm as *d*]), with *t3* a possible writing of *t3.t* for *d3.t*, "Netherworld."

⁴⁰⁴ Piankoff compared the groups of walking disks to a legged sun disk on a "magic wand" from Thebes (J.E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London, 1898), pl. III, 1; F. Legge, "The Magic Ivories of the Middle Empire," *PSBA* 28 [1906]: 164 and pl. 5, no. 58). Considering the apotropaic duties of the entity, he is perhaps more closely related to the anguiped in the *Schutzbild* in the Corridor G treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

plate 11, appears to be an abbreviated version of the enigmatic representation of the solar journey that appears in the middle of the far right section of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 5, fig. A). Below, the inverted sun travels from the western to the eastern horizon. Above, the sun travels the sky; there the legs point in towards each other, perhaps a writing of *ʿq pr (m) p.t.*, “entering into and going out from heaven.”⁴⁰⁵ The central *ʿhʿ* represents the mid points of the day and of the night, the apogees of the solar journey.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ For this abbreviated writing of *ʿq* and *pr* as a bound group, see *Wb.* I 232 top. For *ʿq* and *pr* describing the solar cycle, compare scenes such as that in Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pl. 84 (and color pl. 1b), where the bark of the sun has the label *ʿq nfr* below the prow, and *pr nfr* below the stern.

⁴⁰⁶ For *ʿhʿ* as an astronomical term, see Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 32 n. 2; *idem*, *Das Grab des Basa*, p. 61 n. a to T 14. For more on *ʿhʿ* and *ir ʿhʿ* and the sun, see the discussion on pp. 287-8.

SECOND SIDE, SCENE 5 (PL. 11):

ANNOTATION:

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn
ḥd.wt R^c q.w m ḥz.wt=sn
ḥkn^a=sn
mz=sn bz=f
stz^b=sn sw^c m <Š> tzyt^d
q.wy=sn hr štz.w sšm.w štz im.(yw) D3.t
iw bz R^c d(w)i=f n=sn
bz.w=sn sš

These gods are in this fashion,
 the light of Re having entered into their corpses.
 When they see his *Ba*, they rejoice,
 they pulling him in <She>tayet,
 their arms bearing their mysteries, the secret images which are in the Dat.
 The *Ba* of Re calls to them,
 when their *bas* have passed by.

^a The circular sign for *k*: The reading of *ḥkn* here is assured by the exactly parallel beginning of the immediately preceding annotation (pl. 10B, l. 5). This is apparently the pupil (based on the lack of internal details and the relative small size of the sign), used for the placenta Aa 1.⁴⁰⁷ The necessary sound change *ḥ* > *k* is attested.⁴⁰⁸

^b Hornung correctly has the first part, parallel to the preceding text; for the rest he has only: “wenn sie...,” and suggests *stnm jmnjt*, “den Westen ablenken.”⁴⁰⁹ The feather on its side does not stand for *m*, but rather represents the determinative of

⁴⁰⁷ The placenta substitutes for the pupil as a writing of *iri* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, l. 3.

⁴⁰⁸ See Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, p. 37, §56, 5; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. 53, §119. In the Dendara text quoted by H. Brugsch, “Der Tag der Thronbesteigung des dritten Thutmes,” *ZÄS* 12 (1874): 141, no. V, in a poetically composed text consisting of a series of similarly sounding words, *qnḥ* and *ḥrsk* are “rhymed.” For a Ptolemaic example of the placenta for *k*, and notes on “κ final en S. provenant d’un ḥ égypt.,” see E. Dévaud, “Études de lexicographie égyptienne et copte,” *Kémi* 2 (1929): 11-12 (Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 1, p. 288). The Roman use of the pupil for *g* in C. De Wit, *Les Inscriptions du temple d’Opet à Karnak*, Bib. Aeg. 11, (Brussels, 1958), p. 69 (Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 1, p. 153), in a writing of the name of the god *Gb*, may actually be the use of the pupil for the egg, itself substituting for the duck (see *Wb.* V 164 for this writing of the divine name).

⁴⁰⁹ Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 32.

stz. This is not due to a similarity in the appearances of the hieratic versions of these signs, but rather rests on the suggestive appearance of certain hieroglyphic writings of the *stz*-sign.⁴¹⁰

^c The dependent pronoun *sw* is written with the three-pronged *hn*-plant standing for the *sw*-plant (note the exaggeratedly tall and vertical central shoot of the *hn*-plant), and the *sz*-bird representing the quail chick. These are both simple cryptographic substitutions.

^d In the preceding middle left annotation (pl. 10B), *š* of *štzy.t* alone is written, the sign which here is missing from the toponym.

The prone, mummiform entity holds out his hand over an *h^c*-sign, perhaps a reference to the standstill of the solar bark (see further pp. 287-8). Above his hand is a group of three signs; top to bottom, they are a solar disk, upside down walking legs, pointing towards the prone figure, and a flat sign with rounded ends. A possible interpretation would see this as referring to an inverted motion of the sun over a land sign, a representation of the astronomical phrase *sz / šm r t3*, “to go to the earth,” a reference to a star disappearing below the horizon and entering into the Dat:

Sety I: *ssz r t3 sw mt sw [h^c m d3.t]*

P. Carlsberg I: [*šm r t3 sw mt*] *sw h^c m d3.t*

The one going to the earth, he dies and he enters into the Dat.⁴¹¹

The motion is inverted, the *shd* entry into the Netherworld (see below, Chapter 7).

Tying together the raised arm of the prone figure and the *h^c*-sign, the whole may be read as *ir.t* or *rdi.t h^cw*, “giving position” to the disks. This is the task of Horus-Upon-his-Throne (*Hr hry-hndw=f*) in the lowest register of the Seventh Hour in the Amduat:⁴¹²

ir.t=f pw m d3.t snhp sb3.w ir.t h^c.w wn.wt m d3.t

What he does in the Netherworld is to send up the stars and set the stations of the hours in the Netherworld.

The prone, mummiform figure with raised arm on the Second Shrine performs these duties, but is Osiride, and a probable allusion to the Osirian Orion as the

⁴¹⁰ Compare the appearance of the sign in The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 4, pl. 223, l. 1. The curl suggests the protruding top of the feather to the upper left. This matches the direction of the writing in this section of the Tutankhamun shrine.

⁴¹¹ Lange and Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1*, pp. 48, 50, and 23*, pl. 5; O. Neugebauer and R. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 53 (S 6 of the dramatic text = P. Carlsberg I V 35).

¹² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 128 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, pp. 563-4); vol. 2, p. 135.

order of the hours.⁴¹³ The prone, mummiform figures on the second side of the Second Shrine, awakening Osirises, their arms reaching out towards the disk of Re, are images of Osiris at the time of his union with Re at the eastern horizon, when the soon to be reborn sun passes through the watery hand of Osiris.⁴¹⁴

SECOND SIDE, SCENE 6 (PL. 12)

NAMES:⁴¹⁵

iʿr.t, “uraeus”

ʾImn.ty, “One of the hidden chamber” (?)

This is perhaps the same name as that of being number 266, *imn.ty*, of the Book of the Amduat, although a reading of the name as *dʿ.ty*, parallel to that of the being number 104 of the Amduat, is also defensible.⁴¹⁶ The following three names refer to the entities by names which mention their arms.

Hʿm- or *Hʿb-ʿ*, “bent of arm”

There appears to be no parallel for this name.⁴¹⁷ *Hʿm-/Hʿb-ʿ* is a sign of respect (*Wb.* III 229, 9 and 231, 3), and could also refer to the concealed, Osiride arms of the mummiform entity.

⁴¹³ On whom see the references in Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984): 122 n. 65.

⁴¹⁴ For a further discussion of the unified Re-Osiris as the great figure with extended arm at the eastern horizon, see below, Chapter 6; for inverted entry into the Netherworld, and the setting aright of these inverted entities, see below, Chapter 7.

⁴¹⁵ Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 29-34, does not read any of the names in the lower register. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, p. 38, n. 3 read: “*imnty*, ..., ..., ..., *imn-ʿ*, *hbs-ʿ*.”

⁴¹⁶ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 55 and 16 respectively (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 310 and 146).

⁴¹⁷ The child as *h* is attested in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 36; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 84, n. 25; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 24; Drioton, *CdE* 9, no. 18 (1934): 193. The values *ms* (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*), *sʿ* (*ibid.*), and *hp* (Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 52, n. 1) are also possible for the sign, but these provide no solutions for the names here, and appear inappropriate as values for a sign which begins two trigrams.

Hws-ꜥ, “stirring of arm” (?)

There is no parallel for this name. *Hws-ꜥ* appears to mean “stirring” or “active of arm,”⁴¹⁸ which would be appropriate for an awakening mummy.

Mꜣw-ꜥ, “brightening of arm,” or “whose arm sees”

This name appears as a label to the third adoring entity from the right in the middle left section of the first side of this shrine. This name appears to be parallel to the name of the entity *mꜣw-ꜥ* in the third scene of the upper register in the First Hour of the Amduat.⁴¹⁹ The three birds as a writing of *mꜣw* are a cryptographic group attested at the Osireion,⁴²⁰ in the writing of *kkw-smꜣw* in the lower right enigmatic annotation on side 1 of this shrine, and in the orthography of the name of the goddess *mꜣwt* in the lower register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic composition (pl. 24, l. 10 [bottom]).

Imn-ꜥ, “hidden of arm”

The first sign is *imn*, as elsewhere on this shrine (pl. 5, second name; pl. 7B);⁴²¹ in the annotation to the central figure on the first side of this shrine (pl. 6A), the sign has the value *dwꜣ*.

Hbs-ꜥ, “covered of arm”

The cloth sign as *hbs* appears, with the phonetic complement *h*, in the annotation to this scene. The sign also appears alone as *hbs* at the left side of the middle register of the main portion of the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22A).

These final two names refer to the arms of the deities as hidden and covered by their shrouds. There are deities *imn-ꜥ* in the Amduat,⁴²² the Book of Gates,⁴²³ and

⁴¹⁸ *Wb.* III 249, 4; R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), p. 186.

⁴¹⁹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 7 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 122), vol. 2 p. 14 (No. 29). Hornung reads “Dessen Arm sieht.”

⁴²⁰ See p. 42 n. 23 above.

⁴²¹ Cf. also Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 26; the sign of the standing man with his arms raised before him can also have the value *imn* – cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, ll. 1-3; Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 52, n. 1.

⁴²² Upper register of the Ninth Hour: Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 157 no. 632 (*Texte zum Amduat*, vol. III, p. 661), vol. 2, p. 155.

⁴²³ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 71 (middle register of the Third Hour [scene 12]) and 224 (middle register of the Sixth Hour [scene 38]), vol. 2, p. 90 n. 2.

the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁴²⁴ The entity *lmn-ꜥ* in the Amduat is a mummified entity; in the same register another mummified being is named *hbsw*, “clothed,”⁴²⁵ recalling the names of the two mummified beings discussed here. In each name incorporating the word ꜥ, “arm,” that word appears in *Normalschrift*.

ANNOTATION (PL. 12):

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn^a

hꜥ.wt Rꜥ hbs(.t) hꜥ.wt=sn^b

ꜥwi=f bꜥ.w=sn

sn haplography) *r=sn ꜥp=sn m-htw^c*

These gods are in this fashion:

it is the light of Re, which clothes their corpses.

When he calls their bas,

they travel behind.

^a The plural strokes following *pn* appear to be the plural strokes of *šhr* (cf. pl. 13B, l. 2), slightly misplaced.

^b Hornung (p. 33) reads “So sind diese Götter beschaffen. Das Licht überströmt ihre Körper. Wenn er ihren Ba’s zugerufen hat, dann wandeln sie hinter (ihm).” For “überströmt,” Hornung notes (p. 33 n. 17): “*hꜥzi*, vgl. zum Gebrauch mit direktem Objekt *Urk.* IV 1543, 8. Im folgenden *hꜥ.wt* wohl Dittographie.” Hornung’s translation “überströmt” might suitably describe the depiction of the billowing blankets of light passing over the heads of the mummiform figures, but it does not suit the word *hꜥsi*.⁴²⁶ The basic meaning of *hꜥsi* is “to approach.” In the passage from the Sphinx Stela of Thutmose IV, which Hornung cites, *hꜥsi* means “to approach, encroach,” not “to overflow, envelope, etc.” (*Urk.* IV 1543, l. 8):



hꜥz wi šꜥ hꜥs.t tꜥ wn.t.n=i hꜥr=s

the sand of the desert, that on which I (once) was,⁴²⁷ encroaches upon me.




⁴²⁴ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 26.





⁴²⁵ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 156 no. 625 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. III, p. 660), vol. 2, p. 155; see also above, the discussion of the name *hbsy* in the upper right section of this side of the shrine, pp. 134-9.

⁴²⁶ *Wb.* III 159, 4-14 (transitive uses = 7-11).

⁴²⁷ According to Erman’s study of the Sphinx Stela of Thutmose IV, in A. Erman, *Akademischeschriften (1880-1928)* (Leipzig, 1986 [reprint of 1904]), 9 [436], “Für die perfektische Relativform  ist die imperfektische  zu lesen” (followed by C. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* [Cairo, 1976], pp. 143-4 [n. tt]). If, however, rather than correcting the stela, one abides by the orthography, then Harmachis does use the *sdm.n=f* relative form; by means of this he underscores his plight. Once he was indeed atop the *hꜥs.t*, but it now rolls over him and engulfs him. The implication is that part of

The image of sand overflowing the Sphinx is there, but it is not inherent in the verb *hzi*. If the verb on the Tutankhamun shrine were *hzi*, one would be forced to read **“it is the light of Re which approaches/encroaches upon their corpses.”* This might yet seem possible, but it can no longer be held out as a good description of the scene. Nor is the verb *hzi* otherwise attested as a description of an action of light. The verb here in question, a plural feminine participle, should describe the depiction, and describe an action attested for *hḏ.wt*.



The word following the verb is certainly *h3.wt*, as Hornung recognized. He apparently assumed a dittography of the bird, *t*, and plural strokes. This would give a spelling of *h3.wt* as . This orthography of the word is twice attested on the first side of the Second Shrine (pl. 7B; pl. 8). In the four other occurrences of *h3.wt* on this side of the shrine (pl. 9A; pl. 10A, B; and pl. 11), the word is written as a *š* followed by two birds, the hobble-*t*, and plural strokes. If the group  is assumed to be misplaced due to the presence of the group of hobble-*t* + plural strokes at the end of a word in joining columns, an orthography  is possible for *h3.wt*, consistent with the other orthographies of the word *h3.wt* on this side of the shrine.

Rejecting the verb *hzi* on the basis of its meaning, and assuming an orthography  for *h3.wt*, we are left with the group  between *hḏ.wt* *R*^c and *h3.wt*. The sign  is commonly used on the Second Shrine with the value *s*. In the name of the final figure to the right in the group below the text here in question, however, the sign  has the value *hbs*.⁴²⁸ Assigning the value *hbs* to the cloth sign above allows one to read *hḏ.wt* *R*^c *hbs(.t)* *h3.wt=sn*, “it is the light of Re which clothes their corpses.” Unlike *hzi*, *hbs* is attested as an action of light:

1) Book of the Dead chapter 124, §§10-12:⁴²⁹

iw izḥw hbs <=f> p.t
when light clothes the sky

the *h3s.t* is now upon (*hr*) the Sphinx. For a deity described as “upon the sand” (*hry š^c*), compare the epithet of Osiris as *hry š^c*—see C. Zivie-Coche, *Giza au premier millénaire, autour du temple d’Isis dame des pyramides* (Boston, 1991), p. 70 and the reference cited there.

⁴²⁸ This was apparently recognized by Hornung. Though he gives no running translation of the names of the beings here, he includes the sign  with the values *s* and *hbs* in the sign list in Hornung, *JSSSEA* 13 (1983): 34. For the value *hbs* for the sign see Grapow, *ZAS* 72 (1936): 26. For the name *hbs-^c*, “covered of arm” (here following *imn-^c* for which see being no. 765 in the *Amduat*—*imn-^c* *wy=f[y]* “hidden of his two arms” [*Texte zum Amduat*, vol. III, p. 760]), see being no. 609 in the *Amduat*:  (*Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 635).

⁴²⁹ E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und herausgegeben* 2 vols. (Berlin, 1886), p. 273, cols. 1-7.

2) Dendera, Crypt No. 6, left side; Ihy stands before Hathor. Of Hathor “daughter of Re” the text reads:⁴³⁰

*ḥbs nb*⁴³¹=*s m šsp=s imn=s sw m ḥnw n ḏfḏ=s*
 who clothes her lord with her light, she hiding him within her
 pupil.

Hathor, as the eye of Re, clothes and hides the sun god.

3) *Le Temple d'Edfou* vol. 1, p. 509; the eighth in a group of lion-headed serpents is called:

*ḥbs nb=s m šsp=s imn=s sw m ḥnw ḏfḏ*⁴³²=*s*
 who clothes her lord with her light, she hiding him within (her) pupil.

4) The goddess Hathor can be referred to as *ḥbs n bḥt.t*, “Clother of the Eastern Horizon.” Meeks⁴³³ suggested that this might refer to “la lumière matinale (?)”. This fits well with the titles of Hathor as the eye of Re, the disk itself, which in the morning is the womb of Re,⁴³⁴ the morning light before the actual birth of the sun.

5) The Bab el-Amra;⁴³⁵ the solar deity is one:

ḥbs.n ḥzy.ty nfrw=f
 whose perfection the two lights (the sun and the moon) have clothed

6) *Pistis Sophia* Book 3, chapter 131 (Sahidic); Christ says:⁴³⁶

⁴³⁰ A. Mariette, *Dendérah, description générale du grand temple de cette ville* (Paris, 1873), vol. 3, pl. 61b.

⁴³¹ Reading the *nw*-pot as a writing of the *nb* sign, and not as an element in a *sdm.n=f* form *ḥbs.n=f*.

⁴³² The uraeus determinative of *ḏfḏ* probably serves as a marker of the third person feminine singular suffix pronoun.

⁴³³ *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 245, no. 78.2647.

⁴³⁴ In *Urk*. IV, p. 305 there is rejoicing because *Hw.t-ḥr whm.n=s ms.wt*, “Hathor has given birth again.” See also Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history*, p. 22; S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (Berlin, 1963), pp. 113-116; E.F. Wente, “Hathor at the Jubilee,” in G. Kadish, ed. *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago, 1969), pp. 90-91; B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* [Wiesbaden, 1975], pp. 134-35, and Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons: Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un mythe égyptien* [Istanbul, 1972], pp. 36-44). For further discussion of the goddess as the disk of the sun, see the treatment of *itny.t* and related terms J.C. Darnell, “For I See the Color of his Uraei”: *Gnosis and Alchemy in Ramesside Egypt, and the Amarna Origins of the Concept of the Solar Sympatheia*, forthcoming.

⁴³⁵ Sethe and Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit*, p. 93, l. 19.

ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΜΠΡΗ ΝΒΟΛ ΨΑΦΖΩΒΣ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ
ΜΠΕΔΡΑΚΩΝ

When the light of the sun is outside, it clothes the darkness of the dragon.

A statement a few lines later in the *Pistis Sophia* underscores the applicability of the above passage:⁴³⁷

ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΕΡΩΑΝ ΠΡΗ ΣΩΚ ΕΡΟΪ ΝΗΕΦΑΚΤΙΝ
that is to say, when the sun draws (back) to itself its rays.

This last passage from the *Pistis Sophia* could well describe the scenes in the middle register of the second side of the shrine, wherein emanations of the solar disks alternately spit forth and draw back the billowing and blanketing beams of light.⁴³⁸ For the concept of light hiding bodies in the Netherworld, compare the text accompanying the disembodied deities who spew flame into the cauldrons in scene D 14 of the Book of the Creation of the Solar disk:

sn [r=]sn imn < =sn > h3.wt=sn di=sn sd.wt m tp hryw=sn ...

They hide their corpses, while they send out the fire atop their ovens...

Their bodies do not appear, because the streams of flame which the heads belch out towards the cauldrons hide them.⁴³⁹ In the Book of the Two Ways, a sealed place (*htm.t*) within an area of darkness is surrounded by a flame, containing the effluvia (*rdw*) of Osiris,⁴⁴⁰ an image recalling the scene of the hidden Osiride beings on the Tutankhamun shrine.

⁴³⁶ Schmidt and Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia*, p. 332, ll. 2-3.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 332 ll. 6-7.

⁴³⁸ On the concept of the "Verborgenheit im Licht," see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 50-1; *idem*, "Zwei Sonnenhymnen der späten XVIII. Dynastie in thebanischen Gräbern der Saitenzeit," *MDAIK* 27 (1971): 15. For the sun giving darkness as well as light in the cosmos, see J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), p. 205, n. d, and compare the disk as ʿ3 šw.t, "great of shadow," in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 11, l. 1 (text 22) and pl. 11, l. 6 (text 23).

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 34, ll. 4-5.

⁴⁴⁰ De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, p. 352a-b (chapter 1080); L. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* (Berkeley and London, 1972), pp. 86-7; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 89; P. Bargaet, "Essai d'interprétation du livre des deux chemins," *RdE* 21 (1969): 9-10. Zandee (*ibid.*) also mentions how in the same composition the Portals of Darkness (*ʿrry.t kkw*) have doors of *sd.t*-flame; one of these is addressed as the *h3.tl h3.t Rʿ wnḥ sd3 Hr nfr rʿ nb*, "storm which obscures Re, clothed when the good Horus leaves daily" (de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, pp. 440-441. See also Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways*, pp. 117-8; for the verb *wnḥ*, see Ph. Derchain, "La perruque et le cristal," *SAK* 2 [1975]: 56-8; E. Graefe and Ph. Derchain,

Hathor can be the one of the red cloth, Hathor as the red light at dawn.⁴⁴¹ The solar deity also the image of Shu and Tefnut drawing a veil over the sungod as he sets in the west depicts the clothing effects of the pre-dawn light veiling the coming brilliance of the solar deity.⁴⁴²

s3.t[y=k in]-hr[.t-šw T]nw[.t] hr ʿqy hbs.t n-hr=k
[..., your two] offspring[s, On]uri[s-Shu and Tef]nu[t], straightening the
veil⁴⁴³ before you...

This veil of the sun occurs again in the *Pistis Sophia*, book 3, chapter 131.⁴⁴⁴

ΕΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΩΑΝ ΠΗΡ ῬΠΕCΗΤ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC ΨΑΡΕ ΠΚΑΚΕ
ΜΠΕΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΘΩ ΝΑΙΚΤῚ ΜΠΗ

When the sun goes below the world, the darkness of the dragon remains as
a veil of the sun.

Perhaps clad in the gnostic descendant of the red cloth of Hathor, Christ wears a “garment of light” (ΠΑΕΝΔΥΜΑ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ) in the Netherworld, according to the *Pistis Sophia*.⁴⁴⁵

The *hḏ.wt*-light—spat out by the uraei and sucked in by the feline heads—blankets the corpses.⁴⁴⁶ In the other scenes in which the light of the nocturnal sun is

“WNH ‘Lösen,’” *SAK* 7 [1979]: 53-63—the flaming light hides Re and forms the area of darkness behind the gate.

⁴⁴¹ For light as “un vêtement dont le ciel est recouvert le matin,” see Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 4 n. 10. This is perhaps the reason for the specification that the sails of the vessels in the Opet flotilla are red (The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, pl. 20, and p. 6, n. a in the commentary), a reference to the goddess, there Mut, the coming *hieros gamos* and the birth of the child/sun (on the south to north journey, the royal New Year’s Festival, and the return of the far-wandering goddess, see D. Kessler, “Der satirisch-erotische Papyrus Turin 55001 und das ‘Verbringen des schönen Tages,’” *SAK* 15 [1988]: 171-96, specifically pp. 182ff, and p. 183, n. 40).

⁴⁴² The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6, pl. 431, B, l. 10

⁴⁴³ *Hbs.t* (*Wb.* III 66, 14-5), or *t3m.t* (*Wb.* V 354, 9).

⁴⁴⁴ Schmidt and Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia*, p. 332, ll. 3-5.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37, ll. 17-8 (book 1, chapter 27).

⁴⁴⁶ Light, and areas of light, can also be clothed: 1. the sun as *itm hbs* in Neferti (W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj* [Wiesbaden, 1970], p. 21; H. Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferyt* [Baltimore, 1977], p. 80); 2. the sky is clothed (*p.t hbs.ti*) due to storm clouds in the Pithom stele (Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, p. 101, l. 5); 3. In the Ptolemaic sanctuary at Deir el-Bahri, of Amenhotep son of Hapu it is said: *shḏ.n=f 3h.t=s* (referring back to *Km.t*) *m* (written *n*) *hbs šsp n=f sb3.w=s*, “he has made bright the clothed horizon, her stars shine for him” (E. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari* [Warsaw, 1984], p. 30 [no. 17]). The “clothed horizon” is a reference to the night sky, which shines by means of the stars. Darkness can clothe, and be uncovered (*kf* with the cloth determinative): compare Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 40, ll. 2-3 (*Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, pp. 241-2): *wn sb3.w=tn št3.w m3*

said to enter into the corpses, the beams touch the figures in some way; here the beams billow like sheets over the crowns of the Datians.⁴⁴⁷ In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the disk of the sun (*it < n >*) is called ʕ šw.t, “great of shadow.”⁴⁴⁸ The sun is great of shadow because of the clothing aspects of its light in the Netherworld.

^c In the writing of *m-htw* here, the hobble-*t* has its not uncommon value *m*, derived from similarity of appearance with the flat-*m*. The bird above the walking legs represents *ht(w)*,⁴⁴⁹ the value *ht* deriving from the *s3*-bird—determined word *ht-ʕ3*, “Art Gans oder Ente” (*Wb.* III 342, 1).⁴⁵⁰ A similar orthography of *m-ht* in another member of the corpus examined in this study appears in the middle register of the main portion of the Corridor G enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 23, ll. 40-41: šy *m-ht=sn*).

The lion heads emerging from the disks, along with the light-ingesting, lion-headed entities of the middle register, are the pharaonic forerunners of the lion-faced archons in the *Pistis Sophia*, who suck out the energy of Sophia in the Netherworld.⁴⁵¹ Combinations of the heads of lions and serpents are not unknown in Egyptian and Egyptianizing iconography.⁴⁵² In the Book of the Two Ways, a

iwf kf kkw=tn, “Open your secret gates; behold (pl. imp. = Ramesses IX [see n. o]) Flesh, who uncovers your darkness.” Compare also the antonyms *hḏ-hr* and *hbs-hr* (M. Lichtheim, “Three Philological Notes,” in G. Kadish, ed. *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* [Chicago, 1969], pp. 65-6).

⁴⁴⁷ This is another form of perturbation, as in the upper right of the first side of the shrine, the signs themselves mirroring the statement. Compare also Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 127, ll. 6-7: *b3.w imy.w msw Rʕ* “the *ba*’s who are therein, who give birth to Re” (for the reading of *imyw*, see above; compare the writings of *b3.w imy.w* in *idem*, *BIFAO* (1944): 42 pl. 60, l. 5; pl. 61, ll. 4-5). In the P. version, the word *imy.w* is placed between the second and third birds of *b3.w*—the “amongst whom” is actually within the *b3.w*.

⁴⁴⁸ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 11, ll. 1 and 6. In Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, no. 75, the sun is *nb snkw*, “lord of darkness” (see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 121 n. 206).

⁴⁴⁹ This value for the sign of the bird was recognized by Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 34. The *tyw*-bird appears with the value *htyw* in Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives*, vol. 2, p. 542 (correcting the reference as given in Dumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 2, p. 312).

⁴⁵⁰ Through the application of Fairman’s consonantal principle for enigmatic sign derivation, the ʕ element of the name, become O or Ω.

⁴⁵¹ See above, pp. 124-5, the discussion of the left middle register; see also Gilhus, *The Nature of the Archons*, pp. 50-1.

⁴⁵² They are associated in the iconography of Apedemak, and a serpent head and a lion head occur back to back, on a snake’s body, in the temple of Esna. For Apedemak, see L. Žabkar, “Some Particular Features in the Representations of Apedemak,” in E. Endesfelder *et al.*, eds., *Ägypten und Kusch* (Berlin, 1977), pp. 488-500; Esna: S. Sauneron, *Le temple de Esna*, vol. 4, part 1 (Cairo, 1969), F, fold-out plate opposite p. 74 (noted also on p. 71, no. 16, and fig. 3B on p. xvii with p. xvi).

serpent rears up from the backside of a seated feline-headed being, accompanied by chapter 1116 of the Coffin Texts, which refers to “that spirit who knows how to enter the fire and to open darkness;” the chapter continues by stating that the one who is not able to ascend “[will be] an offering on the horizon of Re and of Horus the Elder;”⁴⁵³ This is a description of the eastern horizon, the place of final fiery punishment and the birth of the day. These light-sucking, double-headed beings are at home at the eastern horizon, and they are indeed depicted immediately to the right of the closing representation of the perpetual rising and setting of the sun.

The billowing light which is sucked back and forth between the lion and serpent heads is probably a representation of the purification and renewal of the light of the sun. The Eleventh Repentance of Sophia in the *Pistis Sophia*, addressed to a lion-faced power (ΤΒΟΜ ΝΖΟ ΜΜΟΥΙ), refers to the light power of the lion-faced being; the 24 Emanations say:⁴⁵⁴

ΕΙΣ ΟΥΠΡΟΒΟΛΗ ΕΜΠΕΤΡΩΤΩ ΜΠΕΣΟΥΟΙΝ ΧΕ ΕΣΕΝΟΥΖΜ
ΑΛΛΑ ΣΦΟΥΦΟΥ ΜΜΟΣ ΖΜ ΠΑΦΑΙ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΕΣΒΟΜ

Behold an Emanation which has not given what is purified of its light, that it might be saved, but it boasts of the magnitude of the light of its power.

The depictions of Netherworld entities drawing light into their mouths appear to show the purification of the light, the restoration of the utmost brilliance of the celestial body. The use of *w^cb* to mean “bright” and “clear” also reveals this association of purification and renewed celestial clarity.⁴⁵⁵

The hiding of corpses by the light of the subterranean sun is not necessarily an indication that the corpses are those of the damned. So in a passage in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk,⁴⁵⁶ the *ba*’s of certain of the blessed dead follow the passing sun, but the corpses of those same blessed dead are *imn m st-sn*, “hidden in their place(s),” in the darkness.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵³ A. Piankoff and H. Jacquet-Gordon, *The Wandering of the Soul* (Princeton, 1974), pl. 6 and pp. 31-2; De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, pp. 447-448; E. Hermesen, *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1991), pp. 217-219.

⁴⁵⁴ Schmidt and Macdermot, eds. *Pistis Sophia*, p. 102, ll. 8-10 (book 1, chapter 54, §7).

⁴⁵⁵ For this association, see J.C. Darnell, “For I See the Color of his Uraei”: *Gnosis and Alchemy in Ramesside Egypt, and the Amarna Origins of the Concept of the Solar Sympatheia*, forthcoming.

⁴⁵⁶ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 34, ll. 8-9.

⁴⁵⁷ Compare a speech of Sefkhet-Abwy to Sety I in the Great Temple of Abydos (translated on p. 193), which suggests a benevolent and well-received covering-up of the Netherworld; the passage alludes to the deceased king as the sun, illumining the Netherworld before continuing his journey and leaving behind darkness.

SECOND SIDE, SCENE 7 (PL. 13A):

NAMES:⁴⁵⁸*Miw.y* “cat shaped one”

For a discussion of this name, see above, pp. 63 and 108-9.

Stn-tp, “distinguished of head”

Four entities wearing Upper Egyptian crowns in the first scene (no. 92) of the bottom register of the Twelfth Hour of the Book of Gates are termed *stn.w-tp*, “crowned of head.”⁴⁵⁹ There is an entity *stn-h3.t* in the middle register of the Fourth Hour of the Amduat, and another in the Book of Night, whose names appear to refer to the Upper Egyptian crowns which they wear.⁴⁶⁰ In the context of the deities depicted on the Tutankhamun shrine, *stn* may mean not “crowned” – they wear no crowns – but “distinguished,” differentiated. Unlike the headless figures above in the upper register, they do have heads, and these ram’s heads are differentiated from the human heads above.⁴⁶¹ If *stni* here means crowned, it could refer to the otherwise headless corpse being “crowned” with a head.

Stn-hr, “distinguished of face”

In the first scene in the upper register of the Tenth Hour of the Book of Gates (scene 61), the Horus and Seth headed *Hr(.wy)=fy* is apparently referred to as Horus *stn-hr*.⁴⁶²

Stn-irw, “distinguished of forms”

The circular sign is the pupil for the eye as *ir*.⁴⁶³ The value *i* for the cloth bolt *s*, otherwise unattested in our corpus, is comparatively rare in Ptolemaic texts.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁵⁸ Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, p. 39, n. 1 read: “*stn-tp*, *stn-hr*, *stn-(?)*, *stn-hprw*, *stn-h3wt*, *stn-sntw*.”

⁴⁵⁹ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 395, vol. 2, p. 280. Their Upper Egyptian crowns support a reading “crowned” for *stn*, which in the Book of Gates recalls the designation of Osiris and the king wearing the White Crown as *stn.w* (*Wb.* IV 359, 6-7 [the White Crown as *stn.w* is *Wb.* IV 359, 5]).

⁴⁶⁰ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 71 no. 309 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, pp. 372-3); Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 47 and n. 3; Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 165-166.

⁴⁶¹ On the possible two verbs originally behind the *stni* of *Wb.* IV 358, 3-359, 4, see Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 278b (discussing **COONE**).

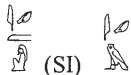
⁴⁶² Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 336 (*stn-hr* is cited *Wb.* IV 359, 4).

There is no strong similarity between the signs in hieratic, but hieroglyphic interchanges of the cloth-*s* and the reed leaf are attested already in the Pyramid Texts.⁴⁶⁵ The value here may also derive from a reversal of the use of the reed leaf to write *s* (perhaps through substitution for *sw*).⁴⁶⁶ This name *sn irw* is an epithet of Osiris in the third scene of the first register of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶³ Already in a writing of the verb *ir.t* in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, p. 338a; see also Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, ll. 1-2; Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 38; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 100; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 24 and 27.

⁴⁸⁹ Drioton, *SASAE* 2 (1956), p. 102 (Drioton's derivation of the value by acrophony from the word *sm*, "végétation," is incorrect).

⁴⁶⁵ Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4, §156 (pp. 125-6), with examples of *i* for *s* and vice versa. This interchange of the reed leaf and *s* is behind the divine name (T)



(SI) in the Book of the Heavenly Cow. This is not a writing of *itm* (so E. Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh, eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen* [Freiburg and Göttingen, 1982], p. 31, l. 10 and p. 62, n. 116), for Atum was not one of the Heh deities. Reading the reed leaf as a mistake for the cloth bolt *s*, we have the deity *sdm*, "hearing," who, along with "sight," is an emanation of Shu (on this personification see E. Brunner-Traut, "Der Sehgott und der Hörgott in Literatur und Theologie," in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, and R. Grieshammer, eds., *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* [Wiesbaden, 1977], pp. 125-45). N. Guilhou, *La vieillesse des dieux* (Montpellier, 1989), p. 52, n. 256, has also interpreted this name as that of the "Hörgott," transliterating (*i*)*sdm*.

⁴⁶⁶ So Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 26, l. 7 (in *tl-sw*). In *ibid.*, pl. 59, l. 1, the reed leaf is used for the cloth *s*. In the cryptic writing of the name Ptolemy which Drioton discusses in *SASAE* 2 (1946): 97-112, the *y* of the name is written with the cloth *s*, and the following *s* with the reed leaf, suggesting that the use of the reed leaf for the cloth *s* from *sw* was the origin of the use of the cloth *s* for the reed leaf in that text as well). The reed leaf for the *sw*-plant could be both a substitution of one plant sign for another, as well as based on similarity of the hieratic signs—compare G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie, die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit* [Leipzig, 1909-12], vol. 2, nos. 282 and 289). Compare also the three-pronged *hn*-plant for *s* (through substitution for *šz*—Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 44). Note also that the *hn*-plant can substitute for the reed leaf and have the value *i* (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*). In painted versions of the cloth *s*, the interior of the fold of the bolt is often filled in with white, a line slanting down from the higher end to the middle of the lower end closing off this white area, approximating the appearance of the reed leaf (cf. E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal der Könige* [Bern, 1971], pl. 2 [*snb* behind Horsiese], pl. 9 [*wsr* over Osiris]); this may be the origin of the interchange, or at least a contributing factor.

⁴⁶⁷ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, ll. 5-6 (p. 46: "dont les formes sont élevées"). These entities are in the area of *htmy.t*; for the *irw* forms of residents of the place of destruction, compare the epithet of Tatenen as *iri irw htmy.tyw*, "maker of the forms of the denizens of the place of destruction" (Caverns pl. 86, l. 2).

The names of the last three entities, *sgn hpr.w*, “distinguished of manifestation,” *sgn h3.t*, “distinguished of corpse,” and *sgn snṯ*, “distinguished of limbs,” are otherwise unattested. For the *h3.t* and *snṯ* of the sun in close association, one may compare the 46th Address to Re in the Great Litany:⁴⁶⁸

hṣ iwḥ m33=f h3.t=f
w3š b3 ḥp=f snṯ=f
 jubilant of flesh when he sees his *h3.t*-corpse,
 strong of *ba* when he passes his *snṯ*-body

ANNOTATION (PL. 13A)

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn
ḥḥ=sn ḥr sšt3.w ʿ3(.w)
sn m33=s(n)^a nswt-bity nb-t3.wy Nb-hprw-Rḥ di ḥḥ mi Rḥ d.t^b
 These gods are in this fashion,
 they seeking the great mysteries,
 and they seeing the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkheperure,
 given life like Re forever.

^a Hornung reads the annotation up to this point, which he takes to be the end of the annotation, as: “So sind diese Götter beschaffen. Ihre ... sind auf ihren Geheimnissen, und sie verschlingen das, was sie sehen;” of *ḥḥ* he notes: “Unklar, zweimal das Zeichen F 18.”⁴⁶⁹ Although Barta did not include this example of the “Personalpronomen der *wj*-Reihe als Proklitikon im adverbialen Nominalsatz” in his list of occurrences for the enigmatic texts on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, it conforms to his conclusion that “alle Belege können ... als Kontinuativ verstanden werden.”⁴⁷⁰

The third person plural suffix pronoun appears as *s* here, as it appears again in the following annotation (pl. 13B). The pronoun *sn* occurs as *s* in the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic treatise, twice in pl. 23, l. 44 (in *s<n> r=s<n>*).⁴⁷¹ Although the suffix pronoun *sn*, and the dependent pronoun *sn*, could commonly appear as *s* in texts from the Amarna Period⁴⁷² and in Late Egyptian,⁴⁷³ the suffix

⁴⁶⁸ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Wesetn*, vol. 1, p. 53, vol. 2, p. 112 n. 124.

⁴⁶⁹ Hornung, *JSSA* 13 (1983): 33 and n. 18.

⁴⁷⁰ Barta, *ZÄS* 112 (1985): 103-104.

⁴⁷¹ For *sn* as *s* through a probable omission of the signs for the *n* and plural strokes, see Chapter 4, p. 202, although this may be due to a scribal error.

⁴⁷² F. Behn, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna* (Paris, 1930), p. 11 (dependent pronoun *sn* as *s*), and p. 12 (suffix pronoun *sn* as *s*).

⁴⁷³ Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* 2nd ed., §79, p. 36 (suffix *sn* as *s* and *st*), and §§94-97, pp. 42-44 (dependent *sn* as *st*); Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 22 (§2.3.1, dependent pronoun *sn* as *st*).

pronoun *sn* appears as *s* in several examples in texts from the Old⁴⁷⁴ and Middle⁴⁷⁵ Kingdoms.

^b The prenomen of Tutankhamun, with brief titles and epithets, written as a column of text to the right of the rightmost ram-headed mummy, forms a right-hand border to this scene, and provides the direct object for *sn m33=sn* at the close of the enigmatic portion of the annotation on the left. As in the beginning of the enigmatic treatise on the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (the lower vertical text in pl. 22 A, p. 192), the name of the ruler for whom the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity was executed is integrated into the cryptographic text (although in both cases the names and brief titles appear in *Normalschrift*).

SECOND SIDE, SCENE 8 (PL. 13B):

NAMES (left to right):⁴⁷⁶

Sb3.(y)t, “she of the (eastern) portal”

Goddesses who are personifications of the portion of the Netherworld in which they are located frame four punishing goddesses in the middle of this row of beings.⁴⁷⁷ In keeping with the theme of the eastern horizon, the name could also be read as *sb3.t*, “she of the portal,” the feminine form of the name *sb3y* of the first uraeus on the Twelfth gate of the Netherworld in the Book of Gates.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁴ Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 285 (note to PT §474c); in a handwritten note in his copy of Sethe’s work, W.F. Edgerton notes another example of *sn* as *s* in *Urk.* I, p. 51, l. 1.

⁴⁷⁵ See the examples cited in Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 39, n. 12a, particularly B. Gunn, “A Middle Kingdom Stela from Edfu,” *ASAE* 29 (1929): 6, note to l. 1 of the stela. For the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period, see Szafranski, *Études et Travaux* 12 (1983): 56 and n. 9.

⁴⁷⁶ Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, p. 39, n. 3 read: “*dw3t*, ...”

⁴⁷⁷ Retaining the framing goddesses named for Netherworld toponyms, this could also be read as *d3.t*. But for the parallelism with the goddess *ḥtmy.t*, this name could also be read as *wnw.t*, “hour,” *sb3.t*, “she belonging to the star” (this would be the feminine counterpart to the *sb3y.t* occurring in Amduat [deity no. 41 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 125]), or even *sb3.t*, “she who punishes.”

⁴⁷⁸ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 406 (compare the orthography in the SIs version).

Sḏt.yt; “she of the *sḏ.t*-fire”

Compare the goddess *sḏ.t* in the third scene in the third register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁴⁷⁹ Before he rises, Re enters an area of flame where he is reborn,⁴⁸⁰ and the newborn sun god as a fiery child in the east is called *sḏ.ty*, “he of the flame.”⁴⁸¹ According to a portion of the version of chapter 146 of the Book of the Dead in the Greenfield Papyrus, the solar-Osirian deceased says:⁴⁸²

ii.n=i mīn <m> p3 sb3 n sḏ.t

“Through the portal of flame have I come today.”

The goddess *sḏ.ty* here alludes to this portal of flame, as the goddess preceding her personifies the final gate of the Netherworld.

Ps.yt, “she of cooking”

Psi is attested since the Old Kingdom as a punishment for the damned.⁴⁸³ A reading of this name as *psy.t* is suggested by the names of punishing goddesses in the second scene of the lowest register in the Eleventh Hour of the Amduat (nos. 817-20):⁴⁸⁴

psy.t rkhy.t hry.t-šꜥ=s

htmy.t

she of cooking; she of burning; she who is over her sand;⁴⁸⁵

the place of destruction

⁴⁷⁹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 56. Note also the cauldron-lifting arm *sḏ.t* in the first scene of the fourth register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (*ibid.*, p. 59), and the snake *sḏ.ty* of the first Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 [1942]: pl. 8, ll. 1-2).

⁴⁸⁰ See J. Van Dijk, “The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus,” *JEOL* 24 (1979-80): 11-4.

⁴⁸¹ See K. Jansen-Winkeln, “Die Stele London BM 1224,” *SAK* 17 (1990): 218-9, n. 3; Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 117 n. 170 and p. 120 n. 195 (along with *Wb.* II 367, 14-5).

⁴⁸² E.A.W. Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum* (London, 1912), pl. 52, ll. 9-10.

⁴⁸³ See U. Verhoeven, *Grillen, Kochen, Backen* (Brussels, 1984), pp. 126-9 (and in general, pp. 85-140, 157-8, 212-3).

⁴⁸⁴ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 191 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. III, p. 791-2).

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. the *nm.t ny.t šꜥ*, “slaughtering place of sand,” in the enigmatic wall of the tomb of Ramesses IX.

With the substitution of *ihhy.t* for *hry.t-š^c=s*, these are the order of the names of the final goddesses on the shrine. The reading of *-sy.t* presents no problem, but the horizontal feather as *p* is somewhat unusual (the sign represents *i* in the name of *ihhy.t* below). In cryptic orthographies of the personal name *P3-sr* on Louvre stele C65, the initial *P3-* element is twice written with the sign of the wing, derived, as Drioton suggests, from the verb *p3i*, “to fly.”⁴⁸⁶ The horizontal feather resembles the wing in appearance, and can easily represent it as *pars pro toto*. In this way the horizontal feather appears to have acquired the value *p* found in the name *psy.t*.

Rkh.y(t), “she of burning”

As in the orthography of *hry.t*, “upper region,” in the upper right section of the first side of the shrine, the final *t* has been left off in this name. A deity *rkhy.t* is attested already in the Pyramid Texts.⁴⁸⁷ In the second scene in the lowest register of the Eleventh Hour of the Amduat she appears with three other sinner-cooking goddesses,⁴⁸⁸ the last of whom is *htmy.t*, who follows her in the shrine, and is also the last in the list of goddesses. In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the burning damned in the sixth and seventh scenes in the second register of section D are called the *rkhy.t*.⁴⁸⁹ The text contains an address to the east, the place of final destruction and rebirth. The skin for *k* here is written in a vestigial, plant-like form, which reveals the origin of the plant sign for *k* in *kkw* in the upper right annotation on the first side of the shrine.

Ihh.yt, “she of the morning glow”

In this name the horizontal feather represents the feather substituting for the reed leaf through similarity of appearance.⁴⁹⁰ This is the feminine counterpart to the name of the upper guardian at the Twelfth portal in the Book of Gates.⁴⁹¹ The lower guardian there is *htmy*,⁴⁹² recalling the *htmy.t* who here stands behind *ihhy.t*. The

⁴⁸⁶ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 26-7 (cryptograms nos. D 2 and 75), 43.

⁴⁸⁷ *Wb.* II 459, 1-2; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 183.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 191 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. III, p. 791-2).

⁴⁸⁹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 28, ll. 3, 4, 7, and 8. As the one who *wđ rkhy m htmy.t*, “who decrees burning in the place of destruction,” Re is called “*rkhy* in the 40th address in the Great Litany (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 46-7).

⁴⁹⁰ For the feather as *i* see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 410.

⁴⁹¹ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 405, vol. 2, p. 286.

⁴⁹² Reading *htmy* with J. Zandee, “The Book of Gates,” in *Liber amicorum (Fs. Bleeker)*, Leiden, 1969), p. 324, *contra* the *p3y*, “Auffliegender,” of Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 286). As *ihhy* is paralleled by one of the judges in chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead (see below), so one of the judges is called *htmy* (Budge, *Book of the Dead*, p. 255 l. 11).

punishing aspect of the fiery glow of *ihhy.t* is found again in the name of one of the judges in chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead:⁴⁹³

t3 rd pr m ḥḥw

one flaming of foot, who has come forth from the morning glow

In the upper register of the main portion of the enigmatic ceiling in Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI,⁴⁹⁴ the seventh seated, disk-headed entity is named *ḥḥ*, “he of the (morning) glow” (see p. 176 below).

Ḥtm.yt, “the place of destruction”

The bird has the value *ḥtm*; the plural strokes apparently represent *w* for *y*.⁴⁹⁵ This name shows that these goddesses refer to the eastern horizon (*sb3.t*, *sd.ty*, *ihhy.t*) as an area of flame (*psy.t*, *rkhy.t*), the place of the rebirth of the sun and the final punishment of the damned (*ḥtmy.t*).⁴⁹⁶ For the use of the bird for *ḥtm* without the *m* phonetic complement, compare the writing of the name *ḥtmy-ḥ* in the lower left section of the first side of the shrine. In P. Bologna 1094 ii 6, and P. Anastasi II vi 7, the east is the place of punishment to which the guilty man is sent, a place of the rising sun and fiery punishment called *ḥw*, determined by the flame.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹³ Referred to by Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 88, along with the guardian of the Twelfth Gates in the Book of Gates, misunderstanding *ihh.w* as “darkness.”

⁴⁹⁴ Pl. 21, l. 37, bottom.

⁴⁹⁵ On *w* and *y* interchanges see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 94, §172.

⁴⁹⁶ J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques, II: «Les révélations du mystère des quatre boules»,” *BIFAO* 75 (1975): 364, n. 10, with references; for the *hb.t nt i3btt* see also Rondot, “le Naos de Domitien, Toutou et les sept fleches,” *BIFAO* 90 (1990): 327; A. Szczudlowska, “Liturgical Text Preserved on Sekowski Papyrus,” *ZÄS* 98 (1970): 57; Schott, *Kanais*, p. 154 n. 13; Van Dijk, *JEOL* 26 (1979-80): 16-7 (and the references p. 16 n. 49); Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, pp. 157-8; S. Morenz, “Rechts und Links im Totengericht,” *ZÄS* 82 (1957): 62-71. Note also the occurrence in chapter 19 of the Book of the Dead, with a full description of activities there (P. Ryerson [OIM 9787] col. 10, ll. 38-41—see T.G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* [Chicago, 1960], pl. 16). One should also note that in the Osirian “Stundenwachen,” in the twelfth hour of the night, Horus and Geb greet Osiris, and it is a time *ḥft ip=sn n=f ib.w ntr.w m s.t=f/wnw.t=sn*, “when they reckon for him the hearts of the gods in his place/in their hour” (H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae* [Vienna, 1910], p. 124 [texts DXXIV and PXXIV]). This text suggests the Judgment Hall of Osiris at the end of the Netherworld.

⁴⁹⁷ A. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brussels, 1937) p. 2, 15-6, and p. 16, 6.

wpt=f p3 ʿd3 dī=f sw r ḥʿw p3 m3ʿ.t r imnt.t
 He judges the guilty and assigns him to the East(?)
 and the just to the West.⁴⁹⁸

In the fourth scene of the third register in the sixth and final division of the Book of Caverns, Osiris deals with *ḥtmyt* after dealing with the realm of the dead.

The serpents are each labeled *ḏwi-ḥr*, “wicked of face,” recalling the *nḥ3-ḥr* serpents (see below, Chapter 5, p. 325), and Apep as *ḏw/ḏwy* and *nty-ḏwy*.⁴⁹⁹ The group of the arm with bent shoulder over walking legs in front of each of the deities appears to read *nʿy*, “traveling” (see above, the discussion of the similar group in pl. 10B).

ANNOTATION (PL. 13B)

nn n nṯr.yt m šḥr pn
 wnw.t=sn ʿq.w m ḥ3.wt^a=sn
 b3 Rʿ ḏwi=f r=sn
 sn m33=sn ḥḏw.t itn=f
 b3.w=s < n > ʿp=sn^b m < ḥ > tw^c=f m ḥry
 sn mnw m s.t=sn n b3/3ḥ

These goddesses are in this fashion:
 their hours having entered into their corpses.
 The *ba* of Re calls to them,
 and they see the light of his disk.
 Their *bas* travel after him above,
 they remaining in their place of the *balakh*.

⁴⁹⁸ The translation of R.A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), p. 10. According to Caminos (*ibid.*, p. 11), the orthography of *ḥʿ* suggests “a ‘furnace’ or similar;” the parallelism and the meaning of *ḥʿ* suggest the east as a place of rising. This term and its orthography are comprehensible when understood as a term for the east as the place of the punishment of sinners and the rising of the sun. One may also compare the writing of *nm.t*, “slaughtering place,” as an *3ḥ.t*-horizon with disk, and a knife stuck atop the disk (H. Junker and E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* [Vienna, 1965], p. 16, col. 4 and p. 17, l. 11 [Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 3, p. 458 #439]); see also Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d’Esna*, p. 298, n. (x); W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t, Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation* (Leiden, 1991), p. 196 n. b. For enemies in the “hall of Re,” presumably in the east at the end of the Netherworld, see G. Rühlmann, “Deine Feinde fallen unter deinen Sohlen,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 20 (1971): 77-8.

⁴⁹⁹ *ḏw*: Wb. V 547, 10; *ḏwy*: R.O. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (British Museum No. 10188) (Brussels, 1933), p. 89, l. 3; *nty-ḏwy*: pl. 30, right, l. 3 (enigmatic *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI).

^a The sign of the egg substitutes for the pustule as the determinative of *h3.wt*, “corpses.”

^b The plural strokes of *sn* are misplaced, and come between the *s* and *n* of the suffix pronoun.

^c *Htw* appears without the expected *ht*-stick; this defective writing appears in the annotation to the left middle scene on the first side of the shrine (pl. 7, fig. B [end]).

Hornung (p. 33) reads: “So sind diese Göttinnen beschaffen. Ihre Stunden sind eingetreten in ihre Körper als (?) seine Sonnenscheibe. Wenn er ihnen zuruft, erblicken sie das Licht seiner Sonnenscheibe, und ihre Ba’s wandeln hinter ihm, ihre... bleiben an ihrem Platz.”

As the text states that the hours enter into the corpses of the goddesses, so does each goddess appear with a sun disk in her belly, each disk with a star atop it, the annotation *wnw.t*, “hour.” The gestures of the goddesses further suggest that this presence of the hours within their corpses is a form of union with the sun.

The goddesses appear to pour light from their hands, as water in the *nyny* ceremony. Light here is a liquid as it appears in references to Re swimming in his redness (see pp. 72 and 197), and the form of Re as *rmy* in the Litany of Re.⁵⁰⁰ This greeting is, according to Westendorf, “die ‘Hochzeit’ der himmlischen Mutter mit ihrem zu ihr (in ihren Leib) zurückkehrenden Sohn, was auf den Sonnengott ebenso zutrifft wie auf den König (bzw. Osiris).”⁵⁰¹ The *nyny*-greeting alludes to the sexual union of the deceased king with his mother-consort Nut. Although Westendorf does not cite this enigmatic treatise, the lower right portion of the second side of the Second Shrine illustrates perfectly the association of the *nyny*-gesture with the return of the solar son into the womb of his mother-consort. The goddess has received the king as the sun within the sky, and the hour-disks within the bellies of the goddesses.

The disks in the bellies of the goddesses and the light entering their mouths recall a portion of Coffin Texts chapter 1099:⁵⁰²

⁵⁰⁰ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 26 and 267. Compare also the association of the goddesses *nsy.t* and *mwyt* above. In *idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 53, ll. 6-8 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, pp. 302-3); vol. 2, p. 71 water and the breath of the solar deity are associated. Note also the call *h.t m mw sp-2*, “fire from water!” of the Indjandjian magical statue base (É. Drioton, “Religion et magie. L’opinion d’un sorcier égyptien,” *Revue de l’Égypte Ancienne* 1 [1927]: 133-7; R.K. Ritner, “Religion vs. Magic: The Evidence of the Magical Statue Bases,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* [Budapest, 1992], p. 497).

⁵⁰¹ W. Westendorf, “Die Nini-Begrüßung,” in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Alten Ägypten (Fs. Derchain)* (Leuven, 1991), p. 358.

⁵⁰² De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, p. 399 a.

dr ntt rn n R^c m ht nt N tn s^ch=f rn=s

for the name of Re is in the belly of this N, and his honor in her mouth⁵⁰³

The goddesses represent the Netherworld as the womb of the sun, impregnated through their mouths by the rays of the sun. Their pour out the water-light on their fingertips onto the heads of serpents rearing up out of the ground, a reference to the birth of the sun through the body of Apep.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.* This recalls *s^ch=f pr m r n R^c*, “his honor has come forth from the mouth of Re” (*Wb.* IV 49, 5).

SECOND SIDE, SCENE 9, CONCLUSION (PL. 14):

The text in *Normalschrift*:

Wsr nswt nb t3.wy Nb-ḥpr.w-R^c wnn=f m m3^c-ḥrw ḥn^c psd.t ʿ3.t

In justification shall the Osiris king lord of the Two Lands, Nebkheperure exist together with the great ennead.

Hornung reads the group repeated three times below this text, connecting the two disks with ram-headed *ba*-birds, as *dw3 ʿq rmn šw*, “praising the entering one, carrying light.” Alternatively one could read the star as *dw3*, and the remaining signs together as *nʿy* (the arm as “because it is a writing of ʿ.wy, and the reed leaf as *y*)—“it is the praiser who travels,” or “praising the traveler.”

The arms which touch the disks at the center sides are termed ʿ.wy *ḥtmy*, “the destructive arms.” In the parallel scene in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses VI (see below), the arms are also referred to as ʿ.wy *ḥtmy*.⁵⁰⁴ The bulls are labeled *ng3.w*, “longhorns,” and represent the supports of the sun,⁵⁰⁵ and the winds of the four corners of the cosmos.⁵⁰⁶ They may also be the

⁵⁰⁴ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 10, ll. 5-6: ʿ.wy *ḥtmy.w ḥnty ḥtmy.t*. This parallel supports the reading ʿ.wy *ḥtmy* for the cryptic annotation of the Tutankhamun shrine (*contra* the unsupportable *ʿ.w.j wḡ(s).j, “les deux bras qui supportent” of Mysliwiec, *BIFAO* 81 Supplement [1981]: 98]). An alternative reading for the Tutankhamun annotations is *rmn.wty*, “carriers, supports” (*Wb.* II 420, 12). These possible *rmn.wty* arms on the Tutankhamun shrine are raised, recalling the designation of the solar deity as *ḡsr rmn m i3bt*, “sacred of shoulder in the east.” For the arm of the cosmic deity and the arms of the horizon at the end of the Underworld, see O.E. Kaper, “The Astronomical Ceiling of Deir el-Haggar,” *JEA* 81 (1995): 181. The raised arms on the Second Shrine embody both the raised arm of the potent Min deity at the eastern horizon, and the raised arm of Osiris as Nun through which the sun is to be reborn (see the discussion of reclining Osiris in the concluding scene to the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX in Chapter 6, pp. 391-406). The discussion of *ḡsr rmn m i3bt* in J.K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt, the Term ḡSR, with Special Reference to Dynasties I-XX* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1985), pp. 40-2, 44, 65, is incomplete (he reads “whose arm clears/wards off”), ignoring as it does material from the Book of the Dead, the Book of Gates, the Amduat, and related compositions (as H. Goedicke indicated in his review of Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt*, in *JARCE* 22 [1985]: 235). The arms as *rmnw.ty* could also refer to their locations at the liminal areas of the perceived solar orbit, their names meaning also “those at the sides” (*cf.* R.O. Faulkner, “Ptahhotpe and the Disputants,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* [Berlin, 1955], p. 83, n. k).

⁵⁰⁵ Hornung, *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 222-3. These horned animals recall the association of cow’s horns with the birth of the sun (see E. Feucht, “Verjüngung und Wiedergeburt,” *SAK* 11 [1984]: 412).

⁵⁰⁶ See de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, p. 399a (=Spell 162):

ind ḥr-ḥn t3w fdw ipw nyw p.t k3.w nyw p.t

Hail to you, oh four winds of heaven, bulls of heaven.

corresponding masculine forms of the four cows of the necropolis.⁵⁰⁷ The bulls may also be Osirian symbols, for Osiris can be said to rise from Nun in the form of a bull.⁵⁰⁸ As the Heavenly Cow can represent the primordial waters,⁵⁰⁹ the bull's head as Osiris rising from Nun and carrying the sun would be particularly appropriate. As the bull symbolizes the raising up of the sun, so it also recalls the arm of Osiris that is raised to support the sun in the tomb of Ramesses IX.⁵¹⁰ In the middle register of the third hour of the Book of Gates (scene 11), two bulls and two bull's heads form an Aker-like representation of the Netherworld.⁵¹¹ Although the scene from the Creation of the Solar Disk on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun contains elements alluding to the nocturnal journey of the sun, it is not a true closing scene, for it closely parallels the opening scene of the enigmatic composition on the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (see pl. 15 [left]).

Other celestial bovines are the *ngz.w* who appear in text 1 of the Book of the Day and of the Night.⁵¹²

qz=k p.t m ḥtp

These may also be related to the "bull of heaven" discussed by J.F. Borghouts, "A New Middle Kingdom Netherworld Guide," in S. Schoske, ed., *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985* (Hamburg, 1989), p. 134 (citing in n. 14 de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 214a). These heavenly bulls recall the bull head emerging from the waters of Nun in the Book of the Day and of the Night, there also apparently the bull form of the wind. There are four bull heads in the introductory scenes to the upper and lower registers of the raised portion of the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI; one of these is named *khz-b.wy*, "ramming of horns." The verb *khz* is there fallen together with *kḥb* (*Wb.* V 137, 2-3), which can mean the ramming of bull horns, and also the storming force of wind and water (*Wb.* V 137, 11), appropriate to a bull as a symbol of one of the four corners of the cosmos. Compare also the "Rindskopf" for heaven—W. Spiegelberg, "Ein Skarabäus mit religiöser Darstellung," *OLZ* 33 (1930): 249-52 (specifically p. 249 and the references in n. 2).

⁵⁰⁷ For which see W.F. Petrie, *et al.*, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa* (London, 1915), pl. 42, no. 43, four cow heads called *idr.t ny.t ḥr.t-ntr*, "herd of the necropolis" (Atfiyeh, tomb of *is.t-ḥmt*); pl. 43 no. 105, with same name (same tomb). These beings are represented as Hathor-cow-headed posts at the entrance to the tomb of Ramesses III (*PM* I:2, 2nd ed., p. 519, no. 1-2).

⁵⁰⁸ The hymn for which the demotic version is recorded on O. Hess, l. 6—see M. Smith, "A New Version of a Well-known Egyptian Hymn," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 131, n. c to l. 6. For O. Hess see now also M. Smith, "O. Hess = O. Naville = O. BM 50601 = an Elusive Text Relocated," in E. Teeter and J.A. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 397-404. Osiris *wbn=f m Nwn*, "when he rises from Nun," the demotic version follows this with *gy n k3*, "in the form of a bull," for the hieroglyphic *imy q3yt* and *n q3*, "in the high land." For the north wind associated with Osiris and the Inundation, see Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 734 n. (17).

⁵⁰⁹ E. Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, pp. 96-101.

⁵¹⁰ See further pp. 391ff. below.

⁵¹¹ Hornung, *Das Buch von Den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 84-9.

⁵¹² Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 88.

pḏ n=k ng(3).w m inw
in imy.w-p.t šhr n=k 'pp
ndm ib=k m š.w=k št3.w
ḥtp=k m šhw.t=k n.t mfk.tyw

You sail across heaven in peace,
 for there has been stretched out for you the *ng3*-cattle as tribute.
 It is the westerners of heaven who overthrow Apep for you,
 with the result that your heart is pleased with your hidden
 waterways,
 your offerings being in your fields of the turquoise gods.




Drioton (p. 88) reads this section as “Sont étendus pour toi des boeufs en tribut par les habitants du ciel. Lorsque tu as abattu Apophis, se réjouit ton coeur dans tes domaines secrets, tu te reposes dans tes prairies de turquoise.” The Medinet Habu parallel has for this section:⁵¹³

iw imn.tyw p.t s[hr]=sn n=k ḥfty.w=k...
...3w ḥtp.w=k m šh.t=k [nt] mfktyw

That *in* is the initial element of a participial statement is clear from the parallel in *MH* pl. 421, l. 5, which has a Middle Egyptian gnomic *iw* + subject + *sḏm=f*. The reading of “offerings” for *ḥtp* in the Book of the Day is also made clear by the parallel in *MH* pl. 420, l. 6; an oval food determinative (◉) is certainly to be restored in the lacuna. This line in the Medinet Habu parallel further insures the reading of *mfk.tyw*, “turquoise gods.”

Only3w remains of the word *št3.w* in the Medinet Habu example, which thus provides no assistance in establishing the reading of the three apparent *š*-signs in text 1 of the Book of the Day and the Night. Drioton’s transliteration *š.w* is possible, as is his translation “domaines,” if *š.w* is read as “garden domains.”⁵¹⁴ Retaining Drioton’s *š.w*, yet another understanding is possible—the *š.w* could be “water divisions,” in the plural referring to the waterway traveled by the solar deity through the hours of the day and night, the divisions of the waterway corresponding to the different hours.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹³ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6, pl. 421, ll. 5-6.

⁵¹⁴ *Wb.* IV 398 B. If, however, a more all encompassing way of referring to the god’s domains is sought in , another reading is possible. Taking  as an attested form of the more usual sign , the reading *sp3.wt*, “districts,” is possible (see n. 85 above). Whereas there appears to be no attestation of *š.w* referring to the sun god’s otherworldly realms, *sp3.wt* does designate his domains in the First Division of the Book of Caverns, wherein appear the *iry.w-3.w sp3.wt igr.t*, the “doorkeepers of the domains of Igeret” (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 [1942]: pl. 3, l. 1). The adjective should then have taken the form *št3.wt*, but the absence of the feminine *t* here would not exclude the possibility of reading *sp3.wt*.

⁵¹⁵ See the previous note, especially the watercourses mentioned in the Book of Gates, not *š* “lake,” but “division of a watercourse.” These waterways are called *mr.w*, “canals,” in

Re can sail peacefully because the *ngz.w* are stretched out as offerings (*Wb.* II 349, 2), and he can be at peace because Apep is overthrown. The section is chiasmic: first the desired condition, then the mention of the conflict which allowed the pleasant state; then a mention of another conflict, and finally the desirable conditions which resulted from the second struggle. The *ngz.w* here are parallel to Apep, recalling the identification of Seth with a *ngz* bull in PT Utterance 580 (specifically §1544c); in the context of travel, the fact that the *ngz.w*-bulls are stretched out means a lack of opposition in heaven. The use of *ngz* to refer to this potential opposition recalls the *ngz.w* as the winds at the four corners of heaven, implying that Re is sailing and ruling heaven to the four corners of the sky.⁵¹⁶ The orthography without *z* is attested already for the Old Kingdom.⁵¹⁷

The arm at the bottom center of the concluding scene is perhaps to be read simply as the arm of Re. Also possible is a connection with the term *ḥḥ*, “morning glow,” attested above in the name of the goddess *ihḥy.t*, and in the Ramesses VI treatise in the name of a deity.⁵¹⁸ *ḥ* here can also be read as a pun on the word *ḥ*, “raise, support;” the word appear in the expression *ḥ p.t* (*Wb.* I 224, 4), and recalls the raised arm of the reclining Osiris on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX.

The lower, enigmatic text in the concluding section is:

imy.w šr pn m-ḥnt ḥbs sn
n mzz.n=w ḥd.wt=f
ntryt m sz

Those who are in this manner⁵¹⁹ in the presence of the one who conceals them.

They are unable to see his light,^a
 the goddesses being as protection.^b

the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk: *ḥ.p.in ntr pn sz m itn=f m-ḥnt spr=f r mr.w štz.w...*, “then this great god passes by in his disk after reaching the mysterious waterways ...” (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 16, ll. 5-6). The use of the term *š* has specific cosmic implications.



⁵¹⁶ On the bulls of the four corners, see pp. 164-5. The *ngz.w* as potential opponents of the free movement of the sun, parallel to Apep, may be related to the appearance of a *ngz* as a gate keeper in the “bull of heaven” discussed by Borghouts, *SAK Beiheft* 3 (1989), p. 134 (citing in n. 14 de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 214a).

⁵¹⁷ Alternatively, one could read the first, left-facing bull in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 88, as *kz* in a writing *ng/kz* (compare the *nk* attested for the Graeco-Roman period in *Wb.* II 349), the two right facing bulls representing the dual as a writing of the plural (or a masculine counterpart to the *ng dšr.ty* of *Wb.* II 349, 5).

⁵¹⁸ This may also be the term *ḥ*, “Feuerbecken” (*Wb.* I 223, 13-16), a further reference to the eastern horizon as a place of the final fiery consumption of the damned.

⁵¹⁹ Myśliwiec, *BIFAO* 81 Supplement (1981): 98, suggests reading “[nn n ntr]w m šr pn...,” declaring “seul le début du texte nous paraît intelligible.”

^a This is reading the plural strokes for the weak third person plural suffix pronoun *w*.⁵²⁰ The *f* of *hḏ.wt=f* requires a referent, which speaks in favor of reading *hbs* as “the one who conceals.”

^b The *s3*-bird for *s3*, “protection;” for the substitution of  for  in *s3-t3* and *s3w*, see *Wb.* III 416.

This scene on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun is the first attestation of a scene which appears next, somewhat changed, on the exterior of the foot end of the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV. The scene is incorporated within the “Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk” in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and occurs in the Ptolemaic period on sarcophagi.⁵²¹ The texts accompanying the Ramesses IV (and later) version are:⁵²²

The upper, horizontal band of text:

nn n nṯr.w m šḥr pn mḥw k3r Wsṛ ʿ.t imn.t

h3p(.t) šḥr.w iwti rn.w[=s]^a

These gods are in this fashion, the watchers over the shrine of Osiris, the hidden chamber that hides the conditions, which has no name.

^a The later versions have *iwti r t3 imy.t* at the end.⁵²³ Hornung⁵²⁴ takes the *h3.t*-sign in Ramesses IV as a mistake for the “strong arm” of the other versions, and

⁵²⁰ See E. Edel, “Die Herkunft des neuägyptisch-koptischen Personalsuffixes der 3. Person Plural -w,” *ZÄS* 84 (1959): 17-38.

⁵²¹ Myśliwiec, *BIFAO* 81 Supplement (1981): 91-106, pls. 14-17 has collected and discussed the examples of this scene; the translations given there are to be used only with extreme caution. For an additional example on a Roman period coffin, see C. Beinlich-Seeber, “Ein römerzeitliches Sargfragment in Marseille,” in A. Brodbeck, ed. *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel. Ägyptologische Beiträge für Erik Hornung* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 19-27 (reference courtesy of Ms. Colleen Manassa).

⁵²² Myśliwiec indiscriminately takes portions of the readings from later and somewhat garbled versions; his resulting translation suffers accordingly, and he does not appear to have consulted the Ramesses VI parallel. The transliterations and translations given here are based on the text on the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV; as Piankoff and Myśliwiec note, there is an incompletely published example of this scene, with accompanying texts, in the interior of the sarcophagus of Ramesses III. A large piece of the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV, containing the lower portion of this scene, has been put back in place in the tomb, and figures neither in Lefebure’s drawing, nor in the reproduction of that drawing in Myśliwiec’s article. The version used here is based on a collation of the text in the tomb in early 1991. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pp. 125-6, pl. 92b, discusses the text. The plate shows the foot end of the sarcophagus without the added piece at the lower right (according to pp. 4-5, the photography was accomplished in 1966 and 1971); on p. 125 Hornung reproduces Lefebure’s imperfect drawing.

⁵²³ As Hornung *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 126 n. 3 notes, the later versions change the *n* to *t3*.

⁵²⁴ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 126 n. 2.

reads “Gefüllt ist der Osiris-Schrein, der Verborgene Raum, mit verhülltem Wesen, ohne Name dessen, das darin ist.” In fact, the *h3.t* sign is a mistake in copying made by Lefebure, and the Ramesses IV version, like the others, has *mhw* determined by the strong arm.

The text to the right of the scene:

ntr pn Wsir hn.ty imnt.t <m> shr pn^a
st.wt R^c ‘q.w m^b h3.t=f
shd kkw-sm3w hr tb.ty=f
sšm št3 hr rd.wy=f
b3=f ‘q=f n-htw R^c c

This god, Osiris Foremost of the West, is <in> this fashion,
 the light of Re having entered into his corpse;^d
 the utter darkness having been illumined beneath his soles,
 the mysterious image being beneath his feet.^e
 His *ba* follows Re.

^a According to Hornung, the later versions omit the *p* of *pn*. This is probably a confusion of the *p* and the plural strokes, not uncommon in Egyptian religious texts.⁵²⁵

^b The later versions show a *pr*-sign following ‘*q*, apparently garbled from the plural strokes of the stative ending as written in Ramesses IV.

^c Either a writing of *m-ht* as *n-ht* (see *Wb.* III 347, 7), or a writing of *htw* with an otiose *n* through confusion with *n-ht* (compare *Wb.* III 342, a D. 19/10 orthography of *hti*, “zurückweichen;” Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. 2, p. 196 [*nht-t3* for *ht-t3* in Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 5, 11, 10]).⁵²⁶

^d The plural strokes in the Ramesses IV version show this to be the noun “light;” the later versions suggest a reinterpretation as *sti* the verb, allowing a reading “Re

⁵²⁵ See above, pp. 81-2.

⁵²⁶ See also R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text* (Chicago, 1992), p. 121 (note M to line 6/8). Hornung does not read *R^c* here, although he suggests (*Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 126 n. 7) “lies *jtn*?” He takes the *ntr pn m shr pn* of the following section here, reading “sein *Ba* tritt ein hinter diesen Gott in dieser Art.” For other writings of *ht-t3*, see *Wb.* III 349, 15 (in the stele of Nesumonthu, *ht3 < ht-t3*); *Wb.* III 343, 6 (Libyan War Inscription of Merneptah = *KRI* IV 4, 14).

shining, he having entered..."⁵²⁷ This is the action—the light of Re entering into the corpse of Osiris—which results in the label of the corpse of Osiris in the second scene of the first register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses VI: *ḥ3.t imy(.t) Rʿ*, “the corpse in which Re is.” In the text accompanying the scene above this, Re resides in the solar bark upon the back of Aker:⁵²⁸

dī=f ḥd.wt m ḥ3.t ʒh.ty
ʿq=f m itn
ḥ3y=f ḥ3.t št3y.t

as he sheds light in the corpse of the one of the horizon,
 entering in the disk,
 lighting up the mysterious corpse.

For the orthography of *ʿq* here, compare the enigmatic orthography in pl. 5A (side one, right, middle band), and pp. 76-8 above.

^e This section recalls the events within the Chamber of Sokar in the Fifth Hour of the Amduat.⁵²⁹

ḥ3y rd.wy m q3b nṯr ʿ3
s3=f sšm=f

It is in the coils of the great god that the two feet light up,
 he protecting his image.⁵³⁰

This image which he protects is apparently, like the *sšm št3* of the Ramesses IV text, a *sšm št3* beneath the god. In the introduction to the Fifth Hour of Amduat,⁵³¹ the great god is hauled “on the proper paths of the Dat in the upper half of the mysterious cavern of Sokar Who is Upon his Sand”:

n m33 n ptr sšm pn št3 n t3 ḥr iwḥ nṯr pn
 without there being seen and without there being perceived this secret
 image of the earth which is under the flesh of this god.

⁵²⁷ According to Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 126 n. 5, this is “so nach den Parallelen zu ergänzen;” the signs are there, however, on the replaced portion of the sarcophagus.

⁵²⁸ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 2, ll. 3-4 (text III).

⁵²⁹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 93, ll. 4-5 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 444).

³⁰ For the expected orthography *s3* of the circumstantial form here, the Ramesses VI version has *s33* (*ibid.*, p. 93 n. *m*); on orthographies of circumstantial *s3* with two alephs, see pp. 156-7 below.

¹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 75, ll. 5-6 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. II, p. 384-6) = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, pp. 39-41 (Kurzfassung).

The text to the left of the scene:

ntr pn m šhr pn wnw.t

R^c q.w m h3.t=f m h^cw=f

s3w^a=f wnw.wt q.w m kkw-sm3w hr ib.ty=f(y)

i^cr.ty=fy s3w=sn sw r-^c Wsir ...Ramesses IV m3^c-hrw

This god is in this fashion at the (appropriate) hour,

Re having entered into his own corpse,


he protecting the hours which have entered into the utter

darkness beneath his two soles,^b


His two uraei protect him, even^c the Osiris ... Ramesses IV, the vindicated.

^a The circumstantial *s3* appears to be written here with two alephs as *s33*. One might be tempted to read the first aleph as an enigmatic substitution for the *s3* -bird, which would allow one to read the expected *s3*. The circumstantial of *s3* occurs, however, elsewhere in the royal Netherworld books in a form with two alephs. In Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 93 l. 5 and n. *m*, the tomb of Ramesses VI writes *s33* for the circumstantial *s3* of the other versions. Also in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the circumstantial *s3* of scene 67 in the Tenth Hour of the Book of Gates occurs in the geminated form *s33*.⁵³² Further apparent writings of circumstantial *s3* as *s33* appear in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁵³³ In the enigmatic corpus studied here, the form occurs in the Ramesses VI Corridor G treatise (see here pl. 21, l. 3; pl. 23, l. 64; and possibly pl. 25, l. A43). In the Book of the Creation of the



Solar Disk, a further form of the circumstantial of *s3* appear as , apparently a writing of *s3wty*.⁵³⁴ The use of two alephs in this orthography suggests that the second may represent *w*, the circumstantial *s33* forms being orthographies of a circumstantial *s3w*. In the same composition, the orthography of the circumstantial



s3 as  is also apparently to be read *s3w*.⁵³⁵ The circumstantial *s3* of scene 67 in the Tenth Hour of the Book of Gates appears as *s3* in the Osireion, as *s3w* in the tomb of Sety I, and as *s33* in the tomb of Ramesses VI.⁵³⁶ In the text to scene 69 in

⁵³² *Idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 346.

⁵³³ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 4, ll. 7 and 9; pl. 15, l. 4.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.* pl. 10, l. 5; pl. 27, l. 8. On the form *s3wty*, see A. Gardiner, "The Egyptian Word for »Herdsmen«, etc.," *ZÄS* 42 (1905): 119, n. 1; *idem*, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1947), p. 90*; Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 2, p. 874 (n. 1435).

⁵³⁵ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 6, l. 1.

⁵³⁶ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 346.

the Eleventh Hour of the Book of Gates,⁵³⁷ the circumstantial *s3* of the Osireion version appears as *s3wtj* in the tomb of Sety I, and as *s3ww*, *s3* with two coil *w*'s, in the tomb of Ramesses VI, further support for reading the apparent *s33* circumstantial forms as *s3w*.

Alternatively, one could read the second aleph in the examples of circumstantial *s33* as a writing of the *tyw*-bird for *s3wtj*. Yet another—though less likely—possibility is to read the two alephs as a sportive false dual, *s33* for *s3y*.⁵³⁸

^b Compare the annotation above the parallel scene in the tomb of Ramesses VI: *wnw.wt ʿp kkw hr tb.t*.

^c As Hornung notes, the parallels have *r d.t nḥḥ*.⁵³⁹ The Ramesses IV version of the text appears to be parallel to the concluding line in the cryptic annotation to the reclining ithyphallic Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX, with the wish that the king partake of the deity's fate and be placed with the god. This translation reads *r-ʿ* in the sense of "even" of the Coptic *ρω*.

The texts in the tomb of Ramesses VI (the second scene in the third register of section A of the Creation of the Solar Disk):⁵⁴⁰

The annotation preceding the scene:

ʿp h3.wt ʿh3.w-hr in nṯr pn ʿ3

tf^a ʿp-f hr h3.t Hpry^b

i h3.wt n.t ʿh3y.w-hr.w ʿ3 hr.wt m imnt.t

Passing the corpses of the 'ones warlike of face' by this great god,

when he passes by the corpse of Khepri (saying):

"Oh corpses of the 'ones warlike of faces, great of condition in the West.'"

^a Reading *rf* as *tf*, with Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 20, n. 5.

^b The determinative book-roll has become a *t* in the annotation.

The annotation following the scene:

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 359.

⁵³⁸ One should note, however, an apparent geminating form of the verb *s3i* in the Old Perfective (see E. Edel, "Beiträge zur ägyptischen Grammatik," *ZÄS* 84 [1959]: 105-108).

⁵³⁹ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 126 n. 9.

⁵⁴⁰ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 10, ll. 2-8; Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, pp. 441-2. All previous commentators on this scene omit the first portion of the annotation, assigning it to the end of the preceding scene; this ignores, however, the content of the text, which refers to the entities termed *ʿh3y.w-hr.w* of this scene.

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn

s3w=sn Ꞁ.wy ḥtmy ḥn.ty ḥtmy.t

ntsn wts=sn itn=sn

Ꞁ.wy=sn wts RꞀ

Ꞁ.wy=sn ḥnm=sn ḥ3.wt d3.tyw

wnw.t s3w=sn wnw.t b3 n b3 RꞀ

These gods are in this fashion,

protecting the destructive arms within the place of destruction.

They lift up their disk.

It is their arms which support Re.

Their arms join with the corpses of the Datians,

at the hour when they protect the hour of the *ba* of the *ba* of Re.

The text above the scene:


wnw.wt Ꞁp kkw ḥr tb.t

The hours that enter the darkness beneath the sole.


The arms reaching up to the disks on the Second Shrine, like those in the parallel scene in the tomb of Ramesses VI, are reaching out from the lowest region of the Dat, out of the Place of Destruction, lifting up and supporting the disk of Re. The arms attempting to touch the disks are images of the connection of the lowest realms of the Dat with the sky on the cusps of the upper and lower worlds. In the tomb of Ramesses IX., the Osiride king and his uplifted arm(s) take the place of the arms on the Second Shrine of Tutakhamun. The arms of Re may be said to form the two heavens.⁵⁴¹ In this scene, the arms of the solar Osiris emerging from the Netherworld lift up the sun and form the sky across which the disk sails.

Except in the version of the scene in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the grouping of the labels naming the depicted entities are somewhat confused.⁵⁴² The text of the Ramesses IV version, and the versions of the Late Period, is the same as that accompanying the Ramesses VI example only in

⁵⁴¹ Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1925), Les inscriptions*, p. 18:

Ꞁ.wy ḥm-f m ir ḥwm n p.ty m  *wr.ty-ḥk3w*

the arms of his majesty acting again and again for the two heavens by means of (the Double Crown) “The Two Great of Magic”

The closing portion of this should not be read as “en qualité de Grand Magicien” (so Drioton). The *wr.ty-ḥk3w* are the Crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt —cf. E.A.W. Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, vol. 2 (London, 1912), pl. 7 (no. 147 [839]), ll. 6-5 from the left: *ḥry sšt3 n W3d.ty*  *wr.ty ḥk3w*.

⁵⁴² Mysliwiec’s translations of the annotations in the version represented by the Tomb of Ramesses IV, reading the run-together annotations as so intended, are thus incorrect.

the *hr tb.ty* section. Hornung⁵⁴³ reads the name of the entity atop the leftmost arm as *wnmy*, “Linker,” and the name of the entity atop the rightmost arm as *nꜣwtj*, “Fahrender (?),” suggesting a possible connection with the Litany of Re,⁵⁴⁴ and PT 702a.

The leftmost scene on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun—with its later parallels—is not, as Mysliwiec (p. 94) would have it, a representation of two different worlds, nor is it an attempt at a reconciliation of the “enemy” gods Re and Osiris. The scene in all its permutations fits well into the group of images which conclude the Netherworld Books. This scene on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun is a description and depiction of the rejuvenation of the sun and the Osirian corpse.

⁵⁴³ *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 125.

Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 134 n. 364.

The enigmatic signs on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun are primarily common hieroglyphs, with primarily uniliteral enigmatic values, their cryptographic values deriving for the most part through substitution of signs. The more uncommon sign of the spitting mouth also occurs, along with the grasshopper, but these signs appear frequently in other New Kingdom cryptographic inscriptions. Thematic cryptography does not occur (the two occurrences of a pot on its side over a jar stand appears to be a sportive arrangement of the enigmatic signs, but in neither group does a thematic interpretation appear possible). For no enigmatic sign value occurring on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun need recourse be made to acrophony.⁵⁴⁵

The texts and iconography of this enigmatic treatise all describe the rejuvenation of the sun in the east, overseen by the giant figure of the unified Re-Osiris. Other elements refer to the resurrection of the blessed dead in the east, and the final fiery punishment of the dead in the bowels of the morning. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the texts and depictions on the Second Shrine form two sections, each corresponding to one of the two exterior sides of the shrine:

exterior left panel	beginning of the treatise
exterior right panel	end of the treatise

This corresponds to the decoration of the third shrine:

exterior left panel	Amduat Second Hour
exterior right panel	Amduat Sixth Hour

The end of the treatise on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun features six entities in each discreet group, suggesting a reference to the sixth hour of the night, the time of the unification of Re and Osiris.⁵⁴⁶ On the first side, most of the annotations begin with *nn n ntr.w m šhr pn m qrr.t-sn ...*; on the concluding side, most begin with *nn n ntr.w m šhr pn ḥḏw.t R^c* On the second side, the disk of the sun is everywhere to be seen, whereas on the first side the disk is absent, except for the two disks in which the ram-headed soul of the sun travels. The first side is thus a place of caverns and darkness, the second side a place of light and the traveling disk of the sun. The first side suggests the Books of Amduat and Gates, while the second side, with its omnipresent solar disk, recalls the Books of Caverns and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The shrine is composed of two sections, one on each of the long sides of the shrine, each of the sides divided roughly into three horizontal registers. This arrangement of the treatise in two

⁵⁴⁵ The origin of the value *p* for the mouth remains uncertain (the root *pl*, and onomatopoeia are the two possibilities suggested here), and the origin of the value *r* for the grasshopper remains wholly obscure, and acrophony is not particularly helpful, see pp. 108-10.

⁵⁴⁶ So in the Amduat and the Book of Gates; see W. Barta, "Osiris als Mutterleib des unterweltlichen Sonnengottes in den Jenseitsbüchern des Neuen Reiches," *JEOL* 29 (1985-86): 98-105.

sections of three divisions each parallels the organization of the divisions of the Book of Caverns. A number of names and text allusions also recall the Books of Caverns and the Creation of the Solar Disk;⁵⁴⁷ the standing figure of the giant deity and the concluding scene both are similar to scenes in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, one of the earliest records of the New Kingdom Netherworld Books, shows the Amduat and Caverns styles, and Amduat and Book of the Dead texts, all mixed in a single composition. The beginning of the first side of the shrine recalls the opening of the Book of Gates, but other references to the Book of Gates are few.⁵⁴⁸ A number of the names of the entities on both sides allude to the Litany of Re.⁵⁴⁹ There are perhaps two direct references to the Book of the Day and the Night,⁵⁵⁰ and more to the Amduat,⁵⁵¹ most of these on the second side.

Hornung also states that: "It has always been evident that Akhenaten suppressed all the richness and complexity of the Osirian netherworld, of the nocturnal journey of the sun so elaborately presented in the *Amduat* and the *Litany of Re* (to mention only compositions probably known to Akhenaten)."⁵⁵² It is difficult, however, to accept an actual malevolent suppression of the Osirian element in Amarna religion. Belief in such suppression would ignore the possibility that the Second Shrine originally bore an Atonist name.⁵⁵³ The theology of this shrine supports Drioton's

⁵⁴⁷ Caverns: pl. 5 B, 4th deity from the right; pl. 5 C, 3rd and 6th deities; pl. 7 A, 5th-7th deities; pl. 7 B, 1st deity; pl. 8, annotation and scene; pl. 9 A, last name (?); pl. 9 B, allusion in text, 1st entity; pl. 10 A, 2nd-3rd deities. Creation: pl. 5 B, 6th deity (and annotation [?]); pl. 7 A, 2nd deity; pl. 7 B, 3rd deity; pl. 8, text and scene; pl. 13 B, 2nd deity.

⁵⁴⁸ There is a possible allusion to the Book of Gates in the use of the term *ꜥḥ.t* in the pl. 7 B annotation, and in the names pl. 7 A, 4th deity (and 5?), pl. 13 A, 1st and 2nd deities; and the 2nd name in pl. 13 B.

⁵⁴⁹ Pl. 5 B, 1st-3rd, 7th-8th deities (5 of 8); pl. 5 C, 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 8th deities (the 6th name is similar); pl. 7 A, the 3rd and 4th deities; pl. 9 A, the 5th deity (?); pl. 9 B, the 1st deity; pl. 10 A, l. 5 (similar); pl. 13 A, 4th deity (?). pl. 5 B, 8th deity; pl. 5 C, 1st and 8th deities all recall the Twelfth Address of the Great Litany.

⁵⁵⁰ Pl. 7 B, 5th deity (?); and pl. 10 A, 4th deity.

⁵⁵¹ Pl. 5 B, 5th deity; pl. 7 B, 3rd-4th, and 6th deities; pl. 8 name of the serpent; pl. 9 A, 3rd deity; pl. 10 A, 1st deity; pl. 12, 1st deity (?), 4th deity, and 5th-6th deities; pl. 13 B, 3rd-4th deities.

⁵⁵² Hornung, "The Rediscovery of Akhenaten and his Place in Religion," *JARCE* 29 (1992): 48.

⁵⁵³ R. Engelbach, "Material for a Revision of the History of the Heresy Period of the XVIIIth Dynasty," *ASAE* 40 (1940): 138, believed the name of Tutankhamun on the Second Shrine replaced the name of Smenkhkare; Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, pp. 51-52 (n. 2 to p. 51) disputed the claim that the names on the Second Shrine had been surcharged, and suggested that chemical changes had resulted in the different appearance of the gold leaf within the cartouches. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, p. 104, believes that the name of Tutankhamun on the Second Shrine is in fact written over "an original name, a component part of which, according to Carter, was '-aten.'" In *Valley of the Kings*, p. 55 n. 103, Reeves cites J.R. Harris as suggesting that the Second Shrine of

conclusion that: “Quoi qu’il en soit, c’est bien aux spéculations d’Amarna..qu’il faut aussi rattacher le syncrétisme le plus important, et somme toute le plus difficile à réaliser, de la vieille religion égyptienne: l’identification théologique d’Osiris avec Rê.”⁵⁵⁴

The Second Shrine of Tutankhamun retains a certain amount of its mystery, but Edward’s⁵⁵⁵ statement that the enigmatic script here is “still largely undeciphered,” his claim that for the Osiride figure of the giant deity “no meaning can be given to it,” and his statement that “still less is it possible to understand” the scenes of the clothing light and the pairs of arms on the second side of the shrine are all far too pessimistic.

Tutankhamun was originally inscribed for Akhenaton; according to Reeves’ suggestions in *ibid.*, pp. 40-41, this might indicate that the Second Shrine was prepared for Akhenaton as part of a projected Theban burial, prior to his move to Akhetaton.

⁵⁵⁴ Drioton, “Trois documents d’époque amarnienne,” *ASAE* 43 (1943): 15-43 (quoting his conclusion p. 43). For Hornung’s comments on this article, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 124. See also A. Piankoff, “Les grandes compositions religieuses du nouvel empire et la réforme d’Amarna,” *BIFAO* 62 (1964): 207-218, on the relationship of the Netherworld Books with “Amarna” religion. Piankoff points out that, on the basis of the royal Netherworld Books, Aton and Amun were not deities at odds with each other; they were rather “des éléments—on pourrait même dire—des pièces détachées d’une vaste machine cosmique” (*ibid.*, p. 208). For a general overview, see T. Von der Way, “Überlegungen zur Jenseitsvorstellung in der Amarnazeit,” *ZÄS* 123 (1996): 157-164.

⁵⁵⁵ I.E.S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun: his Tomb and its Treasures* (New York, 1978), p. 105.

CHAPTER 4

THE ENIGMATIC TREATISE ON THE CEILING OF CORRIDOR G IN THE TOMB OF RAMESSES VI

Work on tomb Number 9 in the Valley of the Kings began during the reign of Ramesses V, and the excavation of the chambers appears to have reached at least the first pillared hall before the death of the king; Ramesses VI then appropriated and completed the unfinished tomb. Due to some error in calculating the proper angle of descent for the corridors, the tomb of Ramesses VI collided with the last chamber in the tomb KV 12, resulting in a two foot by 2.8-foot hole in corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI.¹ The architects of Ramesses VI were forced to alter the appearance of the fifth corridor (G), and the result was a sloping floor, a ceiling with a dropped portion at the far end, and a relatively high lintel above the doorway into Hall H.² The ceiling of Corridor G, both the raised and dropped portions, along with the lintel at the end of the corridor, bears Netherworld scenes with enigmatic annotations (plates 15-16, 27, and 29). Already Champollion published copies of the scenes and texts on this ceiling,³ and more recently, Hornung has offered the first attempt at interpreting any portion of the ceiling, presenting a brief study of the right-hand annotation on the lintel; no one has treated the other texts and scenes in Corridor G.

The main, leftmost portion of the composition is divided into three registers (pls. 15 and 16). The upper and lower registers begin to the left side with three doubled, domed structures. These features, with the bark of the sun sailing between them, are similar to the concluding scene of the Book of Caverns.⁴

FIRST REGISTER, SCENE 1 (PL. 17A AND B)

The introductory scenes to the upper and lower registers have each four bull's heads, one at each corner of the scene, with a disk between his horns. In the center of each scene there stand two female entities, back to back, a cauldron on the head of each. In the upper register, the rightmost cauldron contains disks, the leftmost stars; in the bottom register, the rightmost cauldron holds three shadow signs, the leftmost three aleph-birds. The three birds are apparently enigmatic substitutions for

¹ See F. Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' VI.* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989), pp. 28-31; pp. 40-48 (on the work completed during the reign of Ramesses V); pp. 98-110, 150-4, 157-8 (on Corridor G).

² For a sketch of Corridor G, with a reconstruction of the progression of the quarrying work at the time of the break through into KV 12, see *ibid.* p. 30 fig. 5.

³ J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* (Paris, 1844), vol. 2, pp. 570-2.

⁴ On which see E. Hornung, "Zu den Schlußszenen der Unterweltsbücher," *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 223-225; compare also the similar scene (but without the bark) in the tombs of Merneptah and Tawosret (*ibid.* p. 224, fig. 8 and pl. 38 b).

three *b3*-birds, elsewhere occurring in close association with shadow signs.⁵ Together, these scenes are reminiscent of the leftmost scene on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 14).⁶ The figures of Osiris (above) and Re (below) there find their parallels here in the middle mounds to the right of these scenes.

The four bulls heads are labeled *š.w.t*, “shadow,”⁷ in the version of the scene in the lower register. In the upper register, each is given a separate name: the lower two are given names describing qualities which they possess—*kh3-ḥ.wy*, “ramming of the two horns,”⁸ and *ḥry*, “the far one;” the upper two are called simply by terms denoting “bull”—*k3w*, “the bull;” and *kymy*, a writing of *q3m*, “young bull” (*Wb.* V 38, 1),⁹ the demotic *gm* and Coptic Ⲅⲁⲙ.¹⁰ They are the four bulls of the four

⁵ Cf. the shades and *b3*-birds cooking together in the same cauldron in the lowest register of the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* [New York, 1954], p. 115, fig. 19); *b3*-birds, in a semi-cursive, aleph-like form, in the pit next to a pit containing shadow signs in the bottom register of the Eleventh Hour of the Amduat (*ibid.* fig. 86 [opposite p. 305]); *b3*-birds next to shadow signs, and some with shadow signs atop their heads, in the Sarcophagus Hall of the tomb of Ramesses VI (*ibid.* fig. 108 [opposite p. 350]). In these scenes, the shadow signs are opposite the star signs, recalling the close association of these in the third scene in the first register of Section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (*ibid.*, p. 332, fig. 90).

⁶ As noted in the discussion of this plate in Chapter 3, pp. 149-52 the similarities with the scene in the Ramesses VI Corridor G treatise confirm that the scene on the Tutankhamun shrine is not simply a closing scene.

⁷ Twice reading the disk following the *š.w.t* sign as a determinative; a reading *š.w.t R* is also possible.

⁸ *Wb.* V 136, noting *kh3* “seit Ende *N.R.* mit *khh* zus[ammen] geworfen;” *Wb.* V 137, 2-3; *kh3/khb* is appropriate to a bull representing a cosmic corner (see above, Chapter 3, pp. 151-2 n. 503).

⁹ Though often transliterated *qm3*, the word underwent a *m3* > *3m* shift (for which see E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* [Rome, 1955], vol. 1, p. 60, §136), as is shown by the orthographies in P. Harris I 30, 3 and in the Turin Indictment Papyrus (see A. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* [London, 1948], p. 74, ll. 2 and 5). The two reed leafs here represent the aleph, the double strokes at the end represent the -w shown in the Turin Indictment Papyrus orthography. For *gm* of demotic as *qm3/q3m*, “young bull,” compare the writing of *gm*, “to find,” as though it were *qm3* (see R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text* (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135) [Chicago, 1992], p. 21 n. 13, citing I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, 2 vols. [London, 1960], vol. 1, p. 5, n. 31; and J. Leclant, *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville* [Cairo, 1961], p. 70, n. e).

¹⁰ Following K.-Th. Zauzich, “Ein Kaufvertrag aus der Zeit des Nektanebos,” *MDAIK* 25 (1969): 226, n. g; and J. Ray, “The *Gm* of Memphis,” *JEA* 58 (1972): 308-10, in deriving *gm* and Ⲅⲁⲙ from *q3m* (contra N.J. Reich, “New Documents from the Serapeum of Memphis,” *Mizraim* 1 [1933]: 83-7, who related *gm* to *km.t*, the “black herd” [*Wb.* V 125, 5-9]); see also E. Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian Demotic Cattle Documents, a Study in Legal Forms and Principles in Ancient Egypt* (Chico, California, 1985), p. 49; S. Vleeming, “Notes on Some Early-Demotic Cattle Documents,” *Bi.Or.* 42 (1985): 513.

corners of the cosmos (on which see the discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 151-4). For the area of the horns of the bulls' heads as cauldrons, places of punishment, one may compare Scene 75 in the Book of Gates (in the middle register of the Eleventh Hour). There a demon *bsy*, "flaming one," holds a fiery pot over a bull's head, the flame falling between the horns; the head of the bull is on a post across the middle of which is a knife.¹¹ This is a reference to the eastern corner of the cosmos (bull's head) as the place of fiery rebirth (flame) and final perdition (flame and knife). The use of *ḳam*, "young bull," is probably a reference to the sun as a calf.¹²

The horned head with arms in each version of the scene is labeled *ʿry*, "horned animal."¹³ For this feature in cosmographic contexts, there is the close parallel of the four upside-down antelope heads in the 33rd scene of the Book of Gates, called *hmhmy.w*, "Brüllende,"¹⁴ and the *ʿrt* and *ʿrt-wr.t* in the Book of the Day.¹⁵ The disks between the hands of the *ʿry*-beings show them to be solar deities. The name *ʿry* parallels the entity *iʿry* in the upper right section of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 5B), and the sun as *iʿry* in the Eleventh and Twelfth Addresses of the Great Litany of Re.¹⁶

In the top register the two goddesses between the bull heads are labeled as *Hkzy.t* "Enchantress" and *Hry.t* "Frightener." The cauldrons on the goddesses' heads indicate their relationship with the punishment of the damned. The name

For *ḳam*, see W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), p. 815b; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965-77), p. 455; and W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Leuven, 1984), p. 340b. F. De Cenival, "Un acte de renonciation consécutif à un partage de revenus liturgiques memphites (P. Louvre E 3266)," *BIFAO* 71 (1972): pl. 11 and pp. 60-61, n. 50, discussing an occurrence of the word *gm* in P. Louvre E 3266, 4, suggested reading *t3 gm.t*, which she tentatively relates to *t3 km.t*, the "black herd." Rather than an indication of a possible relationship between *gm* and the *km.t*-herd, De Cenival misread the demotic *n3 gm.w*, "the young bulls."

¹¹ E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* (Geneva, 1979-80), vol. 1, p. 365; vol. 2, pp. 256-7.

¹² See Kees, *Die Götterglaube im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1980 reprint), p. 78 and n. 3 (note the reference to Re as the "golden calf" in Pyr. 1029).

¹³ D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1980), pp. 67-8, no. 77.0692, noting H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II. The Orientation of Hieroglyphs Part 1. Reversals* (New York:, 1977), p. 129 and n. 429, who comments on the variant *ʿry* for *ʿr*.

¹⁴ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 147.

¹⁵ A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (Cairo, 1942), p. 7 [and n. 8] and p. 11). *ʿrt* in these names is written as though it were the word for "horned animal/gazelle."

¹⁶ E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* (Geneva, 1975-76), vol. 1, pp. 16-7; vol. 2, p. 103 n. 42. The participle *iʿry* receives a divine determinative in each of these addresses in the tomb of Thutmosis III. There may yet be a reference to the Judgment Hall of Osiris, for the name *ʿry* may be interpreted as a play on words, with "he of the staircase" a possible reading (for such a play on words, see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 141 n. 459, and further Chapter 3, pp. 63-4).



“Enchantress” may refer specifically to the use of *ḥk3*-magic to punish Apep.¹⁷ The goddess “Frightener” alludes to several similar names given to punishing goddesses in other Underworld Books.

FIRST REGISTER, SCENE 2 (PL. 15, PL. 18A)

In the left portion of the upper register are three texts, each associated with one of three pairs of domes. The texts run in columns above the outermost dome and in columns between the two domes. On plate 18 the texts appear as they are laid out on the ceiling; plate 19 presents each text as a continuous column. In the following transliterations, the order of reading the upper and lower columns is indicated by T for top and B for bottom, followed by the line number. The columns of text for each pair of domes read from right to left. These T and B numbers are indicated on plate 18.

FIRST FIGURE (reading right to left; pl. 18A, pl. 19A):

(T1) *nṯi^a pn^b* (T2) *m shr* (T3) *pn m^c* (T3+ B 1) *pr^r sḏ.t* (T4) *imyt* (T4 + B2) *r3=f m-* (T5) *ḥt* (T5 + B3) *ḏwl* (B3 + B4) *R^c r=f^d* (B4+T6) *ḥḏ* (T6+B5) *ḥ3.wt=f* (T7) *m imy.t <=f>^e*

^a For the writing of *nṯr* as *nṯi*, showing the weakening of the final *r*, compare the use of the Red Crown *N.t* to write *nṯr* in , *ḥw.t-nṯr*, in the second column of the cryptic text on the south thickness of the entrance to the tomb of Parennefer at Dra Abu-n-Naga (late Eighteenth Dynasty),¹⁸ and the Red Crown without a rear projection in , *ḥw.t-nṯr*, at the end of the second column of enigmatic text accompanying a scene in the Min chapel in the Ramesses II temple at Abydos (Nineteenth Dynasty).¹⁹

¹⁷ See pp. 239-40.

¹⁸ For these recently uncovered texts, see the full treatment of them in the forthcoming tomb publication by Karl-Joachim Seyfried and Friederike Kampp in the *Theben* series; provisionally see F. Kampp, “Vierter Vorbericht über die Arbeiten des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg in thebanischen Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit,” *MDAIK* 50 (1994): 176-188.

¹⁹ E. Naville, *Détails relevés dans les ruines de quelques temples égyptiens* (Paris, 1930), pls. 35 and 36.

preposition *r*, the second, on the basis of the parallel text in pl. 20C, should have the value *f*. The snake is commonly attested for *r* in cryptography;²² the value *f* for the mouth-*r* here is then the reverse of this enigmatic process. Yet another enigmatic value for the mouth-*r* derived from another reversal of an enigmatic process occurs in the dropped portion of the enigmatic treatise on this ceiling. There, the use of the *s3*-goose for *r* is reversed, and the mouth-*r* has the value *s3* (see below, and pl. 27).²³








Alternatively, one might read the second *r* as the third person suffix pronoun *w*. The mouth *r* for the value *w* is attested sporadically in this treatise (in *itn.w iry.w=sn* in ll. 18 and 32 [pl. 24], and in *sn dwi=sn* in l. 37 of the second section of the bottom register [pl. 26], in the word *dwi* in the rightmost text in the *Schutzbild* [pl. 30, rightmost text, ll. 4 and 5] and in the word *dwi* there [pl. 30, rightmost text, l. 6]).²⁴ Overt Late Egyptianisms do not appear to occur elsewhere in this text, however. This fact, along with the parallel in plate 20C, supports the proposal here to read the second mouth-*r* as *f*.

^e The suffix pronoun *f* is not written here, although on the basis of the parallel text plate 19C one would expect it. The *f* of l. B 5 may have served as the haplographic writing of the pronoun. This entity lights up "by means of that which is in him," a reference to the "flame which is in his mouth."²⁵ For Netherworld denizens lighting up from their own flames, compare text 12 in the second register

²¹ This would, however, require a reversal of the determinative and the *r*, with a curious absence of the ʿ-arm.

²² É. Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale," *ASAE* 40 (1940): 413; *idem*, "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie," *RdE* 1 (1933): 43; K. Sethe, "Die aenigmatischen Inschriften," in the Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, and P. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9* (London, 1908), p. 10*.

²³ Cf. the grasshopper with the value *p*, through extension of the value *p* for the mouth-*r* for the grasshopper for *r*, pl. 21, l. 28.

²⁴ For the mouth-*r* as *w*, compare the confusion possible between the mouth *r* and the coil *w* in hieratic—*ie.* J.J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications* (London, 1991), p. 13, n. 13 (to P. BM 10411 verso 3-4). This value was passed on to the grasshopper—usually with the value *r*—in the New Kingdom cryptographic syllabary (see Chapter 3, pp. 108-10). For *w* and *r* see also W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten* (Berlin, 1962) p. 22, §34, 5; É. Drioton, "Les principes de la cryptographie égyptienne," *CRAIBL* (1953): 360, the value *w* for the mouth-*r*. The orthography  of *mw.tyw*, "the dead," on the coffin of Ankhnesneferibre [l. 77 = C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre* (Copenhagen, 1937), p. 41] does not show a use of mouth-*r* for *w*; rather, as B. Gunn concluded (in his review of Sander-Hansen in *JEA* 28 [1942]: 73),  is probably a resolution of , which is a late writing of *mwt* and is itself doubtless derived from . (According to Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre*, "in  ist das  falsch aus  transkribiert," also a possibility).

²⁵ The flame *imy.t-r3* is probably also related to the flame of the solar deity that burns his enemies, see pp. 243ff. below.


of section D in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, wherein demons light up from their own punishing fire (... *nty ḥḏḏ=sn m sḏ.t* ...).²⁶ Plate 20C has *m imy.t r3=f*, perhaps intended here.



Alternatively, the third person singular masculine pronouns following the mention of Re may refer back to Re, reading “his (Re’s) corpse lighting up by means of that which is on him (Re),” the disk of the sun being what is on Re’s head.²⁷


SECOND FIGURE (pl. 18A; pl. 19B)

(T1) *nṯ(i) pn* (B1) *m* (T2) *shr* (T2+B2) *pn m* (B2+T3) *nm.t* (the determinative is the circle in line B3)^a (B3) *nm.t* [label]^b (B4) *ḥḏ=f* (T4) *m* (B5) *imy.t* (T5) *r3=f* (B6) *f m-ḥr*^c (T6+B7) *ḏwi R^c r=* (T7) *f*

^a For the *nm.t*, compare the identical cryptic orthography in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX. In the upper register, no. 1, middle B2+middle

T3+middle B3 has the orthography . The word is written in the bottom register,

 no. 1, T6 (the group  following *nm.t* in this line also stands for *nm.t*, being an annotation to the scene). The contexts of the word *nm.t* on the corridor G ceiling is: upper—*nṯr pn m shr pn m nm.t*; bottom—*nṯr pn m shr pn m nm.t*.

In both tombs the cryptic writings of *nm.t* have the determinative , early found for the word in non-cryptic contexts.²⁸ A *nm.t* can be a block or a pile of sand; it can also be a pit, as is shown by its equation with *ḥb.t*, a term which can refer to a pit.²⁹ The circular determinative suggests that the term *nm.t* in both tombs refers to a pit. Alternatively the *nm.t*-place may be the *iz.wt* “mounds” to which the Enigmatic Wall refers (pl. 33, l. 5). For an object referred to both as a hole and a hill, compare the first scene in the second register of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns. P. Bremner-Rhind 29, 17 refers to *rdi.t šm=f r nm.t nṯr*, “sending him



²⁶ A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (Cairo, 1953), pl. 28, ll. 5-6.

²⁷ For the solar disk as *imy-tp* Re, see *ibid.*, p. 47 n. 5. For the preposition *m* as “on, atop something,” see E.F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago, 1967), p. 31 n. *af* and p. 46 n. *b*; see also Chapter 7, pp. 430-2.

²⁸ *I.e.* PT 214c, Utterance 223.

²⁹ On the *nmt* and *ḥb.t*, see Blok, “Eine magische Stela aus der Spätzeit,” *AcOr* 7 (1929): 97-113; H. G. Fischer, “The Butcher *Ph-r-nfr*,” *Or.* 29 (1969): 172-3, and n. 3 to p. 172; M. Verner, “A Slaughterhouse from the Old Kingdom,” *MDAIK* 42 (1986): 181-9 (particularly pp. 185-6). For the circular determinative of *nmt*, compare the pits called *ḥb.t* depicted in the tomb of Monthuerkhopeshef (N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* [London, 1913], pls. 8-10), and in the tomb of Amenemopet (*ibid.* pl. 43).

[Apep] to the slaughtering place of the god.” These slaughtering places are of sand.³⁰

^b In line B3 of the second pair of domes, the annotation  may be read as a writing of Shetayet. However, on the strength of the parallel in line T 6 accompanying the middle pair of domes in the first section of the lower register, the annotation in line B3 is another writing of *nm.t* as an annotation to the domes. The š-lake for *n*, through substitution for another water sign, is possible.³¹ The hobble-*t* for both the ³² and the final *t* parallels the orthography of the *nm.t* label in the bottom register. The plural strokes probably represent *w*, foreshadowing the demotic orthography of the word as *nm3.t*, *nmy.t*, *nme.t*.³³

^b The *t* at the top of line T6 is apparently a dittography of the *t* of *ht* at the end of line B6.

THIRD FIGURE (pl. 18A; pl. 19C)

(T1) *nti pn* (T2) *m s <hr>* (T3) *pn* (T3+B2) *pr^a* (B1) *sd.t imy.t r3=f* (B2+B3) *m-ht* (B3+4) *qwl R^c r[=f]* (T4+5) *hd* (T5+B5) *h3.wt=f* (T6-7+B6) *m lm.yt=f^b*

^a The two grasshoppers are the *rr* of *pr^a*.

^b The similar text in plate 20C has *m imy.t r3=f*, perhaps intended here.

Though somewhat garbled and different, the annotations to the first and third figures appear to have derived from the same original text:

³⁰ For sandy pits/hills, and their association with the destruction and burial of the damned, see R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1993), pp. 155-7. Note also the apparent pun of š^c, “sand,” and š^c.t, “slaughter,” in F.-R. Herbin, “Une nouvelle page du livre des respirations,” *BIFAO* 84 (1984): 278 and 294, n. (80), and the writing of *nmt* as the knife on a *h3s.t*-sign at Hibis (listed by E. Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1: *Translations, Commentary, Discussions and Sign List* [San Antonio, 1988], p. 226, no. 565).

³¹ Cf. Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 409, and compare also the substitution of the *mr*-canal with *n* (see Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 46; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 11*).

³² Compare the examples from the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun listed in the Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

³³ W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 218; J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 258-9; vol. 2, pp. 831-2 (n. 1115). *Nmt*, *nām.at, has the *status pronominalis* *nm.ât, **NMOYT**= in early Coptic. For the *status absolutus* one might then expect the plural strokes, were they to correspond to the **OY** of the early Coptic *status pronominalis*, between the *n* and *m* rather than between the *m* and *t*, unless the plural strokes do indicate the final -3, -y, -e of the demotic orthographies.

This god is in this fashion:
 when Re calls out to them,
 the flame which is in his mouth comes forth,,
 his corpse lighting up by means of that which is in him.

The feminine *imy.t* refers back to *sd.t imy.t r3=f*, “the flame which is in his mouth.” In the annotation to the third figure in the corresponding group in the lowest register, this is (B13 + T21) *m imy.t r3=f*.

The text for the middle *nm.t*-pit is:

This god is in this fashion in the *nm.t*-pit,
 he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth
 when Re calls out to him.

NAMES:

right dome: *kmn-ir.ty*, “blind in both eyes”
 upper name in middle dome: *h3.t-msw.t*, “corpse of (re)birth”
 lower name in middle dome: *h3.t* ..., “corpse ...”

The entity in the third *nm.t* is not labeled. In Scene 1 of the lower register, the name of the being in the third *nm.t* is the same as that of the inhabitant of the first *nm.t* (see p. 210 below). If the corresponding section in the upper register follows this parallelism, the name of the entity in the third *nm.t* was the same as that of the occupant of the third *nm.t*—“blind in both eyes.”³⁴ This is \uparrow with the value *k*, common in orthographies of *kkw*, “darkness,” in the Book of Caverns and related compositions. The $\text{ʕn}/\text{ʕn}$ -ring here substitutes for the sign of the pupil, representing the eye.³⁵ The deity is not in complete darkness, but apparently does not behold sun

³⁴ *Wb.* V 107, 1-4 lists the verb as *k3mn*. The word is, however, to be read *kmn*, the aleph vulture representing *ká-* instead of *k3-* (see P. Vernus, “Un décret de Thoutmosis III relatif à la santé publique (P. Berlin 3049, v^o. XVIII-XIX),” *Or.* 48 [1979]: 179, text n. *f*, citing col. XVIII, l. 5 [pl. 1]; see also S. Sauneron, “Deux pages d’un texte littéraire inédit. Papyrus Deir el-Médineh 39,” in *Livre du centenaire* [Cairo, 1980], pp. 139-140).

³⁵ The \bigcirc substitutes for the pupil in the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, representing *r* in *hryt* (pl. 37, fig. A, col. 1); elsewhere in the Corridor G treatise (pl. 23, l. 45), and on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 7, figure B), the sign of the ʕn -ring writes the verb ʕn , “to turn back.” For the pupil representing the eye in cryptography, already in the Coffin Texts (A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 4 [Chicago, 1951], 338a, *ir.t*, “making”), see Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9* (*iri*); A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division,” *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, ll. 1-2 (*iri*); H. Grapow, “Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern,” *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 24 (*iri*); 27 (*ir.t*); Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 38 (*iri*); Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 100 (*iri*). Also compare

or moon, lighting up only by means of his own internal flame.³⁶ There are significant eyeless beings in the Netherworld Books (excepting Apep, and the watchman *špy* at the seventh portal of the Book of Gates),³⁷ such as the *nʿry.w* addressed in the first register of the second division of the Book of Caverns as

orthographies of the divine name *Mḥnty-n-ir.ty* (see H. Junker, *Der sehende und blinde Gott (Mḥntj-irtj und Mḥntj-n-irtj)* [Munich, 1947], pp. 7-8, 15).

- ³⁶ The term *kmn* may refer specifically to blindness produced by “removal or injury of the eyeball itself” (L. Manniche, “Symbolic Blindness,” *CdE* 53, no. 105 [1978]: 15); as in the case of *Mḥnty-n-ir.ty*, these missing eyeballs may be the sun and moon (Junker, *Der sehende und blinde Gott*, pp. 18-21, *passim*), from the sight of which the double-domed *nm.t* hides *kmn-ir.ty*. The light of the sun has not penetrated the *nm.t*, and so has not opened the eyes of the Janus-headed being. A text in The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6: *The Temple Proper Part 2, The Re Chapel, The Royal Mortuary Complex, and Adjacent Rooms, with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall* (Chicago, 1963), pl. 431 B, ll. 11-12, says of the nocturnal sun:

psd.t dwzȳt m iȳ.wt

sd.n-k ḥtyt

ḥtm.ty

wn-k ir.ty

špy

The ennead is up early^a in praise,

for you have opened the throat,

it having been destroyed,^b

and because you have opened eyes,

they being blind...

^a The word *dwzȳt* here is parallel in meaning to *nḥp* elsewhere—see Chapter 5, pp. 297-9.

^b For *ḥtm* as a stopping up, see The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 2: *Later Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1932), pl. 82, l. 31 (the following line of the couplet says “because you have broken the neck of *ḥtmtȳ-Apep*”).

The reference to blindness is also appropriate to these *nm.t* denizens as dead (H. Brunner, “Blindheit,” in *LdÄ*, vol. 1, col. 830; the beings in the central mounds are each called *ḥȳ.t*, “corpse”). For *ḥȳ m ir.ty*, “appearing in glory in the two eyes,” referring to the sun becoming visible at the time of dawn, see E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* (Wiesbaden, 1963), vol. 2, p. 187; J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 31, 41-2, 286-7; and The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6: *The Temple Proper Part 2*, pl. 431 A, ll. 3-4 (*sȳfw ḥtn ḥʿ-k <m> ir.ty*, “the ground scintillates when you appear in glory in the eyes”). In Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 46, col. 3, *Mḥnty-ir.ty* is illumined by the disk of the sun, not by his own flame; however, as this deity lights up by means of the flame in his mouth only after Re calls out to him, this need be no great barrier to identifying *kȳmn-ir.ty* with *Mḥnty-ir.ty*. A descendent of the blind deity may be Ialdabaoth in the “Hypostasis of the Archons”: ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ... ΝΕΒΛΛΕ and ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΒΛΛΕ, “blind god” (see M. Krause, “Zur ‘Hypostase der Archonten’ in Codex II von Nag Hammadi,” *Enchoria* 2 [1972]: 12-13; note, however, that I.S. Gilhus, *The Nature of the Archons, a study in the soteriology of a Gnostic treatise from Nag Hammadi* (CGII, 4) [Wiesbaden, 1985], pp. 7, 39, and 112, still reads “god of the blind”).

³⁷ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 156 nn. 1 and 4, and pp. 190-1.

imy.w Mhnty-n-ir.ty, perhaps “you among whom is the Eyeless Deity,” and Horus *Mhnty-n-ir.ty* in the third scene of the first register of the Fourth Division of the Book of Caverns.³⁸ In the introduction to the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns, the eyeless deity is in a sarcophagus, which is compared to a mound, suggesting the depiction of *kmn-ir.ty* on the Corridor G ceiling:³⁹

iw itn=i q=f kkw

iw Mhnty-n-ir.ty m-ht db3(.t)=f

nsw.t R VI m3'-hrw <m> i3.t

My disk enters the darkness;

Mhnty-n-ir.ty is in⁴⁰ his sarcophagus,

as king Ramesses VI is in the mound.

This text also describes the position of the eyeless being on the Corridor G ceiling, near the beginning of the composition, at the place where Re in his solar boat is entering the Netherworld. The being is blind and without eyes because it is cut off from the solar and lunar eyes, through the light of which other beings may see.⁴¹ Comparing *kmn-ir.ty* to *Mhn.ty-ir.ty*, these names suggest that the domes are in the west, the entrance of the Netherworld, for *Mhn.ty-ir.ty* resides within *db3=f imn.ty*, “his western sarcophagus.”⁴²

In the central dome in the upper register, the bearded head with arms is labeled *h3.t msw.t*, “the corpse of (re)birth;” the standing, mummiform being which this “corpse of rebirth” encloses within its arms is annotated *h3.t* ..., “corpse ...” In the central dome in the lower register is the *h3.t itm*, “the corpse of Atum,” a falcon head emerging from the top of a solar disk. This “corpse of Atum” is enclosed within the arms of the fire-spitting head appropriately labeled *3m-t3w*, “burning of breath.” These central domes are then parallel to the domes in the upper and lower registers in the corresponding concluding scene to the Book of Caverns, each there

³⁸ Second Division: Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 12, l. 3; Fourth Division: Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 23.

³⁹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 53, l. 1.

⁴⁰ The compound preposition *m-ht*, occurring twice in this passage, is here interpreted in the light of *Wb.* III 345, 8: “in einem Gebäude u.ä.”

⁴¹ For this concept see H. Jackson, “*Κόρη Κόσμου*: Isis, Pupil of the Eye of the World,” *CdE* 61, no. 121 (1986): 116-35.

⁴² Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): 37 and n. 16; pl. 46, ll. 3-4. There may also be a hint of the eastern horizon as well, as suggested by *Tkmy* on the solar boat in the middle register. Horus of Letopolis as *Mhnty-n-ir.ty* can be associated with the deity *Akephalos*, the headless giant of the eastern horizon (see Chapter 3, pp. 115-7).

called *i3.t št3.t*, “mysterious mound.”⁴³ In the introductory text there, Re calls out to two corpses:⁴⁴

i h3.t=i tw hnt.t i3.t snṯw=i tw(t)=i

i h3.t tw nt itm snṯw tw(t)=f b3=f

Oh this corpse of mine which is in the mound, my body, and my image;
oh this corpse of Atum, his body, his image, and his *ba* !

The *h3.t-msw.t* is the corpse of Re,⁴⁵ and the *h3.t itm* is the same in the Book of Caverns and the Corridor G treatise.

FIRST REGISTER, SCENE 3 (PL. 21)

NAMES OF THE DISK-HEADED BEINGS:

Shḏw, “the shining one” (pl. 21, l. 1, bottom)

This name is, along with the form *shḏw-wr*, a designation of the solar deity occurring already in the Coffin Texts.⁴⁶

Hnty, “the one of the forehall” (pl. 21, l. 10, bottom)

The mouth-*r* writes *n* here, through hieratic confusion.⁴⁷ The two hobble-*t* signs may write *ty* as a sportive writing of a false dual. Also possible would be a conscious play on the potential confusion of the hieratic versions of *tt* and *ty*, a confusion which does result in the common later writings of *tt* for *ty* in *hnty* (*Wb.* III 304).

⁴³ A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts, sixième division,” *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 144, l. 3; pl. 145, l. 2.

⁴⁴ Following the Osireion version, H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 2 (London, 1933), pl. 48, ll. 4-5 (slightly different in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 137, ll. 7-8).

⁴⁵ Re in the parallel conclusion to the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns refers to his (re)birth (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 137, l. 3: *ms.kwi*).

⁴⁶ *Wb.* IV 226, 10-11; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 23. In the Litany of Re, the sun is specifically *shḏ-imn.tyw*, “illuminer of the Westerners,” and *shḏ-h3.wt*, “illuminer of corpses” (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9 [*shḏ-imn.tyw*], 15, and 271 [*shḏ-h3.wt*]). See also Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 338, no. 77.3771; vol. 3, p. 265, no. 79.2705 (citing R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* [Providence and London, 1979], p. 59 n. 47 and pl. 24, l. 25).

⁴⁷ A. Gardiner, “The Transcription of New Kingdom Hieratic,” *JEA* 15 (1929): 54.

The name *hnty* refers to the end of the Netherworld as the forehall,⁴⁸ a term discussed in detail in Chapter 6, pp. 421-4 in connection with the designation of the Osiride figure at the end of the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise as *hnty-d3.t*, “one of the forehall of the Netherworld.” The reading of this name as *hnty*, specifying the being as a resident of the eastern hall of the Netherworld, finds some support in the final name in this group, *ḥh*, “he of the morning glow.” Together the names *hn.ty* and *ḥh* suggest that these beings are associated specifically with the eastern end of the Netherworld.

Other interpretations of this name are also possible. With the circular sign read as the pupil standing for the eye, the being might be labeled *ir.ty*, “he of the (solar) eye.” A reading *inty*, the name of the form of Re in the 64th Address in the Great Litany,⁴⁹ is also possible. The mouth-*r* for *n* is not difficult to explain through hieratic confusion, but the pupil for *i*, though explicable as a derivation of the use of the pupil to write *r* (cf. upper register text no. 2, l. 47 [pl. 21]; lower register text no. 2, l. 10 [pl. 24]), appears otherwise unattested in this corpus.

M3^c.ty, “proper one” (pl. 21, l. 14 bottom)

For *m3^c.ty* as a designation of various deities, see *Wb.* II 21, 14-6. The *m3^c.tyw* figure in the final scene in the upper register of the Seventh Hour of the Book of Gates.⁵⁰ In chapter 186 of the Book of the Dead, the *m3^c.ty* is carried in the *nšm.t* bark like Re. Furthermore, both Osiris and Re can be *m3^c-ḥrw*.⁵¹ For a depiction of this *m3^c-ḥrw* state of Re-Osiris, and further discussion of the vindication of the solar deity, see Chapter 6, pp. 406-8. In the tomb of Ramesses IX the gesture of the unified Re-Osiris is likened to the gesture of *m3^c-ḥrw*.

Nn.ty, “he of the nether sky,” or “he of the oval” (pl. 21, l. 20 bottom)

Ntr.w-nn.tyw appear in the Pyramid Texts (*Wb.* II 213, 11), and the *nn.tyw* occur in the Book of the Night.⁵² A being *nn.ty* appears in the final scene (no. 81) in the lower register of the Eleventh Hour of the Book of Gates.⁵³ Alternatively, this could

⁴⁸ Hornung, *das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 121 n. 202.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 73 and 270; vol. 2, p. nn. 176 and 178. Compare also the demons *intyw* in the first scene (no. 69) in the upper register of the Eleventh Hour of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 356; vol. 2, pp. 246-7). Not “the held back one,” the name of the goddess who is entity no. 468 in the first scene in the lower register of the Sixth Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 113 [=Texte zum Amduat, vol. II, p. 512]).

⁵⁰ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 254; vol. 2, p. 178.

⁵¹ Osiris: C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten* (Munich and Berlin, 1976), pp. 98-101; C. Sourdivé, *La main dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Berne, 1984), p. 409; Re, in his victory over Apep, is *m3^c-ḥrw* (*Wb.* II 16, 11).

⁵² Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 38, 61, and 66; Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 96, vol. 2, pp. 20, 112, 133.

⁵³ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 372; vol. 2, p. 264.

be read as *nn(w)ty*, a reference to the *nnwt*-oval pushed by the solar scarab. The name *nnw.ty*, “he of the oval,” appears in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁵⁴

ḥḥ.(y), “he of the (morning) glow” (pl. 21, l. 37 bottom)

The expected nisbe ending is not written. The term *ihḥ/ḥḥ*, “glow (morning, and evening)” (*Wb.* I 126, 2-4), figures in the enigmatic texts of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun in the name of the fifth goddess from the left in the lower right section of the second side—*ihḥy.t* (pl. 13B). The goddess there appears in company with others whose names suggest the fiery and punishing nature of the sun, and the east as the place of final judgment and punishment. The name of this masculine deity, and that of the goddess on the Tutankhamun shrine, may be related to the name of the upper guardian of the twelfth portal of the Netherworld in the Book of Gates, *ihḥy*.⁵⁵ One of the judges in the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead is “flaming of foot,” *pr m ḥḥw*, “come forth from the twilight glow,” another association of *ḥḥ/ihḥ* with the place of judgment and punishment, the eastern horizon.⁵⁶ These associations of *ḥḥ/ihḥ*, clear in the name of the goddess *ihḥy.t*, may also be present in the name of the entity *ḥḥ* here.⁵⁷

ANNOTATION (PL. 21):

- 1) *nn <n> ntr.w m shy pn* [label – *Shdw*]
- 2) *m-ḥn.t ḥtmyt*
- 3) *r=sn sꜣꜣ=sn wn.wt*
- 4) *Rꜥ ḏwi=f r ḥꜣ.wt=sn*
- 5) *tp.w 6) =sn ḥr 7) =sn (i)m=s*
- 8) *ḥt ḥp ntī pn ꜣ ḥr=sn*

These gods in this fashion,
within the place of destruction,
they protecting the hours.

Re calls to their corpses,
with the result that their heads remain upon them therein,

⁵⁴ *Nnwt*-oval: Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pp. 14, 20, and 48, n. 5; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 105-6.

⁵⁵ See Chapter 3, p. 144-5.

⁵⁶ J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), p. 88 (who mistakes the term *ḥḥw* as *ihḥw*, “darkness”).

⁵⁷ For the disk-headed male entities, compare the form of Amun at Abydos shown in A. Mariette, *Abydos, description des fouilles exécutées sue l'emplacement de cette ville*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1869), pl. 40 c. Compare also A. Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes, Chronological and Typological Studies* (Mainz am Rhein, 1988), pl. 22, disk headed beings to either side of an elaborate *dd*-pillar in the interior bottom of the coffin of *Hꜣꜥs*, Cairo 29665 (from the Bab el-Gasus).

after this great god passes by them.

1. 1) The third Red Crown *n* is haplographic, or the indirect genitive has been omitted.

For the orthography of *shr* as *s* and 𓂏 , one may compare the writings of *shr.w* at Medinet Habu,⁵⁸ with orthographies of *shy* written with the nose sign (𓂏). For *shr* without the final *r*, compare the orthography of *shr.w* as *shw* in the tomb of Amenophis III and in the tomb of Ramesses IX.⁵⁹ The orthographies of *shr* written with the nose sign derive from the hieratic confusion of the “hairy” ear for *shi*, “to be deaf,” with the nose sign,⁶⁰ a confusion exploited to enigmatic ends on the Corridor G ceiling.

The *n* of *pn* is at the top of the second column, separated from *p* by the name of the first disk-headed entity, given in the final three signs of the first column.

1. 2) The word *htmy.t* is written alphabetically, with the vulture before the 𓂏 determinative representing the *htm*-bird.

1. 3) One might read *s3*, taking the first vulture as *s3*, with a phonetic compliment before and after. The prevalence in the tomb of Ramesses VI of an orthography *s33* for the circumstantial form of the verb *s3*, however,⁶¹ suggests the reading *s33* preferred here.

1. 4) Lines 4 through 13 seem to form a group, with *qwi* in line 4, *nls* in line 9, and *qwi* again in line 13.

⁵⁸ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 2, pl. 82, l. 16; pl. 86, l. 25; and pl. 107, ll. 8-9. See the discussion by W.F. Edgerton and J.A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III, the Texts in Medinet Habu, volumes I and II* (Chicago, 1936), p. 77, n. 16b, and p. 91, n. 25a.

⁵⁹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 53 n. d (Third Hour) = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 302. Note also the writing of *shr.w* as *s* and 𓂏 followed by the book roll determinative in K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* 1, part 1 (Leipzig, 1904), p. 178, l. 7 (l. 18 in the Nabairesh version of the Decree of Memphis). The name of the *shr(w)* granary also appears as *sh* in certain Old Kingdom inscriptions (H.G. Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions in the Yale Gallery,” *MIO* 7 [1959/1960]: 304-310), showing a similar loss of the *r*.

⁶⁰ See A. Egberts, “A secret disclosed,” *Enchoria* 16 (1988): 133-4, discussing the sign of the “hairy ear” as having the value *sš* in *sšt3*. These orthographies suggest a confusion of *shr/shy*, “plan,” and *shi*, “to be deaf” (on which verb see Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 1, p. 130). Compare the orthographies of the word *s3hrt* as *s3hwt* and *s3hyt* (E. Edel, “Beiträge zur ägyptischen Lexikon V,” *ZÄS* 96 [1969]: 7-8; Aufrière, “Études de lexicologie et d’histoire naturelle I-III,” *BIFAO* 83 [1983]: 1-17).

¹ See above, Chapter 3, pp. 156-7.


l. 5) Reading the first vulture as *t*, from the *tyw*-bird for *t*.⁶² The mouth as *p* occurs often in this text (see above, p. 167). The second vulture then represents the plural ending *-w*,⁶³ followed by the plural strokes as graphic indicators of that plurality. *Tp.w* could also conceivably be read *itn.w*, the first vulture as *i* (through the substitution of *z* and *i*), the mouth as *t*, and the second vulture as *n* (through substitution of the vulture for the owl-*m*, with *m* for *n* through phonetic change).

The heads of these entities remain upon their corpses, rather than accompanying the sun on its voyage (on the latter concept, see Chapter 3, pp. 111-17). For this concept, one may also compare another passage from this Corridor G treatise, namely middle register text no. 1 (pl. 23 here), ll. 41-3: *tp.w (n) nn n ntr.w mn im*, “the heads (of) these gods remain therein.”

A portion of the first cryptic text in the Book of the Day and of the Night could describe these entities. The concluding line of enigmatic text 1 reads:

h3.wt=sn pw hr hpr.w(=w)

it means: their bodies bear their manifestations.

Drioton reads the group  as *špiw* for *hpiw*, a writing of *hprw*, assigning the value *šp* from *šsp* to the hand.⁶⁴ Drioton translated (p. 89): “Ce sont leurs corps aussi les scarabées.” While not unthinkable, the sense of this translation rightly distressed Fairman. This line describes the bodies of the eastern spirits, which are those of baboons (*bntyw*) according to the beginning of the text. He assumed that the scarab determinative was in error for the squatting baboon, and suggested the reading *qwl*, a term which Fairman suggested may have existed as a designation for the baboon.⁶⁵ Fairman read the closing line as: “their bodies also are those of apes,” and concluded by terming his suggestion “admittedly speculative.”

Drioton’s reading *hprw* does account for the determinative, but Fairman is correct that the eastern spirits do not appear to be scarabs at any time. Fairman’s assumption of a wrong determinative, and use of an at best rare term *qwl* are almost equally unsettling. The problem with the passage is not Drioton’s reading of the above cited cryptogram 68 as *špiw/hprw*, but the reading of *hr* as “also.” Reading *hr* as “carrying, with,” a reading “their bodies carry *hprw*-realizations,” perhaps

⁶² The vulture G 1 corresponds to the loaf-*t* in the infinitive *ir.t* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, l. 3 (P version of the enigmatic annotation); cf. also the cryptographic use of the *s3*-bird for *t* (through substitution for *tyw*) in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 413; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105.

⁶³ Not an uncommon value, as Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 10*, indicates. In *ibid.*, p. 7*, cryptogram no. 179, the vulture does not have the value *w*, however; it stands there not for the plural ending alone (so *ibid.*, p. 10*), but represents *tyw* in *mfk3.tyw*, “the turquoise deities” (*Wb.* II 57, 3).

⁶⁴ Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 89, cryptogram no. 68; on the hand-sign, see p. 107.

⁶⁵ Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943): 257-63.

“their *hprw*” (*hprw=w*), is possible. The eastern spirits do have *hprw*,⁶⁶ and undergo a *hpr* realization before they appear at the eastern cusp of heaven, which results in their baboon forms.⁶⁷ For *hr hprw*, the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk provides an illuminating passage,⁶⁸ wherein the female figures of the hours hold their hands over stars, and are described as having: *irw.w=sn m db^c.w=sn* “their *irw*-forms at their fingertips.”⁶⁹

ANNOTATION CONTINUED (PL. 21):

9) *nīs R^c*

kk hz.wt

10) *imn sn^t.w=sn*

hr [label – *hn.ty*] 11) *n^ti pn* 12) *‘z* 13) *dwⁱ=f*

14) *nn n ntr.w* [labe – *mz^c.ty*] 15) *m nn.t*

n^ti st=f 16) *šy hr* 17) *iryw=s*

18) *dwz* 19-20) *qrtyw*

When Re calls out,

the corpses grow dark,

and their flesh becomes hidden.

Then this great god summons these gods in the nether sky.

The god casts light before its (*nn.t*) denizens,

while the cavern-dwellers give praise.

1. 9) As line 20 specifies, these deities are in darkness. Whereas elsewhere the call of the sun brings light (*cf.* lines 5-9, lower register no. 2, pl. 24), here it brings darkness. In the first text of section A of the Creation of the solar disk, Re calls out, and lights up certain deities, *wpw nn n ntr.w m kkw*, “except for these deities in darkness.”⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Compare J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), p. 49.

⁶⁷ At the beginning of enigmatic text I of the Book of the Day and the Night: Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 85; in Taharqa’s sacred lake structure: J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970), p. 29 n. 1; Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, pl. 21 (room D, east wall): 12) *h^c=sn [n=f m h]* 13) *iw hprw=sn* ..., “It is [whe]n their realizations come that they are wont to appear [to him]...”

⁶⁸ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 2, l. 8.

⁶⁹ This position of stars at the fingertips of the deities suggests that they are ushering in their attributes—compare the description of a deceased priest as having “opened [the doors] of heaven, seeing the one who is in it, the disk coming forth beneath your finger,” apparently a cosmic image of the priest opening the shrine and taking out the divine image (C. Robichon, P. Barguet, and J. Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV (1949-1951)* [Cairo, 1954], figure 143 [opposite p. 148], and pl. 126).

⁷⁰ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 1, l. 4.

ll. 9-10) For the association of *h3.wt* and *snf.w*, compare the final entities (*sn-h3.wt* and *sn-snf.w*) in Scene 7 of the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 13A).

l. 10) In the orthography of *imn* the arm has the value *im*, attested elsewhere in a writing of *imh.t*,⁷¹ derived through substitution with the loaf-bearing arm, from *iml*, the imperative “give,” which early could be written with the sign of the loaf-bearing arm alone (see *Wb.* I 76).⁷²

In *snf.w*, the *hbs*-sign represents the simple cloth-*s*, and the mouth-*r*, again through a cryptographic exploitation of an hieratic confusion, writes *n*. *Snf.w* is a term appropriate to entities unable to see the light of Re. In text 16 accompanying the second scene in the third register of section D of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the term *snf.w* appears as a designation of the headless and inverted corpses of the damned.⁷³ Elsewhere in the same composition, *snf.w* designates a mummiform corpse.⁷⁴

The final signs in column 10 appear to give the name of the seated entity.

l. 11) The signs *t* and *i* are in reversed order, as in line 15.

l. 15) *Nn.t* is, as Hornung as indicated, an uncommon term in the Netherworld Books.⁷⁵

l. 16) Reading *hr* for *hr*. The light cast before the entities implies a wall of concealing light, behind which the entities are dark and unseen.

ANNOTATION CONTINUED (PL. 21):

20) *wnn.hr nn* (*n* – haplography) [label – *nn.ty*] 21) *ntr.w m kkw*
stt 22) *nṯi pn ʿ3*
hḏ imh.t
 23) *ʿpp.t* 24) *nṯi* 25) *pn ʿ3*
 26) *hr st(t) kkw-sm3w imn* 27) *h3.wt*

⁷¹ Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 29.

⁷² Also attested in New Kingdom cryptography—*ie.* Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 9*.

⁷³ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 31, ll. 6-7, p. 56: *s3[3]=sn h3.wt hsqy.w=sn shd-sn sntyw=sn*, “they gu[ard] the corpses of those whom they have decapitated and whose portions they have inverted;” the deities are depicted holding decapitated corpses (the *h3.wt* = *snf.w*) upside down. *Ibid.* pl. 22, lns. 1-2 the *snf.w* of the damned are cooked. Note also the *ʿm snf.w* in the first scene of the first register, section D (*ibid.* p. 39).



⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 25 (first scene of the fourth register, section A). Compare the *b3.w imy.w snyt.t imy.t d3.t* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 71, 5-6, and the *snyt* as the dead in Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 104, n. 47.

⁷⁵ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 100 n. 6; *idem*, *das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 150 n. 563.

These gods exist in darkness.
 When this great god casts light,
 Imhet brightens,
 that which this great god travels,
 while illumining the utter darkness which hides the corpses.


l. 20) The reed leaf substitutes for *h3* for *h*;⁷⁶ the bird is for *r* from the *r3*-goose.⁷⁷ Compare the orthographies of *hr* in lower text no. 2, l. 16 (pl. 24), and in the dropped portion of the ceiling (pl. 28, upper l. 5, lower l. 6).

l. 21) The *m* of *m kkw* is misplaced, being written before *nn* in l. 20. The reading *stt* interprets each of the birds as *t*, from *tyw* (cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 62, l. 3).

l. 22) The verb *hḏ* appears here as the disk with the snake as the phonetic complement *ḏ*. For the disk as *hḏ*, compare other uses of  as *hḏ*⁷⁸ and  for *shḏ*.⁷⁹ Imhet is a term designating an area in the Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat, a portion of the realm of Sokar.⁸⁰

ll. 23-25) For this passage, compare the statement in the introduction of the Eighth Hour of Amduat:⁸¹ *qrr.wt št3.wt nyt imn.t ʿppw nṯr ʿ3 hr=sn*, “the mysterious caverns of the west, by which the great god passes;” and the Eleventh Hour:⁸² *qrr.t št3.t nyt d3.t ʿpp.t nṯr pn hr=s r pr.t m ḏw i3b.ty n p.t*, “the mysterious cavern of the Netherworld, that by which this god passes, in order to go forth from the eastern mountain of heaven.”

l. 26) Only one *t* of *stt* appears to be written.

⁷⁶ The reed leaf for *h3* for *h* occurs in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 45; *h3* for reed leaf may be found in *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 410; *idem*, in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 49 n. 21. For  for *hr*, see the bottom of the second column from the left in the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* in this treatise (pl. 30); for further attestations, see the Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

⁷⁷ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 42, etc.

⁷⁸ Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 26.

⁷⁹ Sethe, *Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9*, p. 10*.

⁸⁰ W. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltsbüchern* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), p. 47; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 82 n. 11.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 135, l. 3 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 584-585).

⁸² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 180, l. 1 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 746-747).

ANNOTATION CONTINUED (PL. 21):

- 27) *ʿpp wnw.wt*
 28) *ʿr* 29) *itn ht* 30) *wnw.t*
 31) *mdw=sn m htw Rʿ*
h < ʒ=sn m > 32) *hprw=f*
ʿpp itn 33) *Htm.t-wsr.wt*
ʿq 34) *hʒ.wt* 35) *m kkw <=sn >*

When the hours pass,
 a disk ascends in the following of an hour.
 When they speak in the following of Re,
 <they descend by means> of his realization.
 When the disk travels *Hetemet-Weserewt* (“She-Who-Destroys-Throats”),
 the corpses enter into <their> darkness.

ll. 27-35) These lines are parallel to ll. 39-47, so the restorations provided for this text are based on the reading of those lines.

ll. 27-30) The disk is in the following of the hours, who follow the solar deity. In Creation of the Solar Disk section D first register second scene, the solar deity follows his hours:

ʿp.hr ntr pn ʿʒ m-ht wn.wt=f
 This great god passes in the following of his hours.⁸³

In a portion of the introduction to the Fourth Division of the Book of Caverns, the solar disk follows the god:

nfr.wy Rʿ sn=f kkw
itn=f ʿʒ htp=f m htw=f
 How beautiful is Re when he traverses the darkness,
 his great disk resting in his following.⁸⁴

For the disk as ascending, compare the disk raising up the *ba* of Nephthys in the first scene of the first register of the text preceding the Sixth Division of the Book of

⁸³ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 23, l. 9 (text 4), p. 43. In *ibid.* p. 65 (text accompanying the scene of the ithyphallic deity), Šiʒy, who should guide the deceased ruler, is called *imyw (sic)-wn.wt=f*, “the one who is in his hour.”

⁸⁴ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 39, l. 6. Compare also Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 86, l. 7 (text preceding the Sixth division of the Book of Caverns: *itn=i ht=i*); note also a portion of the introductory text to the Sixth Division: *ʿp=i r tph.t itn=i ʿʒ htp=f htw=i*, “I traveling to the well, my great disk resting in my following” (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 102, l. 2).

Caverns.⁸⁵ In the second scene of the second register of section D of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the Datian lifts himself up and joins those in his following:⁸⁶

i wts t(w) Pn-dw3.t

di-i hnm=t imy.w htw=k

Oh raise yourself up, One of the Dat,

as I cause you to join with those in your following !

For the hours passing, and the ascension of the disk, compare the texts accompanying scene 2, register 3, section A of the Creation of the Solar Disk—there the *wn.wt* *ʿp kkw*, “the hours have traversed the darkness,” and

ntsn wts ltn=sn

ʿ.wy=sn wts Rʿ

It is they who lift up their disk(s),

and their arms that lift up Re.⁸⁷

l. 28) In *ʿp*, the grasshopper represents the mouth-*r*, here with the value *p*.

l. 30) *Wnw.t*, “hour,” is singular here. The passage suggests that as each hour passes by, one of the disks rises and passes in its following.

l. 31) The voices of the entities assist in the manifestation of Re’s *hprw*. What the beings utter may be a scream, or an incantation, both of which may be beneficial to the solar deity.⁸⁸ In lines 223-4 of the Great Litany,⁸⁹ crying assists in the glorification of the corpse of the sun:

izkby.w nwn=sn hr=k

hwi=sn n=k m ʿ.wy=sn

sbh=sn n=k

hwt=sn n=k rmm=sn n=k

⁸⁵ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 112.

⁸⁶ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 26 (text 8), l. 2, p. 47.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 21 and pl. 10, ll. 6-7.

⁸⁸ On beneficial screaming: Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 209 n. 97, and E. Lüddeckens, “Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen,” *MDAIK* 11 (1943): 172; compare also J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *L’Hommage aux dieux sous l’Ancien Empire Égyptien, d’après les Textes des Pyramides* (Paris, 1953), pp. 90-91; Horus cries out (*sbh*) to Osiris the news of the overthrow of Seth in the “livre de protéger la barque du dieu” (J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques, I. «Le livre de protéger la barque du dieu»,” *Kémi* 19 [1969]: 48-9). On crying and its positive relation to creation, see W. Guglielmi, “Lachen und Weinen in Ethik, Kult und Mythos der Ägypter,” *CdE* 55, no. 109 (1980): 69-86. See also Chapter 5, pp. 366-8, and the references cited there.

⁹ Hornung *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 223-4; vol. 2, p. 90, and n. 505 pp. 145-6.

h^c b3=k

hwt=sn

3h h3.t=k

The mourning ones toss their hair because of you,
and they flail for you with their arms;⁹⁰
they cry out for you, and they scream for you,
and they shed tears for you
That your *ba* rejoices,
is when they scream
and when your corpse becomes effective.

The beings speak in the following of the god, assisting the deity to continue his nocturnal journey.⁹¹ Calling out to the solar deity is also associated with the deity in his aspect as *nb-hprw*; compare P. Berlin 3050, col. 7, ll. 5-6:⁹²

nty.w-im tp=sn t3w

iry=sn n=k hy hn m hprw=k pwy n nb-hprw

Those who are therein (the dead) breathe air,
so that they might make screams and cries for you in this your
realization as 'lord of realizations.'

Crying out for the solar deity is also particularly appropriate for that deity in his aspect of the giant deity of the eastern horizon. According to a hymn to Re-Horakhty in P. Berlin 3050, col. 8, ll. 1-3, concerning the immense solar deity who has "exalted heaven to the extent of [his] two arms," and "extended the earth according to his course":⁹³

nhm n=k t(3) p.t n wr b3=k

snq n=k t3 n dsr s3m=k

As heaven shouts for you because of the greatness of your *ba*,

⁹⁰ For flailing with the arms as sadness, compare *Wb.* III 48, 6.

⁹¹ This association of the effectiveness of the corpse of the sun with the screams of Netherworld entities also suggests the possible reading *n ir.w* instead of *m-ht.w* in line 31, although the parallel in ll. 41-43 speaks for the reading *m-ht.w* preferred here. The *irw*-form of the sun is the unchanging, Netherworldly appearance of the deity (see E. Hornung, "Der Mensch als 'Bild Gottes' in Ägypten," in O. Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* [Munich, 1967], p. 127); awareness of the *irw* form is associated with resurrection and rejuvenation (cf. Ph. Derchain, "Un projet d'empereur," in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* [Cologne, 1991], p. 117, n. 4, and further below, in the discussion of the *Schutzbild* in Corridor G, p. 239-40).

⁹² S. Sauneron, "L'Hymne au soleil levant des papyrus de Berlin 3050, 3056 et 3048," *BIFAO* 53 (1953): 88, ll. 4-6.

⁹³ Sauneron, *BIFAO* 53 (1953): 89, ll. 1-3; for more of this passage, see p. 425 below.


so earth trembles before you because of the sanctity of your image.

For the association of the ascension of the solar disk, and the appearance of the realizations of Re, the text accompanying the scene of the birth of the sun from the body of the crocodile (Pen)wenty provides a clarifying parallel:⁹⁴

Wnty bš=f ʿzʿ=f ir.t Rʿ imy h.t=f
km.t=s ʿq=s m hʿ.w=s

Wenty vomits and ejaculates⁹⁵ the eye of Re which is in his belly,
its pupil entering in its glorious apparitions.



In *h3=sn m*, the group  has been omitted in the transition from one line to the next. The text may be restored with confidence, however, as ll. 27-35 are parallel to ll. 40-47. For deities descending (*h3l*) to the solar deity, compare Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 74 l. 8. This can be both of astronomical significance—*cf. ibid.*, p. 248 l. 10—and an allusion to entry into the bark of Re—*cf. ibid.*, p. 238 l. 3.

l. 33) One may compare also line 45 here, and the dropped section of the ceiling in this corridor (pl. 28, upper l. 4, lower l. 4). The enigmatic annotations on the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling describe a place of constricted breathing, perhaps as a general term for the Netherworld; with the punishing guardians in the dropped portion of the treatise, a place of punishing the damned is suggested.⁹⁶ According to the First Division of the Book of Caverns, the damned in the Place of Destruction are without throats.⁹⁷

l. 35) On the basis of the parallel text in ll. 46-47, the plural strokes following *m* here are taken to be otiose. Reading the *m* with following plural strokes as *imy.w*, a translation “the corpses who are in <their> darkness” would be possible. The *sn* of *kkw=sn* is restored on the basis of the parallel text in ll. 46-47.

ANNOTATION CONTINUED (PL. 21):

36) ʿp.t 37) in nti pn ʿz m s.t [label – ʿhh] 38) iryw kkw-sm3w 39) [...] ʿpp 40) wnw.wt
ʿr itn ht 41-42) wnw.t
mdw=sn m htw 43) Rʿ

⁹⁴ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 68.

⁹⁵ On ʿzʿ see below, Chapter 5, pp. 320-1, nn. 203-5.

⁹⁶ For inability to breathe as a quality of death, see Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 67 (§A.5.c, *itmw*), pp. 71-2 (§A.5.s, *g3w*), and pp. 72-3 (§A.5.u, *l3w*).




⁹⁷ In Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts. 1^{er} Tableau,” *BIFAO* 41 (1942): pl. 9, ll. 1-2, the damned lack throats in the Place of Destruction.


h3=sn m 44) hpr.w=f
ꜥpp itn 45) htm.t-wsrt
46-7) ꜥq h3.wt m kkw 47) =sn
sn ir=sn 47-48) iry.t=sn
48-9) b3.w=sn ꜥq m-ht Rꜥ
50) sšm=sn sw m št3.t

Passing by this great god, in the place of the denizens of the utter darkness; [...]
 When the hours pass,
 a disk ascends in the following of an hour,
 When they speak in the following of Re,
 they descend by means of his manifestation.
 When the disk travels *Hetemet-Weserewt* ("She-Who-Destroys-Throats"),
 the corpses enter into their darkness,
 and they do what they have to do,
 their ba's having entered after Re,
 they guiding him in the Shetat.

1. 37) The seated god is the logographic writing of *ntr* in this line.

1. 37) ꜥ is written as the ꜥ-arm, the *r*-mouth for *3*, and the book roll as determinative. The mouth-*r* as *3* appears also in a writing of *h3p* in the register of the seated female deities, the third line of text in front of the second deity from the right (pl. 25, l. 39); in the dropped portion of the ceiling (pls. 27-28, in the words *s33* and *r3.w*), and in the word *b3y.w* in the fifth column from the left in the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30).⁹⁸ Compare the opposite of this, the tent post ꜥ (O 29) as a writing for ꜥ*r* in a text in the Second Hour of *Amduat*.⁹⁹

The sign following ꜥ appears to be . This sign occurs in line 12 of the second section of the bottom register (pl. 24, l. 12 bottom), and in the name of the fourth adoring, disk-headed being in the middle register; in both occurrences the sign has the value *m*. After this, the text is more difficult. The  for *s* and  for *t*

⁹⁸ This value perhaps also occurs in  for *p3* in A.-P. Zivie, *Hermopolis et le nome de l'Ibis. Recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en Basse Égypte*, vol. 1: *Introduction et inventaire chronologique des sources* (Cairo, 1975), pp. 94-5, n. *p* to doc. 23. For the well attested interchange between *r* and *3* in Ancient Egyptian see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. 57, §129; G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1955), pp. 27-8, §37; A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1933), p. 24, §50; J. Vergote, *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien, les consonnes* (Louvain, 1945), pp. 109-14, 128-30; Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, p. 32, §49, 1, and pp. 34-5, §§ 51, 2 and 6; and note also A. Leahy, "An Unusual Spelling of *qrst*," *GM* 31 (1979): 67-72. Compare also the attested *3* and *n* interchange in Ancient Egyptian (P.J. Watson, "The Interchange of *3* with *n* in Ancient Egyptian," *GM* 37 [1980]: 41-57).

⁹⁹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 42 n. *jj* = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 260-1.

are standard values, allowing a reading *s.t.*, “place.”¹⁰⁰ The arm and the two roughly round signs below it are the name of the seated entity below—similarly, the names of others of these disk-headed beings are found at the end of the first long column just behind the preceding being. Omitting the label giving the name of the deity, one may read *‘p.t in ntr pn ‘z m s.t iry.w kkw-smzw*, “this great god passing by the place of the denizens of the utter darkness.”

l. 38) The word *kkw* appears to be written here as two flesh signs for the two animal skins of the common cryptogram.¹⁰¹

ll. 39-47) These lines are parallel to ll. 27-35.

l. 47) The pupil as *pars pro toto* substitutes for the eye as *iri*.¹⁰² The horizontal *m* substitutes for the hobble-*t* through graphic similarity. The word *iry.t* here is that of *Wb.* I 113, 5-7.¹⁰³

ll. 47-50) These lines describe the *ba*’s as following Re and remaining in the area of his light, whereas the corpses, which remain in their places, revert to darkness; compare the annotation above the fettered damned in the third register of Section D of the Creation of the Solar Disk:¹⁰⁴

iw ntr pn ‘z dwi=f r=sn nls=f b3.w=sn
sn r=sn ‘p=sn htw=f
h3.wt=sn mn.w m s.wt=sn
ir m-ht ‘p ntr ‘z hr=sn
h3p.hr sn kkw

This great god calls to them, and summons their *ba*’s.

They (the *ba*’s) pass after him

their corpses remaining in their places.

Now when the great god passes by them (the corpses),
 darkness covers them.

l. 50) The reed leaf represents *sw*, through substitution of plant signs; for this interchange of *i* and *sw* in New Kingdom cryptography, cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 26, l. 7; confusions of reed leaves and *sw*-plants occur in non-enigmatic

¹⁰⁰ This term appears often in the Litany of Re – see the examples cited in Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, pp. 298-9, no. 77.3302.

¹⁰¹ For the use of the flesh signs here compare Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 26, l. 8.

¹⁰² For the pupil for the eye, cf. Sethe, *Northampton* p. 9*; Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 38; Grapow, *ZAS* 72 (1936): 24 and 27; de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, p. 338a.

¹⁰³ One might also consider the term *iry.t* of *Wb.* I 105, 17; I thank E.F. Wente for several suggestions in reading this passage.

Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 37, pl. 20 (text 17), ll. 7-9.

texts.¹⁰⁵ The final signs in this line appear to be a garbled writing of *štzy.t*, with *š* and the first hobble-*t* for *t3* reversed. A parallel for this line appears on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 10B; *štzy.t* is incompletely written there); compare also a portion of the annotations to the middle register of this ceiling, pl. 22C, ll. 2-8.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. R.A. Caminos, "A Record of Nesbanded Son of 'Onkperkhrod in the Cairo Museum," in *Drevni Vostok* vol. 1 (Moscow, 1975), pp. 54 and 59, and fig. 3 (Cairo JdE 38039, col. 11).

SECOND REGISTER, SCENE 1 (PL. 22A)

The ram-headed bird symbolizing the dead sun traveling through the Netherworld¹⁰⁶ is perched atop a stela. This stela appears to mark the entry into the Netherworld. As such it parallels the human head-capped stelae of the first two hours of the Book of Amduat, and may be another comparison of the roads of the Netherworld with the desert tracks of Egypt in the upper world.¹⁰⁷ In the middle register of the small Amduat papyrus in the Lowrie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, a ram's head is perched atop what may be a stela, just to the left of the bark of the night sailing to the right. The apparent stela there parallels the location of the stela in the Corridor G treatise, and may also derive from the First Hour of the Amduat.¹⁰⁸ The text within the stela in the ceiling composition may be read as:

Hpri n^c shdw ms hrw 5

Khepri, who travels inverted, who gives birth
to the five (epagomenal) days.

The walking legs alone could represent *ʿq*, perhaps a participle qualified by *sxdw* through direct representation of the inverted walking legs, inverted as a reference to the inverted entry of the sun into the Netherworld (see Chapter 7).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Cf. the ram-headed bird riding through the Netherworld in the belly of the giant Re-Osiris on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 6A).

¹⁰⁷ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 11, ll. 3-6 (nos. 58-61 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 132-3) and p. 28, l. 3 (no. 135 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, p. 192); vol. 2, pp. 23-4 and 47 (middle register of the First Hour, four stelae before the bark of the sun; one stela in the middle of the first register of the Second Hour). Compare the Dashour road with its commemorative and marking stelae (see the references in J.C. Darnell, "A Stela of the Reign of Tutankhamun from the Region of Kurkur Oasis," *SAK* 31 [2003]: 75, n. 9). For further examples of road markers, and the desert tracks of Thebes, with their cult centers and stelae, see J.C. Darnell, "Opening the Narrow Doors of the Desert: Discoveries of the Theban Desert Road Survey," in R. Friedman, ed. *Egypt and Nubia, Gifts of the Desert* (London, 2002), pp. 132-155. A further reference to stelae marking roads in the Netherworld is perhaps behind the name "[Knower?] of Stelae" in P. BM 10569, 33.19 (R.O. Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours* [Oxford, 1958], pp. 23, 37, and 53*). "Stele" in late magical texts comes to refer to magical formulae (W.H. Worrell, "Coptic Magical and Medical Texts," *Or.* 4 [1935]: 25, ll. 170-171: *ϣαρε τεϥστηλῃ τρεοϥλο*, "his stela will make them recover;" see also the note by Bonner, *ibid.*, p. 34 n. 10), a meaning perhaps derived from objects such as Horus stelae. This recalls the association of Thoth and his baboons with obelisks, as markers of the course of the sun—see L. Kákosy, "Hermetic Obelisks," *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 (1989): 235-9.

¹⁰⁸ L. Lesko, "The Shortest Book of Amduat?" in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), pp. 133-38.

¹⁰⁹ One might read the inverted walking legs and the arm as *sqd.t*, with the arm as *t* (through substitution with *rdi*, as proposed for the sign by E. Hornung, "Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltbuch," *JSSEA* 13 [1983]: 34). This would correspond to orthographies of *sqd.t*

The arm with bent shoulder could represent ʿwy, “the two arms,”¹¹⁰ a reference perhaps to the two arms of the ram-headed solar bird atop the stela. More likely the walking legs plus *rmn*-sign here correspond to the similar groups on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 14, middle horizontal band of enigmatic heraldic groups, p. 149 above).¹¹¹ If that group writes *nʿr*, “the one who travels,” then one may reasonably suggest the reading offered above.¹¹² The group might also be read ʿq *shdw* “who enters inverted.”

The reference to the epagomenal days here¹¹³ recalls the reference to the Birth of Re in the text accompanying the scene of the reclining Re-Osiris on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall (see pp. 343 and 345-6), itself an allusion to the name of the last day of the “normal” 360 days of the year.¹¹⁴ The Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity appear to concern themselves with the union of Re and Osiris during the time of the regeneration of the year, the great annual repetition of the great crisis and potential catastrophe repeated each night and resolved each morning. The day “Birth of Re” gives birth to the five following days, the dangerous epagomenal days, through the vigil of which—a great annual expansion of the nightly vigil—the birthday of Re gives birth to the New Year.¹¹⁵

as walking legs over *t* in the Amduat (Hornung, *Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 79, l. 8 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 403]; vol. 2, p. 8).

¹¹⁰ See the discussion on p. 126 n. 402.

¹¹¹ Alternatively one might suggest reading the arm as *m*, through substitution with the arm holding the loaf (cf. Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 39; Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 9*). The five strokes as an orthography of *ds.t* (compare the late use of the five-pointed star for *diw* “five,” on the bases of the number of points and the similar pronunciation of the words—see K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern, und was für andere Völker und Sprachen daraus zu lernen ist. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Rechenkunst und Sprache* [Straßburg, 1916], p. 89, n. 2), but such an enigmatic writing would be unique in the cryptography of these compositions.

¹¹² Alternatively the *rmn*-arm here, potentially a writing of ʿwy, “two arms,” may correspond to the two arms for *r* in the cryptography of the Book of Nut (cf. Cenotaph, p. 77, n. 3; pl. 84 n. 15). In that case one might suggest here *Hpri nʿr shdw r ms(.t) hrw 5*, “Khepri who travels inverted until the five epagomenal days are born.”

¹¹³ The *hrw(.w) 5* here is almost certainly short for the full *hrw.w 5 hry.w rnp.t*, for which see M. Bommas, *Die Mythisierung der Zeit, die beiden Bücher über die altägyptischen Schalttage des magischen pLeiden I 346* (Wiesbaden, 1999), pp. 76-122.

¹¹⁴ See Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, p. 355 with n. 2191, and the references cited there. See also *ibid.*, pp. 328-337, discussing the relationship between the diagonal star clocks of the Middle Kingdom Coffins and the epagomenal days—the allusion to the epagomenal days on the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI is thus appropriate as a parallel to the celestial treatises on other ceilings of the tomb. The reference to the Birth of Re on the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX also takes on increased significance, an ominous portent of the epagomenal dangers, with stellar allusion thereto in the form of the tumbling “lords of the Netherworld” on that wall.

¹¹⁵ Compare Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, pp. 328-337 and 355 (note that the otherwise inexplicable predilection for texts concerning the epagomenal days on the lid of A1C [*ibid.*, p. 334] may in fact relate to the equation of nightly and annual periods of cosmic danger).

To the right of the stela is a group which may be read:

$\epsilon q^a R^c m^b \text{-} hnt \text{ } imn. t^c$
Re entering within the west

^a This is the orthography of ϵq in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 8 (cf. p. 3, l. 1 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 110-111).

^b This use of \sqsubset for m , derived through substitution for the \sqsupset for m , is discussed above, Chapter 3, pp. 40, 53-4.¹¹⁶

^c Grammatically this is an example of the $sdm=f$ as a synchronous present tense (see the discussion of the heraldic groups on the First Side, Scene 3 of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun—pl. 5A, pp. 57-8 and n. 102). This form occurs again at the beginning of text no. 1 in this register. This label parallels closely the “inscription” on the stela to the left.

The remaining groups of signs to the left and right of the base of the stela are indications of the course of the sun through the upper and lower skies; the leftmost group may be read $sbz \epsilon q (\text{A}) pr (\text{A}) (m) dz.t (\circ)$, “the (solar) star, who enters and who goes out (from) the Netherworld,” Re being the $sbz n dz.t$, “star of the Netherworld.”¹¹⁷ The rightmost group is perhaps $sbz phr dz.t$, “the (solar) star, who goes around/enchants the Netherworld.”¹¹⁸ This reading takes the walking legs to either side of the circular sign as a writing of phr , with the circle itself a writing of $dz.t$. The use of the star in these annotations to refer to Re as the star of the Netherworld may be intended to stress the Solar-Osirian Unity. The sun may be termed dmd (*Wb.* V 462, 15 and 460, 1), “the unified one,” like $bz dmd$, “the unified Ba,” a designation which may be written (in the royal tombs also) with the star as dmd .¹¹⁹

The group below the lower left edge of the large disk, the second group to the right of the stela, is perhaps to be read $R^c \epsilon q pr (m) dz.t$, “Re, who enters and goes forth (from) the Dat.” Alternatively, this group could be read as “Re, who goes forth and who enters (into) the Dat.”¹²⁰ The possibility of the two readings is

¹¹⁶ Cf. Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 46; Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 11*.

¹¹⁷ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 77; vol. 2, pp. 119-20 n. 188.

¹¹⁸ Compare the groups similar in meaning and appearance above the hands of the two prone *Tkmy* figures in the middle register of the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pls. 10B and 11A) and the groups on pls. 5A and 6A.

¹¹⁹ See B. Grdseloff, “Notice sur un monument inédit appartenant à Nebwa^c, premier prophète d’Amon à Sambehdet,” *BIFAO* 45 (1947): 178-80.

¹²⁰ The expected preposition m is not written in this annotation; it is also absent in several enigmatic groups to the right of the stela. Similarly, the preposition r is absent in the

perhaps intentional. If this label is meant to describe the scarab emerging from the bottom of the disk, then this annotation is parallel to the cloth sign labeling the ram head emerging from the top of the disk. The possibility of understanding Re as both going forth from the Dat, pushing ahead of him the ball of the sun, and leaving the sun of the day to enter into the ball of the Dat, is appropriate to the scene depicted here. A similar image in the bottom right section of the main portion of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX supports this conclusion (pl. 31).¹²¹

Above the ram head emerging from the top of the stela is a cloth sign, labeling the head as *hbs*, "the clothed one." This use of the cloth sign is attested in the lower left scene on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 12). This is the night sun, the concealed one (for a discussion of clothed and clothing light, see Chapter 3, pp. 134-9).

To the right of the scarab head emerging below the disk, oriented according to the scarab, is a label in *Normalschrift*, with the exception of the final word *kkw*:

wnn nsw.t nb-T3.wy nb t(z) p(.t)^a Nb-M3^c.t-R^c mry-imn m p.t
d(r)=f kkw^b

The King, the Lord of the Two Lands, the Lord of Heaven, Nebmaatre
 Beloved of Amun, is in heaven,
 driving away the darkness.

^a For the writing of *t3 p.t*, compare E. F. Wente, in H. Rieke, G. Hughes, and E. F. Wente, *The Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* (Chicago, 1967), p. 11, nn. *e* and *h*.

^b This looks more like the verb *wdi*, but *wdi kkw* gives little sense. This could be shortened from something like *wd=f <stw.t m> kkw*, "he shedding <light in> the darkness,"¹²² but such a reading relies on the unpleasant assumption that the ancients left out more here than simply the *r* of the proposed *dr*.

Just below the disk between the front legs of the scarab are inverted walking legs followed by \approx ; the group suggests *q m*, "entering into." This text apparently continues in the two columns to the left. To the right of the inverted walking legs are two empty columns, and then a third with the prenomen of Ramesses VI. Left alone this column is relatively meaningless in the context of the composition. If it is

enigmatic group above the outstretched hand of the prone figure in the middle right section of the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun. For the omission of prepositions from these groups, compare the missing prepositions in the groups *pr* <*r*> *p.t*, "going forth <to> heaven," and *h3* <*r*> *d3.t*, "descending <into> the Netherworld," on a 21st Dynasty coffin from the Bab el Gusus, E. Hornung, *et al.*, *Geschenk des Nils, ägyptische Kunstwerke aus schweizer Besitz* (Zürich, 1978), fig. 271d (and pp. 78-79). Each of those groups is positioned to either side of the head of a human-headed *ba*-bird.


¹²¹ For the scarab pushing the sun ahead and entering the circle of the Dat, see Chapter 5, p. 328, n. 244.

¹²² Cf. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 133.

read along with the columns to the left, a somewhat more coherent annotation is possible:

- 1) *Nsw.t-bity nb-t3.wy Nb-m3^c.t-R^c--Mry-imn* 2) *‘q m* 3) *imy.w^a ḥtmy.t*
 4) *ḥ3=f d3.t^b*

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands,
 Nebmaatre-Meryamun, who enters amongst those who are in the Place of
 Destruction,
 he uncovering the Netherworld.



^a The animal sign () stands for *m* in the writing of *imy.w*.¹²³

^b The first three signs of the final column are *ḥ3=f*; the translation offered here takes the undetermined verb *ḥ3* to be that of *Wb*. III 13, 13, “Geheimes enthüllen.” The first part of the object of this action, ending in *-yt* is then perhaps omitted. Not wishing to leave the text faulty, one might take the third sign from the top in the final column, the much-writhing serpent, to be a haplography. This would allow one to read the final four signs as *d3.t* (for which orthography compare that in the First Side, Scene 9 of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, pl. 8, l. 8). For the deceased king as one who can effect the covering up of the Netherworld, one may compare a text from the Great Temple of Sety I at Abydos:¹²⁴

d3.t ḥ3p.ti wnf.ti ḥr šḥr.w=f

The Netherworld is covered and glad because of your counsel.

The uncovering of the Netherworld would allude to the king as the Netherworldly sun, shedding light into the caverns of the lower world. More specifically, uncovering the Netherworld may refer to the removal of the shrouds and bandages from the faces of the mummies of the Blessed Dead. For this concept another text of Sety I is illuminating. On the stela of Sety I for his father Ramesses I set up at Abydos, a section describes the quickening of the deceased king in the Netherworld: “When he travels the Netherworld, the Sun shines for him in the dark place, that he might uncover his face and doff his dust, the North wind whistling before him.”¹²⁵ As one of the Blessed Dead, the king in the Netherworld is

¹²³ For the animal tail sign () as *m* in a writing of *imy*, see Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 60, l. 5, pl. 61, ll. 4-5, and *idem*, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 127, ll. 6-7 (all *b3.w imy.w*, “the *bas* who are therein”); in *Coffin Texts* I 16  has the value *im*. The use of the animal tail for *m* is related to the use of the meat sign for *m* (for which see conveniently the examples in Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 9*). See also the references in the Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

¹²⁴ A statement in a speech made by Sefkhet-Abwy to Sety I – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. 1: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford, 1975), p. 187, l. 5.

¹²⁵ For more on this passage, see pp. 326-7.

uncovered and illumined by the sun. Identified with the nocturnal sun itself, the king would then himself uncover and illumine the quickening corpses of the dead.

The enigmatic treatise here incorporates the prenomen of Ramesses VI, preceded by brief titles, into an enigmatic text. This is parallel to a similar inclusion of the ruler's prenomen (there also preceded by brief titles, and followed by the wish that he live like Re forever) into an enigmatic annotation on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 13A).

NAMES OF THE DEITIES WITHIN THE SOLAR BARK (PL. 22A):

(I)s.t, "Isis"
Nb(.t)-hy.t, "Nephthys"
'Imn.t, "West"
Tkmy, "Tekemy"

The name of the goddess Isis is written with \equiv for *s* and \Leftarrow for *t*. The name of Nephthys has essentially the same orthography as on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,¹²⁶ although on the Ramesses VI ceiling the *t* of *nb.t* has been omitted. The bending goddess behind Nephthys is Imenit, the headless animal skin with the not uncommon value *im*,¹²⁷ the first *t* as *n*,¹²⁸ the second as *t*. Bending over, she appears to be hiding something, perhaps the hours indicated by the stars running below the "gunwale" of the bark.¹²⁹ The prone figure in the stern is labeled *tkmy*, the apparent *š* sign for *m*¹³⁰ a cryptographic substitution similar to the use of the

¹²⁶ For this orthography of the name of the goddess Isis, see Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 27.

¹²⁷ E.g. Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 110; Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 52, n. 1; É. Drioton, "La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhamon," *JEA* 35 (1949): 118; R.O. Faulkner, "Abnormal or cryptic writings in the Coffin Texts," *JEA* 67 (1981): 173 (and note the opposite, sign Z 11 *imy* as *hnw*—*ibid.* 174).

¹²⁸ This value (also attested in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1942]: pl. 78, no. 21) appears to derive through the cryptic confusion of \Leftarrow and \Leftarrow (\Leftarrow for \Leftarrow is attested – Drioton, *JEA* 35 [1949]: 121 – as is *m* for *n* [*ibid.* p. 119]). An alternative is to read the name as *Hnty* for *Šnty*, the goddess of the storm which bears up the deceased king (on whom see A. Piankoff, "La déesse Chenit," *Egyptian Religion* 2 [1934]: 100-105).

¹²⁹ Compare the text in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 35, §2 (upper right corner): *imn.t di-s .wy-s r imn.wt-s*, "Imenit, she giving her arms towards those whom she hides," they being six of the twelve nocturnal hours depicted in the middle of the upper register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.

¹³⁰ Attested Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 46 (this value derived through substitution of \Leftarrow for *m* (Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 11*; see further the Appendix of Cryptographic Values). A similar orthography of *tkm/tkn* with the *š*-sign is found in A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 5 (Chicago, 1954), p. 70c, a garbled passage in chapter 395 of the Coffin Texts (for the reading *tkm*, see Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 417, no. 78.4611).

☐/☐ sign for *m* in the writing of the name of the goddess *Smy.t* in the lower right portion of the beginning of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 4C). The deity *tkm/tkmy* (*Wb.* V 333, 8) appears in the Book of Gates; elsewhere he is a solar deity, and he may be present, though not labeled, on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, where his image is that of the giant deity (see Chapter 6) supporting the sun (see pp. 447-8, for a further discussion of Tekemy).

According to Klasens, citing the occasional use of the walking legs in writing the name of the deity, *tkm/tkmy* could be derived from "to circulate, to make one's rounds," perhaps from *tkn*.¹³¹ However, the appearance of *Tkmy* here speaks in general for Hornung's understanding of the name as "Der einem auf den Leib rückt."¹³² The iconography of the figures on the Corridor G ceiling suit *tkmy* as one on his stomach, and the enigmatic readings *tkmy* are not strained, but fit the signs. The occurrence of similar figures on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pls. 10 and 11), who—though unlabelled—occur in a context suitable to *Tkmy*, supports the readings proposed here.

¹³¹ See the references in Chapter 3, p. 116 n. 365.

¹³² Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten*, p. 121.

SECOND REGISTER, SCENE 2 (PLS. 15-16)

Names of the entities adoring the solar bark (pl. 22B):

Itny, “he of the disk”

The name of this deity occurs in the epithet of Re as *R^c-itny*, “Re Pertaining to the Solar Disk,” the fourth form of Re in the second register of the Forms of Re in the Tomb of Thutmosis III.¹³³

Dw3.ty, “he of the Netherworld”

This is a name attested for Re, Horus, Osiris, and underworld demons.¹³⁴ This name together with the following personifies the Netherworld.

Imn.ty, “he of the West”

Parallel to *dw3.ty*, this is the second of two entities whose names may show them to be personifications of the Netherworld.¹³⁵ Possible but unlikely would be an attestation here of the deity *nty*. The arm D 36 has the value *im* through substitution with the arm holding the rounded loaf, D 38.¹³⁶

Tms, “the red one”

The reading of this name is uncertain. If the meat sign (𐀓) here is read as a variant of the cryptographically attested 𐀓, this name might be read as *tms*, “the red one,” a reference to the light of the being’s disk head. The sign 𐀓 occurs several times with the value *m* in enigmatic texts at Dra Abu-n-Naga, and elsewhere.¹³⁷ In

¹³³ A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York, 1964), pp. 13-14; Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re in Westen*, vol. 1, p. 271; vol. 2, pp. 43, 62, 75. In the papyrus of Ahaneferamon (*ibid.* p. 66, manifestation number 3), the sun disk beaming down on a pair of arms emerging from female breasts is referred to as *itny-k*. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, p. 134 (3), translates “thy the One of the Disk.”

¹³⁴ See the references in Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern*, pp. 27, 30, 33, and 41.

¹³⁵ For *imn.ty*, see the occurrences listed in Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern*, pp. 25 (Re), 31 (Osiris), 41 (demons); Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 124; Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 47, pl. 5, ll. 6, 7, and 9, and pl. 6, ll. 1-3 and 5.

¹³⁶ Compare the use of 𐀓 for *im* in writing the Netherworldly toponym *imh.t* in Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 29; for 𐀓 as *m*, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 39; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*.

¹³⁷ Cf. Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 9*; A. Daneri Rodrigo, “An Enigmatic Inscription at Aksha,” *JSSSEA* 15 (1985): 68-71 (reading *m*, not *im* as Rodrigo); see also above, Chapter 3, pp. 68-9.

the bottom register this value *m* for the sign would give the possible reading *lmꜣw*, “glint of light” (see below, pl. 24, l. 12).

The name *tms* might refer to an angry, punishing, even bloody form of the sun,¹³⁸ but more likely refers to the sun at the cusps of the sky, the red color into which Re sets and from which he rises.¹³⁹ This name *tms* is similar to the name *tms-ḥr* given to the sixth entity in the lower right portion of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 5C; see p. 72).

Another possible reading of this name is *mki*, which would take the hobble-*t* as *m*, the meat sign (𐍑) as a variant for 𐍑, but having the value *k*, and finally the reed-leaf as its usual *Normalschrift* value *i*. The sign 𐍑 is found as *k*, as a variant of 𐍑, in the common enigmatic group 𐍑𐍑𐍑𐍑 for *kkw*.¹⁴⁰ It is thus not inconceivable that the meat sign could substitute for 𐍑, and acquire the value *k*. Keeping with the pairs of names following *itny*, the name *mki* would also form a pair with *štꜣ*. The reading *mki*, occurring as it does with the following name *štꜣ*, finds support in a passage in the version of chapter 181 of the Book of the Dead in the papyrus of Gautsushen (11, 9-10):¹⁴¹

iw mh.t=s m šꜣw ih.t

iw qꜣb.t=s m mk.t

Her intestines are the one mysterious of things,

Her breast the protective one (deity).

The value *k* for the sign does not, however, appear compatible with the use of this sign in line 12 of the second portion of the bottom register.

Yet another alternative reading of this name would be *tri*, reading the meat sign as *r*, a thoroughly unattested value. This would be the deity *tri*, “great of mystery,” whose cavern is visited and his nature described in the text preceding the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns. He is:¹⁴²

¹³⁸ See the references given in the discussion of negative connotations of the color red in Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 147-8.

¹³⁹ One may compare the text in Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 127-8, vol. 2, p. 129 nn. 300-302, wherein the sun is *dšr.ty*, “the one of redness,” the *bꜣ dšr wbꜣ imn.t*, “the red *ba* who opens up the west.” According to P. Carlsberg I, red is “the color which comes in the sun disk at dawn” (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 44, E = pp. 48-9); Re also “swims in his redness” (=Sety I Cenotaph = Frankfurt, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 81, lower left). See further above, Chapter 3, p. 72.

¹⁴⁰ See the references in Chapter 3, pp. 68-9 above.

¹⁴¹ C. De Wit, “A New Version of Spell 181 of the Book of the Dead,” *BiOr* 10 (1953): pl. 13, ll. 18-9 (xi, 9-10), p. 93.

¹⁴² Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 87, ll. 1-3.

ʕ3 sšt3w nb dšrw
 wḏ n nm.tyw
 pn nty m-ḥnw db3.t=f
 sḏ.ty=f m db3.wt=sn
 nty ḥtp=f m sḏ.ty=f šḥm ḥrw.w m s33 sw
 Great of mystery, lord of red blood;
 who commands executioners,
 the one who is in his sarcophagus,
 his two children being in their sarcophagi;
 who is satisfied with his two children, mighty of forms as the one who
 guards him.

The solar deity's address to *tri* contains the repeated line *ḥpr ḥḏw.t m imn.t*, "light comes about in the west," suggesting a reference to the place of the birth of the sun as a place of punishment of the damned.¹⁴³

Although *mki* and *tri* have parallels in other Underworld books, the cryptographic values of the signs necessary to propose these readings are problematic; therefore, a reading of *tms*—referring to the well-attested "redness" of the sun—is proposed here.

Št3, "mysterious (corpse)"

This is *št3* as a personification of the corpse of the solar Osirian deity;¹⁴⁴ in the 52nd address in the Great Litany the sun god is *št3y/št3w*. The name of the first mummiform deity in the upper right section of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun is *št3y*.

Ḥḏdy, "one who lights up"

The name *ḥḏdy* is a variant of the name of the entity *ḥḏdw* in the fourth scene of the upper register in the Sixth Hour of the Amduat,¹⁴⁵ and twice in the Book of the Day and the Night.¹⁴⁶ *Ḥḏdy*, together with the following name *ḥsy*, personifies the light of the sun.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* pl. 87, ll. 5, 7, 9; pl. 88, ll. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9; pl. 89, ll. 1-6. See further the discussion of the east as the place of ultimate destruction (Chapter 3, pp. 145-6). On the epithet *nb dšrw*, see B. Altenmüller, "Re und Herischef als 'nb dšrw,'" *GM* 2 (1972): 9-13.

¹⁴⁴ For *št3* as a term for "corpse," see Chapter 5, pp. 289-93.

¹⁴⁵ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 104, Nr. 422 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 481).

¹⁴⁶ Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 6 and 72; Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 315, vol. 2, p. 146.

H3y, “luminous one”

This reading takes the two *s3*-birds as substitutions for two aleph-vultures. The two alephs are a false dual, providing the final -y ending. This name *h3y* suggests the being *h3y-tp s3w-h3.wt*, “luminous of head, guardian of the corpses,” who appears in the first scene of the first register of section A in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.¹⁴⁷

The names of the entities adoring the bark of the night sun into distinct groups. The first name, *Itny*, relates the first being to the disk of the sun. The next two beings, *Dw3ty* and *Imnty*, bear names relating them to the Netherworld. There follows a deity *Tms*, “the red one,” the solar aspect of the unified Re-Osiris as the Netherworld about to be reborn. The next name, *Št3*, alludes to the hidden corpse of the solar deity, the Osirian element which remains on the root of the eastern horizon.¹⁴⁸ Together *Tms* and *Št3* refer to the two constituent parts of the giant unified Re-Osiris at the eastern cusp of heaven. Finally come two entities, *Hddy* and *H3y*, whose names describe the actions of the Netherworld denizens resulting from the presence of the solar deity.

¹⁴⁷ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 7 (compare also the entities *h3yty* and *h3yty <t>* on pp. 25 and 73).


¹⁴⁸ Were either *mki* or *trl* read instead of *tms*, then there would then be a pair of names relating to the hidden corpse, the Osirian element of the unified deity of the eastern horizon.

SECOND REGISTER ANNOTATION (PLS. 22C AND 23)

1) *iw R^c / iʒḥw*

Re / the shining one traveling

This reading of the signs interprets the disk with plural strokes below as a writing of the shining disk, a writing simply of the name of Re, or of his epithet *iʒḥw* (*Wb.* I 33, 4).¹⁴⁹ Retaining the plural strokes, and taking them as a representation of the quail chick *w*, yet another alternative reading would be possible: *iw/šm itny*, the disk as *itn* (as apparently in the name of the leftmost standing, disk-headed being in the middle register), the plural strokes as representing the nisbe ending.¹⁵⁰ A less pleasing alternative, requiring the assumption of a perturbation which would not

appear to be particularly meaningful here, would be to read  *šw*, “Shu entering.” For this one could compare a passage from the opening of the *Amduat*:¹⁵¹ *ʿq (Δ = Δ³) nṯr pn m ʿrry.t imn.t nyt ʒḥ.t*, “when this god enters into the western court of the horizon...” The left side of the Corridor G ceiling may in fact depict an entry into the western court of the horizon. This passage contains a use of the synchronous present, the concomitant *sdm=f*, a circumstantial form describing the depiction which it accompanies (see Chapter 3, pp. 57-8).

This opening line, a concomitant use of the *sdm=f* (see above, the discussion of pl. 22A, p. 191), parallels a line in the Book of Gates:¹⁵²

iy R^c ḥtp=k ḡ.t=k

Re comes! May you occupy your body!

TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PL. 22C):

2) *nn n nṯr.w 3) m šḥ(r) pn*4) *ḥḡ.wt R^c ʿk.w m 5) ḥʒ.wt=sn**bʒ.w 6) sn ʿp=sn 7) ḥtw=f**sšm=sn 8) sw m šṯzyt*9) *ʿp bʒ.w**Bʒ ḥr stt 10) šy m 11) šṯzyt*

¹⁴⁹ For the solar deity represented as a shining disk in a Netherworldly context, compare Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramses IX*, pl. 92, oval in the upper right.

¹⁵⁰ On the writing of the nisbe ending with a quail chick in Old Egyptian, see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, § 142 (p. 62), §146 (p. 64), and §343 (p. 147); see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 94, §172.

¹⁵¹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 8; p. 3, l. 1 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 110-11).

¹⁵² *Idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 344.

These gods are in this fashion,
 the light of Re having entered into their corpses.
 Their *ba*'s travel after him,
 and conduct him in Shetayet;
 the *ba*'s traveling,
Ba shedding light in Shetayet.

1. 4) The plural strokes represent the stative ending.

II. 2-8) These lines are similar to the annotation to the middle left scene on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (see pl. 10, figure B); compare also another portion of the texts on this ceiling, pl. 21, ll. 48-50.

II. 5-7) For the newly quickened *ba*'s traveling (*ꜥp*) after the sun, there is a parallel in the Book of Caverns:¹⁵³ *ꜥp=sn m-ht=l*, "they passing after me."

1. 6) The \equiv sign has the value *n* here;¹⁵⁴ this reading is more likely than seeing here a writing of the third person plural suffix pronoun as *s.t.*¹⁵⁵

1. 9) The term *bꜣ* with the seated god determinative is a term for the sun term occurring several times in the Amduat.¹⁵⁶

1. 10) For the orthography *šy* for *šwy*, compare Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, vol. 2, pp. 844-5, n. 1178; compare also demotic *hꜣj/hy*.

TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PL. 22C):

12-14) *nn n ntry.t* 15) *m šhr* 16) *pn*
 17) *hkn=sn* 18) *ntyw* 19) *m ꜥp m Htm.t*
 20) *bꜣw=s <n>* 21) *htw=f*

These goddesses are in this fashion,
 praising those who are traveling in the Place of Destruction,
 their *bas* being after him.

II. 12-14) The orthography *ntr.yt* suggests "goddesses," apparently referring to Isis and Nephthys, arms raised as in adoration, forming the ends of the deck of the

¹⁵³ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 13, l. 3.

¹⁵⁴ The hobble-*t* does have the value *n* below, in pl. 22, fig. C, l. 22, and pl. 23, l. 28.

¹⁵⁵ Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, §79, p. 36.

¹⁵⁶ See Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern*, p. 25; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 44 n. 13.

solar bark. The portion of the annotation referring to the *nṯr.yt* is indeed positioned over Nephthys and Imenit.¹⁵⁷

l. 18) One could also conceivably read the final signs in this column as *mt.w*, “the dead,” but the Netherworld Books often use this as a term for the damned, those who have suffered the second death;¹⁵⁸ they are unlikely to be praised, or addressed by any but the solar deity himself.

ll. 20-21) The expected *n* and following plural strokes of the suffix pronoun *sn* are absent; they were perhaps intended to occupy the blank space at the top of column 21, a space which the Red Crown for *n*, followed by three strokes, would fill admirably.

TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PLS. 22C-23):

22) *snky.t* 23) [*i*] *mn* < .*t* > *s*[*n*] 24-25) *m Štzy.t*

26) *p.w ḥr* 27) *šyw*

It is the darkness that hides them in Shetayet,
they having passed by the light

l. 22) In *snky.t*, \equiv has the value *n*.¹⁵⁹

l. 23) The plural strokes following the *s* suggest that the *n* of *sn* is missing here. The few signs actually written in this column appear to be a corruption of [*i*] *mn* < .*t* > *s*[*n*], with the bookroll following the bird for *m* in col. 23 representing *n*, as in the suffix pronoun *sn* in pl. 23, l. 41.

l. 27) Or one might alternatively read *šy im*, “they having passed by the light therein,” with the second reed leaf an haplography.

¹⁵⁷ Alternatively, one might suggest a writing of the feminine form of *nṯr* (NTWPE) to approximate the pronunciation of the plural form of the word (ENTHP, etc.). For the development of *nṯr.yt* from *nṯr.wt*, see Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 2, p. 626.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 198-99.

¹⁵⁹ The \triangle sign also appears with the value *n* (F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* [Montpellier, 1990], vol. 4, p. 810, no. 3608; É. Drioton, “Un cryptogramme relatif aux Souffles de Vie,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* [Berlin, 1955], p. 46), probably deriving from the similarity of these signs in hieratic. The use of \equiv to write \triangle may be the origin of the value *n* for \equiv (or, through comparison with \Leftarrow , with which \equiv alternates on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun [Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949): 121], \equiv has the value *n* < *m* [for \Leftarrow as *n*, see *ibid.*, p. 119]). The use of \Leftarrow for *n* (Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 106; Drioton, in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 44) derives from its treatment as a variant of \triangle (the basket as an inverted loaf, for which see Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 [1936]: 8).

TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PL. 23)

- 28) *wnn nn (n) ntr.w* 29) *m šhr pn*
 30) *sn hkn=* 31) *sn n* 32) *nṯi pn*
 33) *dwz=sn* 34) *ʕz m imnt*
 35) *ʕpp* 36) *nṯi ʕz* 37) *hṛ=sn m* 38) *štzyt*
 39) *hṛ stt* 40) *šy m ht=* 41) *sn*
tp.w 42) *nn n ntr.w* 43) *mn im*
 4) *s <n> r s <n> sn* 45) *ʕn=sn m-* 46) *ht dwi* 47) *nṯi pn ʕz*
 48) *r=sn*

It is in this fashion that these gods exist,
 they praising this god,
 and adoring the great one in the west
 When the great god passes by them in Shetayet,
 casting light in their following,
 the heads (of) these gods remain therein,
 they turning back after this great god calls to them.

l. 28) In *ntr.w*, \Leftarrow appears to represent *n* (see above, commentary to l. 22), with \Leftarrow for *t* for *ṯ*; alternatively, \Leftarrow is for *n*, switched with \Leftarrow for *ṯ*.

l. 34) *ʕz*, “the great one,” is a term used of the sun, referring to the deity as the giant god uniting the heights of heaven and the depths of the netherworld.¹⁶⁰

l. 40) The word *šy* receives the seated deity as determinative instead of the sun disk, apparently deriving from the name of the god Shu.

The \Leftarrow sign has here the value *m*, an enigmatic value exploiting the similarity of appearance between \Leftarrow and \Leftarrow . The aleph-vulture at the end of l. 40 represents *ht*.¹⁶¹ A similar orthography of *m-ht* occurs in the lower left section on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 12, final column of text on the far right of the scene).

l. 41) The bookroll following the *s* at the top of this column writes the *n* of the suffix pronoun *sn*, from the general substitution of horizontal signs.¹⁶² For ll. 41-43, compare upper register, text no. 2, ll. 4-8, in the discussion above.

¹⁶⁰ Compare the attestations in Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern*, p. 25 (numerous attestations in the Book of Gates, one each for the Book of Caverns and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk). See further the discussion of the giant deity in Chapter 6, pp. 408ff.

¹⁶¹ The value *ht* for a bird sign derives from the word *ht-ʕz*, “Art Gans oder Ente,” of *Wb.* III 342, 1, determined by the *s3*-bird. For a bird sign with the value *ht* see Chapter 3, p. 137—see also the occurrences listed in the Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

¹⁶² Compare the use of a horizontal line to write *n* recorded in Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 4, p. 126 (§156).

l. 43) The aleph-vulture following the plural strokes of *ntr.w* is the *m* of *mn*. The horizontal sign below the *n* of *mn* is either the bookroll determinative of *mn*, or part of the writing of the following *im*. The lack of a clear tie atop the sign speaks against the bookroll; the horizontal is thus most likely \equiv sign, writing either the *i* of *im*, or *im* in full, with the following vulture for *m* as a phonetic complement.¹⁶³ For reading *mn im*, compare lines 4-7 in upper section no. 2: *mn tp.w=sn hr=sn (i)m=s*, “with the result that their heads remain upon them therein” (pl. 21, ll. 4-7). The heads of these deities do not join the solar deity on his netherworldly peregrinations (see Chapter 3, pp. 111-17).

ll. 43-44) Alternatively, one might read *tp.w nn n ntr.w mn m s.t=s<n>*, reading the grasshopper for mouth-*r*, which may have the value *t*.

l. 44) The writing of the third person plural suffix pronoun *sn* as *s* (cf. the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, plate 13, figures A and B) is a variant form attested already in the Old and Middle Kingdoms (see Chapter 3, pp. 141-2, text note *a* to plate 13A).¹⁶⁴

ll. 44-48) This passage, and the scene here, are parallel to a text in the middle left register of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun:


sn ʕn=sn htw ʕq b3.w
they turn back when the *bas* enter

TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PL. 23)

49) *ir m-ht* 50) *dwī nti pn* 51) *ʕ3 r=sn*
52) *ir m-ht* 53) *dwī nti* 54) *pn ʕ3 r=* 55) *sn*
ir 56) *m-ht ʕpp=f* 57) *hr=sn*
imn. 58) *hr=sn* 59) *h3.wt*

Now when this great god calls to them (repeated),
and when he passes by them,
they hide the corpses.

ll. 49-59) The *bas* follow after the deity, but the corpses are hidden. For this series of events, one may compare text 20, in the second scene in the fourth register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk:

¹⁶³ For the island for *m*, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 49; the use of the island for *im* derives from the sign's similarity to the *m-hnw* oval , a sign itself employed cryptographically for the value *im* (see *ibid.*).

¹⁶⁴ The writing *s* for *sn* in pl. 22, figure C, l. 20, almost certainly results from the omission of the *n* and plural strokes of *sn*, for which sufficient space appears to have been left at the top of the following column of text.

iw R^c *ḏwl=f sn*

wḏ=f md.wt n b3.w=sn

sn-r=sn ḥp=sn m-ḥt

tf ḥ3.wt=sn imn m s.wt=sn

Re calls them,

giving orders to their *ba*'s.

and they follow afterwards,

though their corpses are hidden in their places.¹⁶⁵

The Datian Horus, the Horus-Upon-his-Throne in the bottom register of the Seventh Hour of the Amduat, addresses the stars in his charge and informs them that they (their bodies) belong to him, but their stars belong to the one in heaven (Re).¹⁶⁶

l. 59) In the writing of *ḥr* in this line, the sign of the child has the value *ḥ*, for which see above, Chapter 2, p. 22.

TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PL. 23)

60) *nn* 61-3) *n nty.w* 63-4) *m šḥr pn*

64-5) *s33=* 65-7) *sn ḏ3.t šṯ3.t*

67) *ḥpp* 68) *nṯi pn* 69) *ḥ3 ḥr nn n* 70) *wnw.t (sb3.wt ?)*

71-2) *pr sb3 m ḏ3.t(?)*

These gods are in this fashion,
protecting the secret Netherworld.

When this great god passes by these hours,
the star emerges from the netherworld(?).

l. 62) The owl here has the value *tyw* in *ntyw = nṯr.w*, through substitution with the *-tyw*-bird. The loaf-*t* at the bottom of l. 62 appears to be otiose, unless it is a misplaced phonetic complement to the owl-as-*tyw*-bird. Although the divine determinative in l. 62 is bearded, it is conceivable that the *t* at the end of l. 62 could be an element in writing *nṯr.wt/yt*, "goddesses" (compare the male determinative of *nṯr.t*, "goddess," on pl. 24, l. 9). The text appears to describe the standing male deities, however, and not the goddesses beneath their outstretched hands.¹⁶⁷

ll. 64-65) The signs writing the verb "to protect" here could represent the bolt-*s*, the *s3*-bird, and the aleph-vulture, providing the expected circumstantial form *s3*. In

¹⁶⁵ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 34, ll. 7-9; on p. 60 (and n. 6), Piankoff reads *imn* as *mn*, "restent," an unnecessary emendation of the text.

¹⁶⁶ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 129, ll. 4-5 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 567): *tn r=tn n=i sb3.w=tn n imy-p.t*, "You belong to me, your stars belong to the one in heaven"; vol. 2, p. 136 (particularly n. 6).

¹⁶⁷ The action of the gods is "performing protection;" the action of the gods in the lower right corner the dropped portion of the ceiling is also "performing protection" (pl. 28, upper ll. 3-4, lower l. 3), and they too have their arms extended, hands with palms down (pl. 27).

view of the circumstantial form *s33* attested in the Netherworld Books, and especially prevalent in the tomb of Ramesses VI (see the discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 156-7), the signs are here interpreted as the bolt-*s* and two aleph-vultures.

ll. 65-67) The *d3.t št3.t*, the “secret” or “inaccessible” portion of the Netherworld,¹⁶⁸ is read here.

l. 72) The word that appears as a single round sign in l. 72 could also be *nm.t*.

The deities protect and turn over the inverted star and goddess, elsewhere described as the *pnʿ*, “turning over,” the action necessary for the continued existence of the blessed dead in the Netherworld (see below, Chapter 7).¹⁶⁹ These scenes and their accompanying texts parallel and elaborate upon the upper register of the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, for which see Chapters 5, pp. 279-85 and Chapter 7.

TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PL. 23)

72) *wnn* 73-4) *h3.wt h3.t*(sic) *m b3y pn*

75) ...?. *h3.wt=sn* 76) *hm=sn*

77-8) *p.t imy.w ? h3.wt ?*

79-80) *hpr hpr.w* 81-2) *m nw ??? ...*

83) ... *r hr hr.w=sn*

The corpses are in <th>is burial pit,

... their corpses, their majesties.

The sky in which their corpses are,

manifestation occurring in ...

... upon their faces.



l. 73) The word *h3.t* at the bottom of l. 73 appears to be a dittography. In l. 73 and l. 75, the word *h3.wt*, “corpses,” has the sign of a pustule as determinative.



ll. 73-4) The surface in the area of these lines is abraded, with the result that most of the signs are too unclear for establishing a context or attempting a running translation; the present translation assumes that the fish, pustule, and \equiv (for *t*) at the end of line 73 could be dittography, with \equiv at the beginning of l. 74 being the next sign to be read. Alternatively the second fish in l. 73 could have the value *m*,¹⁷⁰ with the following signs the designation of some place.

¹⁶⁸ For references to the Netherworld as “secret,” see *Wb.* IV 551, 14 and 553, 8; and Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 380, no. 77. 4308.

¹⁶⁹ Without attempting to read the enigmatic annotation, Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' VI.*, pp. 153-4 suggests that the figures separate “die Unterwelt (quergestellte Figur) von Stern und Sonnenscheibe (mit menschl. Kopf).”


¹⁷⁰ For this value see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 414.

The place in which the corpses are said here to be is a masculine word, and written as a bookroll determined by a circle, suggesting a pit. This shape of the home of the corpses echoes the *nm.t*-domes at the beginning of the upper and lower registers of this portion of the ceiling, and the *b3y.w(t)*-pits mentioned in line 5 of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild*. The bookroll can be read as *b*, a value it has in the orthography of the term *b3y.w(t)*, “burial holes,” in the right hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* of this enigmatic composition (pl. 30, l. 5—see the discussion below, pp. 256-60). The word in l. 74 is perhaps best explained as an abbreviated writing of *b3y*, “burial pit.” The signs  and  are apparently a writing of *pn*.¹⁷¹

l. 76) The meat sign  substitutes for the expected  with the common cryptographic value of *m*. For the use of *hm* in the plural, see *Wb.* III 92.6-10.¹⁷²

ll. 77-8) These lines have twice the group *š* + aleph bird+ hobble-*t*, perhaps a dittography of *h3.wt*. The fish hieroglyph appears several times in these final columns of the middle register, perhaps an allusion to the concept of the stars said to result from the tears of an unknown deity in the lake of the Dat.¹⁷³

ll. 82-3) These lines may mention the time (*nw* = *Wb.* II 219 [with preceding *m*, 219, 7]) of some beings doing something (a word ending in *r* and determined by a book roll) upon their faces, perhaps *hr*, “falling,” or some such.

¹⁷¹ The *pr*-house for *p* also occurs in the annotation in the middle left section of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (in a writing of *šp* [Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949): 119]; see also Roccati, “Remarque sur le graphème  au Moyen Empire,” *RdE* 21 [1969]: 151-153).

¹⁷² I would like to thank Ms. Colleen Manassa for suggesting this reading.

¹⁷³ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 75. The stars are said to be fish at one stage of their development. For the pun on “fish” and “tears,” see also B. van de Walle, *L'humour dans la littérature et dans l'art de l'ancienne Égypte* (Leiden, 1969), pp. 3-4 (and n. 7, p. 3).

THIRD REGISTER, SCENE 1 (PL. 18 B, PL. 20)

no. 1 (above and within the three pairs of domed structures in front of the female disks; total of 34 lines; T = top, B = bottom, numbered from left to right):

FIRST FIGURE (pl. 18B; pl. 20A): (T1) *nṯi* (T1+2) *pn* (T2) *m* (T2, B1) *shr* (B1) *p < n >* (B1 + 2) *pr* (B2) *sd.t* (B2 + 3) *imy.t* (B3) *r3=f* (B3 + 4) *m-htw* (B4) *m-ht* *phr^a* *b3y.tyw^b* (B5) *d(w)i* (T3) *R^c r=f* (T4) *hd* (T4 + B6) *imy.t*

^a Reading the two mouth signs as an attested writing of *phr* (*Wb.* I 544), allowing a reading *m-ht phr b3y.tyw*, “when those in their burial pits travel around.”¹⁷⁴

^b For another description of these pit-dwellers that might perambulate at the call of Re, see the passage from the Book of Gates cited below, p. 258-9.

The texts of the first and third figures here are not parallel, as they were in the upper register. The first group here is perhaps somewhat garbled towards the end, but a reasonable reading is possible:

This god is in this fashion:

When those in their burial pits travel around,

there comes forth the flame which is in his mouth.

Re calls out to him,

with the result that that which is therein (in his mouth) lights up.

If this reading is correct, then the statements that the deities light up by means of fire within their mouths are augmented by the information that this fire by which they light up (simply *imy.t* at the end of this section) is given to them by the call of Re.

An alternative reading of this text is possible, if one is willing to sort out the text in such a way as to require the workings of perturbation:

(T1) *nṯi* (T1+2) *pn* (T2) *m* (T2, B1) *shr* (B1) *p < n >* (B1 + 2) *pr* (B2) *sd.t* (B2+3) *imy.t* (B3) *r3=f* (B3+B5) *m-htw* (B5) *d(w)i* (T3) *R^c r=f* (T4) *hd* (T4 + B4) *h3wt* (B4) *m* (B4 + B6 [top]) *imy.t^a*


So is this god: when Re calls to him, there comes forth the flame which is in his mouth. It is by means of that which is therein (presumably the *nm.t*) that the corpse lights up.

¹⁷⁴ Taking the reed leaf as *h3* for *h* (cf. Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105; the *h3*-plant M 12 for *i* occurs in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 410, and in the first two divine names in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 146), one could propose the more unlikely reading *m-ht phr htiw*, “when the followers (*Wb.* III 344, 9-11) travel around.”

^a Reading *imy.t* here requires taking the first of the two mouth-*r*'s in B 4 as *m*, the second as *l*, the bird as *m*, the read leaf at the end of B 4 as the nisbe ending, and the *l* at the top of B 6 as the feminine ending.

This alternate disentangling of the cryptographic columns has the benefit of more closely paralleling the text of the third *nm.t* (pl. 20, figure C). The organization of the various elements of the text would be somewhat more confused, however, than that of the other annotations accompanying the other *nm.t*-domes. Nevertheless, the perturbation would occur in a chiasitic manner (bottom right [B 5] to top left [T 6], then top right [T 7] to bottom left [B 8]), and cannot be excluded as a possibility. This perturbation does not appear to have any thematic significance.

SECOND FIGURE (pl. 18B; pl. 20B): *nt* (T5) *pn m* (T6) *shr pn m nm.t* [label – *nm.t*]^a (T7) [label – *mw* (T8) *-hr*] *hd*(T9)=*f* (T10) *m* (T11+T12) *imyt r3=* (T13) *f m-hr* (B7) *dwi R^c r=f* [the beings in the center are called *h3.t itm* and *3m t3w*] (T 14) *im=s*

^a The second of the two writings of *nm.t* in line T6 is a label to the *nm.t*-dome. This parallels the label  in line B 3 in the text accompanying the second pair of domes in part 1 of the upper register (pl. 19, fig. B, §B 3), that name a writing of either *št3yt* or *nm.t*.

The text of the middle figure here is parallel to the text of the middle figure in the first section of the upper register, with the addition here of *im=s* at the end.

This god is in this fashion in the *nm.t*,
he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth
when Re calls out to him therein.

THIRD FIGURE (pl. 18B; pl. 20C): (T15) *nti pn* (T16) *m shr* (T17) *pn* (T17-18) *pr r sd.t* (T19) *imy.t* (T20 + B8) *r3=f m-hr* (B8+9+10) *dwi R^c r=* (B11) *f* (B11+12) *hd=f* (B13 + T21) *m imy.t r3=f*

The third text group here parallels the first and third groups in the upper register, except at the end; here there is *hd=f m imy.t r3=f* for *hd h3w.t=f imy.t=f* in the upper register:

This god is in this fashion:
When Re calls out to him,
there comes forth the flame which is in his mouth,
he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth.

NAMES

zm-tzw, “burning of breath” (pl. 18B, rightmost name below middle domes)

H3.t-itm, “the corpse of Atum” (pl. 18B, leftmost name below middle domes)

(W)*dy*, “giver (of light ?)” (pl. 18B, names below rightmost and leftmost domes)

For a discussion of *zm-tzw* and *H3.t-itm* in relation to the deities in the domes of the first register, see pp. 173-4 above. The first and third entities within the dome-like *nm.wt* are called $\overline{\text{w}}\text{dy}$. This name is paralleled for one of the slightly bowing, praising beings in the upper register of the concluding scene of the sixth division of the Book of Caverns, name $\overline{\text{w}}\text{dy}$, “giver (of light ?),” who is followed by an entity *psdy*, “shining one.”¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 45 (*wḏi* and *psdy* are a pair, following the pair *imy-š* and *hnty-š*). For the *wḏy* / *rdi.t* of light, see *Wb.* I 387, 5; II 466, 6. See also the commentary to *dī sq.t* in Chapter 5, p. 299. There is also an entity at the end of the middle register of the tenth hour of the *Amduat* called *wḏ(y)w* (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, 175, 8 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 730]); vol. 2, 169); Hornung reads “Schleuderer,” a reference to his sending out of arrows (for fiery arrows, see P. Vernus, “Études de philologie et de linguistique (II),” *RdE* 34 [1982-3]: 124 and n. 65; A. Volten, “Das Harpunierergestirn,” *MDAIK* 16 [1958]: 354-5; D. Kurth, “Esna 400; 405,” in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* [Montpellier, 1984], p. 141, n. 41; see further Chapter 5, pp. 303-4).

THIRD REGISTER, ANNOTATION (PLS. 24-25A):

- 1) *nn n ntryt m sh(r) pn*
 2) *m-hn.t htm.y.t*
nṯi <pn> [label styṯ] 3) ʿz st=f hḏ.wt=f m hz.wt 4) nn n ntr.yt
 5) *ḏwi nṯi štzṯ*
 6-7) *ʿq* 8) *hḏ.wt* 9) *m ntr.t*
 nls.hr htm.ytyw
 10) *ʿpp wn.(w)t r kkw [label mzwtt]*
 11) *sḏm=sn hrw Rʿ*
 srq= 12) *sn*
 <sn> n=sn imzw= 13) *sn*
ir m-ht ʿpp=f 14) *hr t3=sn*
 15) *hwt.* 16) *hr bz.w=sn hr hḏ<=f>*
 17) *nn n ntryt [label: h3tt]* 18) *m hḏ.wt itn.w iry.w=sn*
 19) *ʿpp nṯi*
 pr itn 20) *<m> kkw*
wnwt htp= 21-22) *sn m hḏ.wt=* 23) *sn*
 m-ht ʿpp nṯi pn ʿz 24) *hr=sn*
 ḏwi=sn n nṯi pn
 25) *nṯi pn ḏwi=f r=sn*
ir [label: itny.t/Rʿy.t] 26) *m-ht ʿpp=f r=sn*
 h3p. 27) *hr s.(t) kkw=sn*
 28) *h3p.hr s.t kkw*
 ht wn.w.t 29) *r h3.wt*
 30) *hr=sn im*
 hḏ nn n ntryt 31) *m hḏ.wt itn.w* 32) *iry.w=sn*
ʿpp nṯi
 pr 33) *itn ʿz m kkw*
 34) *hṯp=sn m hḏ.wt=* 35) *sn*
 m-h.t ʿpp 36) *nṯi pn ʿz* 37) *hr=sn*
 sn ḏwi=sn n nṯi 38) *pn*
 38) *nṯi pn ḏw(i) sn*
 38) *ir m-h.t* 39) *ʿpp=f r=sn*
h3p.hr s[n] 40) *kkw =sn*
hṯp Rʿ im r s.t=f
 41) *h.t wn.wt r h3.wt r [...] =sn* 42) *sšt3*
 b3(.w)=sn ʿq <m> h[tmtyt ?]
 43) *s33=sn ir [...]*
 44) *sḏm=f n=sn*
 45-47) ... *nn n ntryt* 47) *m shr pn m nn.t (?)*

These goddesses are in this fashion
 within the Place of Destruction.
 <This?> [label: *styt*] great god casts his light in the corpses of these
 goddesses.
 When the mysterious god calls,
 and light enters into the goddess,
 then the ones belonging to *htmyt* call out.
 When the hour(s) travel into the darkness,
 they hear the voice of Re,
 with the result that they breathe,
 and they have their light/glow.
 When he passes by their land,
 then their *ba*'s call out before his light.
 These goddesses are in the light of the disks which appertain to them.
 When the god passes,
 the great disk comes forth <from> the darkness.
 The hours become satisfied with their light,
 when this great god passes by them,
 they calling to this god.
 This god calls to them.
 When he passes by them,
 their darkness covers them.
 The darkness covers them,
 the hours withdrawing to the corpses,
 their face(s) being therein,
 these goddesses lighting up by means of the light of the disks
 which belong to them.
 When the deity travels,
 the great disk goes forth in the darkness.
 After this great god passes by them,
 they come to rest in their light,
 and they call out to this god
 (it is this god who calls them).
 Now when he passes by them,
 their darkness covers them.
 When Re rests therein at his (appointed) place,
 the hours withdraw to the corpses at their mysterious [...],
 their *bas* having entered <into> the P[lace of Destruction (?)],
 they protecting [...],
 he listening to them [...].
 These goddesses are in this fashion in the Undersky (?)

1. 2) There is a blank space between *nṯi* and the label of the goddess' name
 which could account for an unwritten *pn*, although *nṯi* ʿ3 as written is acceptable
 (compare l. 36 of text 2 in the middle register).

l. 5) There are *ntr.w št3.w* mentioned in the Amduat and in the Book of Caverns.¹⁷⁶

ll. 6-7) The word *ʿq* is split across lines 6 and 7. This apparent metathesis is perhaps a result of perturbation, although that cryptographic concept would appear to serve little purpose here. A more likely explanation of the orthography of *ʿq* here is as the result of splitting between two columns an orthography where for graphic reasons the *q*-hill was written atop the *ʿ*-arm, fitting into the space between the shoulder and the forearm.

l. 9) The word *ntr.t*, “goddess,” has a male god determinative, for which one may compare the possible orthography of *ntr.wt/yt*, “goddesses,” on pl. 23, l. 63. The *ḥtmy.w* are mentioned in the title of the Amduat, apparently as the damned, in contrast to the *w3šy.w*, blessed dead in the Osirian entourage; later in the Amduat, their shades are butchered.¹⁷⁷

Unlike other uses of the *sdm.ḥr=f* form in the texts of the Solar-Osirian Unity, this example (*nīs.ḥr ḥtm.ytyw*) is a contingent aorist.¹⁷⁸

l. 10) Reading *r kkw*, with the pupil for *r* (cf. upper register text no. 2, l. 47 [pl. 21]).

l. 11) The placenta-*ḥ* is here replaced by the loaf-*t*, an attested enigmatic value.¹⁷⁹ The hemispherical *t*-loaf appears to have been used for the round placenta in this enigmatic text through application of the principle of *pars pro toto*.¹⁸⁰

ll. 11-2) The idea that the voice of a deity causes the Netherworld denizens to breathe is expressed several times in the Book of Caverns,¹⁸¹ and most frequently in

¹⁷⁶ See the references in Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern*, p. 40.

¹⁷⁷ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, ll. 4 and 6 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 108-109); p. 82, ll. 1-2 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 409-410); *idem.*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 5 text n. 20, and p. 98 text n. 6.

¹⁷⁸ For this use of the *sdm.ḥr=f* form, see L. Depuydt, *Conjunction, Contiguity, Contingency: on Relationships between Events in the Egyptian and Coptic Verbal Systems* (New York and Oxford, 1993), pp. 208-33.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. the occurrence in Drioton, in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 49. This substitution of signs also occurs in the Pyramid Texts—see Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 4, p. 126 (§156).

¹⁸⁰ The alternation of the loaf-*t* and the placenta may also have been influenced by the use of the round loaf as a form of the more common loaf-*t* (cf. Sethe, *Northampton*, p. *12).

¹⁸¹ A. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942): pl. 3, ll. 3-4 (*srq ḥt.wt=tn sdm=tn mdw.w Wsir...*, “may your throats breathe when you hear the words of Osiris ...”); *idem.*, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 16, ll. 2-3 (*i snk-ḥr ḥn.ty qsr.t sbḥ srq r=f b3.w sbḥ-k ...*, “Oh one dark of face, foremost of the sanctuary, who calls, with the result that the ba-spirits breathe ...”); *ibid.*, pl. 41, l. 1 (*iw n-k hy n R^c srq=n r-n mdw=k n=n*, “hail to you Re – we breathe when you speak to us!”).

the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.¹⁸² The ability to hear is itself a mark of divine favor,¹⁸³ not granted to all Netherworld denizens.

I. 12) This reading understands the *sn* following *srq* to be haplographic, and reads \ominus as — , through exploitation of the potential hieratic confusion.¹⁸⁴

The sign of meat on the bone occurs again in the name of the fourth adoring, disk-headed being in the middle register. The sign there most likely has the value *m*, as a variant for the flesh sign F 51, which has the value *m* in a number of enigmatic texts (see above, the discussion of the name of the entity *ims* in the middle register, pp. 196-7). This is perhaps the *im(3)w* of *Wb.* I 80, 9, “Glanz der Sonne,” a reference to the light given off by the disks lying in front of the goddesses. The signs are reed leaf for *i*, the meat on the bone for *m*, and the aleph bird for *w*. The plural strokes following the disk are either true plural strokes, or are attracted by the final *w* of *im(3)w*; they might also be corrupted from the three rays of the shining sun which more commonly determines the word.¹⁸⁵

II. 13-6) The passing of the solar deity brings a return to darkness. This section describes the same occurrence as that detailed in the concluding lines of the texts accompanying the portals in the Book of Gates:

hwt.ḥr imy.w sm̄i.t=sn

¹⁸² Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 1 (text 1), ll. 3-4 (*srq=sn m sḏm=sn ḥrw=f*, “they breathe when they hear his voice”); *ibid.* pl. 6 (text 9), l. 7 (*srq=sn sḏm=sn ḥrw=f*, “they breathe when they hear his voice”); *ibid.* pl. 9 (text 18), l. 4 (*srq=sn sḏm=sn mdw.w=f*, “they breathe when they hear his words”); *ibid.* pl. 14 (text 1), ll. 2-4 (*sn šsp=sn ḥḏw.t n R^c sn srq=sn m stwt=f* ..., “they receive the light of Re, and they breathe from his beams ...”); *ibid.* pl. 15 (text 6), ll. 8-9 (*iw nṯr pn ḏwt=f sn srq=sn <m> ḥrw=f*, “this god summons them, with the result that they breathe <by means of> his voice”); *ibid.* pl. 21 (text 1), l. 4 (*srq=k sḏm=k ḥrw=i*, “may you breathe when you hear my voice”); *ibid.* pl. 23 (text 3), ll. 2-3 (*šspy.wt imy.t-r3=f srq r=f b3.w d3.tyw*, “those who receive his orders, that the datian *ba*’s breathe”); *ibid.* pl. 24 (text 5), l. 7 (*srq=k sḏm=k ḥrw=i*, “may you breathe when you hear my voice”); *ibid.* pl. 32 (text 17), ll. 4-5 (*ḥrw R^c pw sḏm nn n nṯryt sn r=sn srq=sn im=f*, “it is the voice of Re that these goddesses hear, and they breathe from it”); *ibid.* p. 63-4 (text accompanying the ithyphallic deity: *srq=sn sḏm=sn ḥrw=f*, “they breathe when they hear his voice”); *ibid.* p. 65 (text accompanying the ithyphallic deity: *srq=sn sḏm=sn ḥrw=f*, “they breathe when they hear his voice”).

¹⁸³ Compare a section of the Instructions of Ptahhotep, P. Prisse 16, 6ff. Hearing implies obedience (see Brunner, “Das hörende Herz,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 79 [1954]: 699-700).



¹⁸⁴ For the construction, compare W. Barta, “Das Personalpronomen der *wj*-Reihe als Proklitikon im adverbialen Nominalsatz,” in *ZÄS* 112 (1985): 101, example no. 26 = Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 41, l. 2 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 246-247): *ṯn n=ṯn b3.w=ṯn*, “You have your *ba*’s.”

¹⁸⁵ Possible, though less likely, would be a reading of the term as the *ims*, “schöne Gestalt, angenehmes Wesen (u.ä.),” of *Wb.* I 80, 10 (see also Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, p. 21, no. 79.0219).

sdm=sn h3 ʿ3 pn

Those in their desert necropolis scream,
when they hear this great portal slam shut.¹⁸⁶

l. 14) The snake has here the value *t3*. For this value, compare the use of the horned viper to write *t3* in *wi3-t3* in the Sety I and Osireion versions of the middle register of the Third Hour of the Book of Gates (scene 11), and the orthography of *t3* in the Ramesses III version of the address of the Datian Horus to the stars in the lowest register of the Seventh Hour of the Amduat.¹⁸⁷ The horned viper occurs with the value *t3* in the Pyramid Texts.¹⁸⁸ The horned viper has the value of *t3* through hieratic confusion, and this viper-*f* and *t3*-sign interchange could be perpetuated in cryptic texts through the snake for *ḏ* and *t*, and for iconographic reasons: in *wi3-t3* it suggests the often serpentine appearance of the bark (as here in Corridor G); as *t3* here it may indicate the Netherworld as the realm of Apep.

l. 16) In the writing of *hr* following *b3.w=sn*, the reed leaf stands for *h*, through substitution of  for  (cf. two orthographies in this composition, upper text no. 2, l. 20 [pl. 21]; the dropped portion of the ceiling [pl. 28, upper l. 5, lower l. 6]).

l. 18) In *hḏ.wt*, the bird sign represents the *t*, from *tyw*; the plural strokes alone represent the plural ending.

The group *itn.w iry.w=sn* is repeated later in line 32. The two mouth *r*'s for -*r(y)w* in l. 32 are here represented by two birds in l. 18, similar to the interchange of mouths and birds in *s33* in the upper and lower registers of the dropped portion of the ceiling (pl. 23, upper l. 3 and lower l. 3). The bird following *itn* in line 18, along with the mouth-*r* in the same position in line 32, could correspond to *t*, giving the reading *itn.t*, "female disks," which is what are depicted here (see below). In this case, however, there would be no plural indication; furthermore, the plural strokes in line 18 would be otiose.

ll. 19-20) The aleph-bird of ʿ3 as haplography representing *m* also, were it not for the bookroll at the top of column 20.¹⁸⁹ The sun is called *itn ʿ3* in the second scene of the lower register in the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat, this "great disk" being what the eight entities there depicted are said to raise up daily in the eastern horizon.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 14 (first gate); similar texts for the remaining gates, *ibid.* pp. 48-9, 91, 146, 203, 251, 274, 298, 330, 355, 376, 408.

¹⁸⁷ Book of Gates: Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 63, II p. 85; Amduat: Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 129 n. u.

¹⁸⁸ Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4, p. 126.

¹⁸⁹ For the "great disk" traveling the darkness, compare Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 39, l. 6.


¹⁹⁰ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 202, 12 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 838) the great disk is raised up in the eastern horizon (there *itn ʿ3* is used as a name for the sun god himself – see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 192).

ll. 20-23) For the deities as *hṭp m ḥd.wt*, compare a portion of the text preceding the sixth division of the Book of Caverns:¹⁹¹

hpr ḥd.wt m imn.t
imy.w-t3 hṭp.(w) m ḥd.wt=i
 When light comes about in the West,
 those who are in the earth are satisfied with my light

lines 26-7) For the phrase *h3p.hṛ s.t kkw*, see Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 6, n. 9, and p. 49, n. 12.

line 27) The pronoun *st* here substitutes for the third person dependent pronoun *sn*. The pronoun *st* referring to the third person plural (a well-attested Middle Egyptian usage,¹⁹² and not an example of a Late Egyptian orthography) appears again in l. 28 (there fully written as *s.t*).

l. 28) Alternatively one could read  here as a writing of *h3p*, with the reed leaf for *h* (this value appears to be unattested, but note the use of the three-pronged plant to write *h*,¹⁹³ and to write *i*,¹⁹⁴ through substitution with the reed leaf), the bird for *3*, and the mouth-*r* for *p*.


ll. 28-29) The word here written as *ḥt* represents the verb *ḥti*, “retreat, retire.”¹⁹⁵ The disk and plural strokes here are read as the logographic orthography of *wn.wt*, “hours” (cf. l. 20 of this section), here alone writing that word. For *ḥt wnw.t r h3.wt*, compare l. 41 below.

ll. 29-30) Between lines 29 and 30 in the vertical lines of text above the seated female beings, a change in the cryptic syllabary occurs. In the writing of *nṯryt*, the bird and hobble-*t* for *t* are replaced by the normal mouth *r* and the hobble-*t* for *t*. This change coincides with a blank column between columns 29 and 30.

l. 30) The faces of the goddesses are apparently in the place where the corpses are, the place to which the hours withdraw. This reference to the disks of the

¹⁹¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 88, l. 5; compare also Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 47, pl. 26, ll. 7-8 (text 8, second scene in the second register of section D): *hṭp=k m imy.w-tp=i*, “in order that you be satisfied with that which is on my head,” that being the disk of the sun.

¹⁹² Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 46 (§46).

¹⁹³ Drioton in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 99; through substitution with .

¹⁹⁴ Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 44; *idem* in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 98.

¹⁹⁵ *Wb.* III 343, 3 and 349, 15; R.A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), p. 184; L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* vol. 2 (Berkeley and Providence, 1984), p. 197; Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text*, p. 121 (note M to line 6/8).

goddesses, the hours, in connection with the goddesses faces, is an allusion to the disk of a stellar or solar deity as the equivalent of his or her head (*cf.* the discussion above in Chapter 3, pp. 111-17). For the orthography of *im* in this line, see the writing in the final column of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* in this composition (pl. 30, right-hand text, l. 6).

l. 31) The \ominus sign is for *m*, as in l. 47 below (pl. 25, l. 47: in *m shr pn*), in the writing of *m* in *m shr pn* in the lower register of the dropped portion of the main ceiling (pl. 28B, l. 2), and perhaps in *nwd nti pn im* at the end of the right-hand annotation accompanying the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30 right, l. 6). The \ominus sign for *m* is also found in the enigmatic description of an expedition to Punt in the Amara Temple of Ramesses II.¹⁹⁶ Sauneron, writing on the origin of the value *m* for \curvearrowright , notes the similarity between the hieratic form of that sign and the hieratic form of \equiv .¹⁹⁷ He suggests that *mr* for *m* through a hieratic confusion is the origin of the spewing mouth for *m*. Here, however, the normal mouth-sign has the value *m*. Again, as with the value *p*, a seeming "Ptolemaic" value of \curvearrowright is encountered for \ominus in the tomb of Ramesses VI. The value *m* for \ominus is perhaps derived from an hieratic confusion.¹⁹⁸

ll. 31-2) See above, the discussion of line 17 in this section.

l. 35) \curvearrowright appears here as \curvearrowright for \curvearrowright , with \ominus for the second *p*. This is the only appearance of the \curvearrowright sign within the known versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, and apparently within pre-Ptolemaic cryptography as a whole.



l. 37) The \ominus sign here has the value *w*, as it did earlier in the introductory section of the upper register (in *r=w* in l. B4 to the first *nm.t* in the first section of the upper register), and in *itn.w iry.w=sn* in lines 18 and 32 in the second section of the lower register; the sign also has this value in the word *ḏwl*, "to call," in the rightmost text in the *Schutzbild* in this composition (pl. 30 right l. 4). In *sn ḏwl=sn n nti*, the


¹⁹⁶ The mouth-*r* for *m* in the Amara version corresponds to the flesh sign for *m* in the Aksha version of the text (see Daneri Rodrigo, *JSSEA* 15 [1985]: 68-71; for the correct reading of the section, different from the interpretation offered by Rodrigo, see the discussion in Chapter 3, p. 69 n. 152). See also Drioton, *CRAIBL* (1953): 360.





¹⁹⁷ S. Sauneron, "À propos de deux signes «ptolémaïques»," *BIFAO* 56 (1957): 77-9.

¹⁹⁸ Or *r* for *n* (Drioton, in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 44; see also Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, pp. 29-30, §46, 5) may have lead to *r* for *m*. The values *r*, *z*, *w*, and *m* may all be related (for *z* and *w*, see *ibid.*, p. 11, §22, 3; for *z* and *m* see *ibid.*, p. 26, §43, 1; for *z* and *r*, see *ibid.*, p. 32, §49, 1, and pp. 34-5, §§ 51, 2 and 6). The late writing of the mouth-*r* for *mr*, "overseer," based on the *r/l* interchange and the Coptic form of *mr* as $\lambda\epsilon$ - (*Wb.* II 388), may also have influenced the use of *r* for *m*.

horned viper has the value *n*.¹⁹⁹ The final sign in this column is a seated, bearded deity, the determinative to *nti*.


l. 38) The verb *ḏwi* is here written with the snake for *ḏ* and the mouth-*r* for *w*, the usual reed leaf ending omitted. For this one may compare the writing of *ḏwi* in ll. 4 and 5 of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* portion of this treatise (on the origin of *r* as *w*, see p. 109 n. 342, 168 n. 24). Apparently on the basis of the same phonetic shift, *ḏwi* has the orthography   in the non-enigmatic title of Ukhhotep son of Ukhhotep and Henyheryib at Meir: *ḏwi psḏ.t iw=sn* (?), “who calls the ennead with the result that they come” (?).²⁰⁰

l. 39) The  sign as *z* is found also in the writing of *ʿz* in l. 37 of the second section of the upper register, and in the writing of *bzy.w* in the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30), for further examples, see the Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

l. 40) For the *ḥtp* of Re, see Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltsbüchern*, p. 94 (citing the Book of Caverns). The  sign for *m* alone writes *im*, as at the end of the right-hand annotation of the *Schutzbild* portion of this composition (pl. 30, right-hand annotation l. 6). As E.F. Wente has suggested, one could also read this line as *ḥtp.ḥr=f s.t=f*, “then he occupies his place.” This reading requires  to have the value *f*, which is possible through substitution of the two signs, this substitution based on the use of  for *r* (see Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933]: 43, etc.). The  sign has the value *f* in the text accompanying the first pair of domes in the first section of the upper register of the Corridor G composition (see pl. 19, fig. A, section B4).

l. 41) For this line, compare ll. 28-29 above.




l. 44) The sign of the nose substitutes for the ear in writing *sḏm* (compare above, where this sign has the value *shy* in pl. 21, l. 1, p. 177). Alternatively one might also read *sḏm=f r3=sn*, “he hears their utterance.”

l. 47) The mouth-*r* occurs again here with the value *m*. The two horizontal line fragments following *shr pn* may be a flat *m*; the final word in this line, consisting now of three broken horizontal lines, may be *nn.t*, “nether sky,” occurring in l. 15 of the second section of the upper register, and in the name *nn.ty* of the fourth disk-headed being in that register. These suggest reading allow one to restore the end of l. 47 as: .

¹⁹⁹ Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 413; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933): 43; *idem*, “Amon, Refuge du Coeur,” *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 10; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949): 118; the viper has the value *n* on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, pl. 8, col. 11 (*nʿy*).

²⁰⁰ A.M. Blackman, and M.R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* 6 (London, 1953), p. 9 (with n. 1), pl. 13 (above the large fowling figure to the right).

The seated female beings are female disks.²⁰¹ The names of the first three goddesses are *sty.t* (pl. 24, l. 2 bottom), “she relating to the beaming,”²⁰² *m3w.tt* (pl. 24, l. 10 bottom), “she relating to the *m3w.t*-gleam,”²⁰³ and *h3t.t* (pl. 24, l. 17), “she relating to the *h3t*-light.”²⁰⁴ The names of the two following goddesses are not discernible.

The disk in front of the fourth seated female entity is called  (pl. 24, l. 25 bottom), for which a number of readings are possible. If the eye in the name from the Book of the Night is read as *ir*, then the round sign in the name of the disk in Corridor G could be regarded as a pupil (representing the full eye), in which case *iry.t* would be the name possessed by the two goddesses. What this would mean, however, is somewhat obscure. As a participle the sense is minimal, and bears no relation to the names of the associated deities. The name of the two goddesses must somehow relate them to light, or to the bringer of that light. In the middle register of the Ramesses VI ceiling, the first adoring being facing the approaching bark of the sun is named  *itny*, “he relating to the disk.” This appears to explain the name of the seated goddess just below—a single disk, the nisbe ending, and the feminine *t*. She is the “Female Sun Disk,” for which readings *itn(y).t* and *R'(y).t* are possible. This is most likely the reading of the name of the goddess  in the Book of the Night as well.²⁰⁵ There, the eye represents the pupil, the sun disk (cf. *Wb.* V 573, 1-3 [*dfd*]). Rather than the Ramesses VI goddess' name having the pupil for the eye, the name of the goddess in the Book of the Night has the eye for the pupil, itself

²⁰¹ The “male” entities wear their disks as heads—the disk is their attribute. The female beings, however, cannot wear disks in place of their heads, or their feminine quality would be concealed. Their disks must then sit before them, as they are the female counterparts of the male disks (on the “Austauschbarkeit von Kopf und Attribut” [p. 106], see E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* [Darmstadt, 1973], pp. 101-114 [English translation = E. Hornung, trans. J. Baines, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Ithaca, 1982), pp. 109-25]).

²⁰² Compare the *sty.t* in the Book of the Day and of the Night, the first of a group of five goddesses in the fifth register of the Book of the Day (*ibid.*, p. 30).

²⁰³ This is the feminine version of the sun god's designation *m3wty*, found in the Litany of Re (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 39, vol. 2, p. 109 n. 94) and in the Amduat (*idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 51 no. 237 [*Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 299]; vol. 2, p. 69).

⁴ This name appears twice as *h3yt <t>* in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pp. 25 and 73).

Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 41; Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 111 follows Piankoff's reading of *iry.t* “Celle qui agit.”

representing the disk of the sun.²⁰⁶ Like the fourth goddess in the Corridor G ceiling section, the goddess in the Book of the Night follows other goddesses whose names relate them to light: *nsr*, “the burning one,” and *sšp.t*, “she who illumines.”

The term *itny.t* appears in a text in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses IV,²⁰⁷ and also appears in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. In section D, first register, scene 2, two goddesses stretch out their arms, touching the end disks in a hemisphere of alternating disks and stars—twelve of each—which surround a large sun disk. In the tomb of Ramesses VI, the goddesses are called:²⁰⁸

left:

right:

For Piankoff these annotations were two versions of a single text, which he rendered as “les six qui passent a la suite de Râ. Imenit donne son bras` a ceux

²⁰⁶ Or the name of the goddess in the Book of the Night is *ir.t*, “Eye (of the sun),” parallel to “Female Disk” in the Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling. A possible use of *ir.t* as a parallel to the solar disk occurs in the Register 1 of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. Beneath the scene of the solar bark riding atop the back of the Aker is a prone mummy, above which a large, falcon-headed disk hovers, and into whose body this disk pours light. The mummy has the name in the tomb of Ramesses VI, in the tomb of Tawosret-Siptah (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 9 and n. 4). Texts III and VIII speak of light produced within bodies in the Netherworld, and these alone would be sufficient to justify Hornung’s reading of the name as given in the tomb of Ramesses VI as “Der Leichnam, in welchem Re ist” (E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher* [Zürich and Munich, 1972], p. 429). The name in Tawosret-Siptah appears to be *nṯr ʿ3 imy* (the *q* appears to be carried over from writings of *wnm*, “to eat,” which can be written with the hill sign, and also with the *im*-sign) *ir.t=f* (taking the first *r* for *ir*), “the great god in whom is his (solar) eye” (alternatively, the name could be *nṯr ʿ3 imy qrr.t=f*; the circular sign in the Ramesses VI version would then show the *qrr.t* as the determinative of the burial pit). The god in whom the solar eye is, recalls the large standing figure on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, in whom is depicted a solar disk, within which is a ram headed bird, facing a group of adoring entities. Of them the cryptic text above them says: “They receiving the *m3wt*-light of his *3h.t*-eye when he illumines the corpses...” (for the *3h.t*-eye in the Netherworld Books, see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2 p. 33 n. 1; see also the Third Hour of the Book of Gates [*ibid.*, vol. 2 p. 61, l. 2; p. 81, l. 20]: “sein Glanzauge die Unterweltlichen erleuchtet.”). A pun on *ir.t*, “eye,” may be behind the name *iry.t*, if it is indeed a name, determined by a snake, in J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden, 1971), pl. 16, vs. 2, 4-5: *wnmw* (for *wnmyt*?) *pw iryt* () in *Si3*; see *ibid.*, p. 183, text n. 449).

²⁰⁷ E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), p. 66, the seventh scene; the word there is a writing of *itny.t*, the disk of the sun as the womb of the soon to be newborn solar deity (Hornung marks the final *t* as “sic”).

²⁰⁸ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 35, texts I and II.

qu'elle cache;" such was also the interpretation of Hornung: "Sechs, die hinter RE wandeln. Die «Verbergende» streckt die Hand aus gegen die, die sie verbirgt."²⁰⁹ The name of the rightmost goddess has a circular sign written after the final *t* and before the determinative of the seated, bearded god (sic).²¹⁰ The now-destroyed version of this text which Champollion copied in the tomb of Ramesses III is given in pl. 25B.²¹¹ In these versions of the annotations, both corrupt and clipped at the end, Piankoff read the name of the left goddess as "*imn* <*y*> *t*," the name of the goddess on the right as "*im* <*ny*> *t*." Drioton had also assumed that the names of the two goddesses in the tomb of Ramesses III were one and the same, and equated these with the name of the rightmost goddess in the tomb of Ramesses VI; he gave no transliteration or translation.²¹² Although both annotations are admittedly corrupt; the lack of an *n* in the rightmost text is disturbing.

In the name of the rightmost goddess in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the loaf *t* could stand for *m* from comparison with the arm carrying the loaf as *m*, and the conical loaf alone as *m*,²¹³ these values derived from the imperative *imi*. The annotations in the tomb of Ramesses III are in cryptography, but those in the tomb of Ramesses VI appear to be in *Normalschrift*, which suggests reading the loaf *t* as *t*, which would give *itnyt* as the name of the goddess on the right in the tomb of Ramesses VI. The reading of the left goddess as *imn.t* is certain in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and the enigmatic version in the tomb of Ramesses III is easily read as *imn.t*. At first glance, the enigmatic name of the rightmost goddess in the tomb of Ramesses III might not seem compatible with a reading *itnyt*:

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p. 42; Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, p. 463.



²¹⁰ As revealed by collation of the text in the tomb of Ramesses VI, December 1989. Champollion (*Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives*, vol. 2, p. 606) and Piankoff incorrectly rendered the sign as egg-shaped, apparently under the influence of the common later combination of loaf-*t* and egg at the end of feminine nouns (on which see the comments of J. Malek, "A Graffito of Year 17 of Amenemhet II at el-Hôsh," *GM* 24 [1977]: 52, n. 6).

²¹¹ J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* (Paris, 1844), vol. 1, pp. 422-3, cited by Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 42 n. 1.

²¹² É. Drioton, "La stèle d'un brasseur d'Héliopolis," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 20 (1938): 234, n. 4.

²¹³ The arm carrying the rounded loaf: Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 39; Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 9*; Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943): 219; É. Drioton, "La cryptographie égyptienne" *CdE* 9, no. 18 (1934): 194; H.G. Fischer, "Notes on the Macclesfield Collection," *GM* 95 (1987): 36, and p. 43 n. 3; variant in S. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna* (Cairo, 1982), p. 192; arm carrying the conical loaf: A. de Buck, "The Dramatic Text," chapter 9 in H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London, 1933), pl. 84, l. 13; conical loaf alone: Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 49; E. Winter, "Die Hieroglyphe Δ als *imj*- <<Befindlich in>>," *RdE* 20 (1968): 175-76.

Ramesses VI: 


 Ramesses III: 

The *n* of *itnyt* is missing, along with the final *t*. The absence of the final *t* should present no obstacle to the equation of the two writings—compare the enigmatic orthography of *hry.t* without final *t* in the upper right section of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 5B), corresponding to a writing with final *t* in the name of the first goddess from the left in the upper left portion of the same side of the Second Shrine.²¹⁴ This leaves the absence of the *n* unexplained. Three writings of *itm* without final *n* occur in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk;²¹⁵ such an orthography in the goddess' name in the tomb of Ramesses III would allow a reading of the cryptic name as *it<n>y(t)*, corresponding to the *itnyt* in *Normalschrift* in the tomb of Ramesses VI.²¹⁶ Rather than both being goddesses of the west, the goddesses in the tomb of Ramesses VI are *imnyt*, the west, and *itnyt*, the east. In representations of the two hills of the horizon, the rightmost hill can represent the eastern horizon, the leftmost hill the western horizon.²¹⁷ So here *itny.t* is on the right, *imny.t* on the left.

²¹⁴ See pp. 65-7 above. Drioton, *Bulletin de l'Institut de l'Égypte* 20 (1938): 234, n. 4, read the second plant sign in the name as *t*; the parallel from the Tutankhamun shrine suggests that the final *t* is lost, and the two plant signs stand for the two reed leaves. Note that in the text of the stela which forms the subject of Drioton's article, the plant sign stands not for *t*, but for *m3'-hrw* (for the plant as *m3'-hrw*, see B. Gessler-Löhr, "Zur Schreibung von *m3'-hrw* mit der Blume," *GM* 116 [1990]: 25-43; for the plant *m3'-hrw* not necessarily indicating death, see K. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* [Wiesbaden, 1985], vol. 1, p. 55, n. 45).

²¹⁵ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 79, pl. 11, ll. 1 (text 22: *it<n>=f ʿ3 šw.t*), 3 (text 22: *it<n> ʿh.ty*), 6 (text 23: *it<n>=f ʿ3 šw.t*); compare also the writing of *itm* without the final *n* in the text on the lower left of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 8), and the further examples of orthographies supporting the reconstruction *iati* cited in Chapter 3, pp. 95-7.

²¹⁶ For a similar playing with the drop of final *n*, compare the use of *sn* for *s* in *hsf* in the partially cryptographic text in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 64, l. 1.

²¹⁷ See J. Assmann, "Horizont," in *LdÄ*, vol. 3, cols. 6-7, n. 26. This equation is in fact the opposite of what one might expect, as the Egyptians faced the south, and envisaged the correspondences of left and right with the cardinal points as right = West and left = East. The reversal in the context of the solar journey is perhaps meant to emphasize the *perpetuum mobile* of the sun's travels, associating the place of setting with that of rising, and *vice versa*.

Although the terms *itn(y).t* and *R^c(y).t* appear during the Eighteenth Dynasty,²¹⁸ the concept of the female disk may be traced back much earlier (*ie.* CT Spell 482).²¹⁹ The use of *itny.t* (less likely *R^cy.t*) on the ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI suggests a New Kingdom composition date for the cryptic texts there, although conceptually a far older date would be possible.²²⁰

²¹⁸ See the forthcoming discussion by the author “*For I See the Color of his Uraei*”: *Gnosis and Alchemy in Ramesside Egypt, and the Amarna Origins of the Concept of the Solar Sympatheia*.

¹⁹ Perhaps already present in the Pyramid Texts (see Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history*, p. 22 and the references cited there).

⁰ Not a post-Amarna assignment of solar qualities to non-solar deities (see the imagery in J.H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* [New York, 1912], p. 403).

THE DROPPED PORTION OF THE CEILING OF CORRIDOR G (PL. 27):

According to Abitz, the sun atop the lunar crescent in the dropped portion of the ceiling of Corridor G is a depiction of the “Vereinigung von Tag und Nacht oder der Dat mit dem Himmel.”²²¹ The central disk with crescent corresponds to the central sun in the *Schutzbild* (pl. 29), suggesting the alternation of solar and lunar disks which demonstrates the *perpetuum mobile* of the solar cycle.²²² The lunar crescent is also appropriate as symbol of the solar deity whose *hpr.w*-realizations are said to come about in this cavern, mentioned in the right-hand annotation of the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30).²²³

The solar deity appears here, as described in the third column of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild*, with the two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, as his arms; a falcon head emerges from each side of the deity.²²⁴ The surviving portions of the annotations are parallel (plate 28); the text begins:

wnn^a nn n ntr.w m^b šhr pn
sn s33^c=sn hty.wt

²²¹ Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses VI.*, p. 154.

²²² This interchange of signs appears often in New Kingdom jewellery—see S.R.K. Glanville, “Some Notes on Material for the Reign of Amenophis III,” *JEA* 15 (1929): 7-8; H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amun*, vol. 2 (London, 1927), pl. 84c (=I.E.S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun: his Tomb and its Treasures* [New York, Inc, 1976], no. 31, and references there); C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewellery of the Dynastic Period* (London, 1971), p. 32, color p. 75, pl. 91.

²²³ The depiction in the dropped portion of the ceiling of the deity with the two goddesses as arms, described in the text of the right-hand annotation of the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30) demonstrates that the text of the *Schutzbild* and the scenes of this portion of the ceiling of Corridor G are related. For the moon as symbol of the *hpr.w* of the supreme deity, compare the text in the first court of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 2, pl. 185), wherein the king is said to be one:

ir=f hpr.w mr=f mi i^ch.t (?)

Who completes the realizations which he desires like the female lunar deity.

Compare *Urk.* IV, p. 2161, l. 6 (decree of Horemhab): *twi r whm ms.wt mitt i^ch*, “I shall repeat births like the moon” (J.-M. Kruchten, *Le decret d'Horemheb* [Brussels, 1981], p. 189) and H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen, vom Denken u. Dichten einer altorientalischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 34-5. For the female moon, see Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 2, pl. 185 n. 12. J.G. Griffiths’ sweeping statement (*idem*, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* [Cambridge, 1970], p. 463) that “the Egyptians always regarded the moon as male” is thus to be modified). On the king and the moon, see É. Drioton, “Le roi défunt, Thot et la crue du Nil,” *Egyptian Religion* 1 (1933): 44-5.

²²⁴ For this combination of attributes, compare the four ram-headed entity associated with a two falcon-headed being on gem no. 16122 in M. Pieper, “Die Abraxasgemmen,” *MDAIK* 5 (1934): 143.

These deities are in this fashion,
they guarding throats

^a The verb *wmn* appears in the upper version only.

^b In the lower register *m* is written with the mouth *r* (see above, commentary to l. 31 part 2 of the lower register of the main portion of the ceiling, above the goddesses with disks [pl. 24], p. 217).




^c For the circumstantial form *s33*, see above, Chapter 3, pp. 156-7. The texts in the upper and lower registers appear to be parallel; the scene in the lower register parallels the final two figure groups in the middle register of the high portion of the ceiling of Corridor G (pl. 16). The text of this portion of the higher ceiling does not exactly parallel the texts of the lower portion, but a comparison does provide the reading *s33* in the text just cited. The word *s3* could be read for the word in the upper annotation, the first bird representing *s3*, the second the second *3*. In the lower annotation, a group of two mouth-signs replaces the group of the two birds. There a reading *s3* is also possible. The *s3*-bird can have the value *r* through the term *r* for a type of goose.²²⁵ By reversing this equivalence, the mouth *r* could be assigned the value *s3*.²²⁶ A similar reversal of an attested enigmatic value occurs in the first pair of domes in the first text in the upper register of the main portion of this ceiling, where the viper-*f* for *r* is reversed, and the mouth-*r* has the value *f* (pl. 19A, B4; perhaps also pl. 25A, l. 40).

The second mouth-*r* has the already attested value *3*.²²⁷ Later in these annotations, *r3.w*, "mouths," is written with two *r*-mouths in the lower register, and two birds in the upper register. That such a reversal of a cryptic value of the mouth sign is possible here is suggested by a similar reversal attested elsewhere in the tomb of Ramesses VI, with the *p* value of the mouth sign leading to the use of the *p*-sign for the value *r* in two words in the book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the burial chamber.²²⁸ In the upper register of the Fourth Hour, one reads:

²²⁵ This use of the *s3*-bird for *r* occurs in Late Period texts as well – cf. S. Hodge and O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (St. Petersburg, 1982), p. 192, n. *ah* to #131, and l. 9, pp. 190 and 191.

²²⁶ Note also that the egg sign can have the value *s3* as well as the value *ir*, apparently through substitution with the pupil (Montpellier sign list). Drioton, *CRAIBL* (1953): 360, reports the value *s* for the mouth *r* in a group of scarabs which he was preparing for publication (they appear never to have been published). For a writing of *s33* with two *s3*-birds at the beginning, see Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 211 (RVI version). This substitution of the pupil and the egg, *s(3)* as (*i*)*r*, may explain the possible use of the grasshopper (in earlier cryptography *r*) for *s* at Esna—see above, Chapter 3, pp. 108-9, n. 339.

²²⁷ See the Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

²²⁸ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 72 (*hpr* written ); p. 73 (*shr pn* written  ); this writing shows that neither metathesis nor perturbation should be sought as an explanation for the writing of *hpr* on p. 72). Reading *s3* on the strength of the scene in the

ntsn s33 nhp nhp t3

It is they who guard Nehep, while the earth leaps up.²²⁹

One may also compare also the second scene in the lowest register of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns,²³⁰ and the second scene in the third register of the Fourth Division of the Book of Caverns. The *s3w* appear as “Strafgötter” in the Book of Caverns,²³¹ and in the Coffin Texts the *bw.w*, the *s33.w iry.w ʿ.wt*, “the guardians responsible for the limbs,” are punishing demons.²³² The *s33.w iry.w ʿ.wt* may, as their name suggests, have been attached to various parts of the anatomy.

The *hty.wt* here appear to be “throats.”²³³ The reference in l. 45 of the second section of the register of the upper register (pl. 21, l. 45) to *htm.t-wsr.wt*, “the place of the destruction of throats,”²³⁴ supports the reading *hty.wt*, “throats,” on the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling. The use of the heart determinative in l. 4 of the lower annotation is most likely a substitution of the heart for the expected throat-sign. The use of the city determinative for *hty.t* in col. 4 of the upper annotation is more difficult to explain, although it may have been suggested by the toponym *Htm.t-Wsr.wt*.

The text of the dropped portion of the ceiling continues:

pr̄r imy.t^a r3.w^b hr^c=sn r nn n^d šw.wt
r htm=sn^e
ntr.w^f phr m^g hpr.w<=sn (?)>

middle register of the upper portion of the ceiling is to be preferred to other possible readings: *ie.* one could compare the orthography with the two mouth-*r* signs to the word *rriw* (?) in the fifth scene of the Book of Gates, in the upper register of the Second Hour (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 19; vol. 2, pp. 47 and 48 n. 9. Hornung reads the apparent verb *rri* as “köpfen.” Another possible reading would be *tr(i)*, “respect,” or *twr* (written *tr[i]*?), “to turn back” (see E. Hornung, “Lexikalische Studien II,” *ZÄS* 87 [1962]: 117-8). Less likely would be an occurrence of the word *rri*, “köpfen,” discussed by Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 47-8 (n. 9). The groups could be read as *rmn* (assuming *rn* for *rmn*; see R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* [Oxford, 1962], p. 149), but the deities do not appear to be carrying *Htmyt*.

²²⁹ For more on this passage, see Chapter 5, p. 345 below.

²³⁰ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pls. 133, l. 6; 134, l. 6; and 135, l. 4.

²³¹ Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern*, p. 77.

²³² De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 6, p. 84g.

²³³ H. Grapow, *Anatomie und Physiologie* (Berlin, 1954), pp. 47-8; W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t, Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation* (Leiden, 1991), pp. 108-9.


²³⁴ For a less likely alternative for the meaning of the object of *s33*, one could compare Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 34, l. 2 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 210); vol. 2, p. 52 n. 10 (Hornung reads “hearts,” but better would be *Wb.* III 45, 4 – “kettle” – “it is they who place the kettles upon the fire”).

That which is in the mouths comes forth before them against these shades,
in order to destroy them,
the deities being surrounded by <their (?)> manifestations.

^a *imy.t* is written with \asymp as *imy* and \asymp for *t* in the upper register; in the lower register, two \asymp are used.


^b As above in the writing of *s33*, the birds in the upper register correspond to \asymp in the lower register. The second bird and the second \asymp in these orthographies represent the otherwise unwritten, though very infrequently indicated, *3*.²³⁵

^c The reed leaf is written for *h3*.²³⁶ Cf. two other orthographies of *hr* in this composition, upper text no. 2, l. 20 (pl. 21); lower text no. 2, l. 16 (pl. 24).


^d In the lower register two horned vipers write *nn*. In the upper register  is for *n* (substituting for the \underline{t} below through the use of that sign for \asymp); in the lower register \asymp writes the *n* through substitution with \asymp , *m* here having the value *n*.²³⁷

^e The nose writes *ht* in the word *htm*—compare the orthography of *htmy.t*, “place of destruction,” in the Book of Caverns.²³⁸ Were the nose to be taken a deformation of the pustule, *r wh3.(w)t=sn*, “at their cauldron(s),” would be possible; such a confusion appears otherwise unattested, however. The prepositions *r-hft* (*Wb.* III 274, 20) and *r-hnt* (*Wb.* III 303, 1-7) would also be possible,²³⁹ but these are somewhat rare, and do not yield the best possible sense in this passage.

^f The *n* of *ntr.w* in the upper version is written by means of the horned viper.

^g The two \asymp signs write *phr* (*Wb.* I 544);²⁴⁰ for the following preposition,  in the upper register corresponds to \asymp for *m* in the lower register.

²³⁵ See Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 2, p. 484, n. 154, citing PT 421 b and de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, p. 511.

²³⁶ Cf. Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105; note also the reverse of this, the  for *i* in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 410, and Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 146, first two divine names.

²³⁷ For *t* as *m*, cf. Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949): 121; for *m* as *n*, compare the use of the *s3*-bird for *n*, through substitution for the owl-*m*, in writing the name of the entity *Mhny* in the upper right section of the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun.

²³⁸ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 67, l. 1.

²³⁹ For the sign of the nose as *hft*, see Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 147, no. 12; and for the nose as *hnt*: cf. Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 39.

²⁴⁰ See also Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, p. 60 n. 275.

The *šw.wt*, “shadows,” the objects of the fiery breath of these demons, may be the same as those shades of the malevolent dead whom the guardians of the limbs of Osiris must restrain.²⁴¹ For deities protecting throats also functioning as punishing demons, there is the parallel in the second scene in the middle register of the Seventh Hour of the Amduat provides a parallel:²⁴²

wd.hr srq.t-htt sphw m tp

hry-ds.w=f di=f nik.t m rd.wy=f(y)

Then ‘She Who Lets the Throat Breathe’ throws the lasso on the head,
while ‘He Who is Over His Knives’ throws the ‘Punished’²⁴³ at
his feet...

The concluding portion of the text is damaged, and difficult to read. An examination of the upper version in the tomb (in 1989) resulted in the copy of the text on pl. 28:

srq^a nti

p^{hr}=f htp^b

r^h=f nti pn šp^d=f



ir^e prw^f n=f r3.w=sn


srq=sn

It is while going about in peace that the deity breathes.

This deity knows that he shines.

If their spells come forth to him,
they will breathe.

^a The stand here is *g* for *q*, as in the orthographies  and  for ‘*q*, “enter,” in the enigmatic texts on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 5C, and pl. 7B; see Chapter 3, pp. 76-8).

^b The two  signs write *p^{hr}*, as in l. 9 of the lower version of this text (pl. 28, lower l. 9). The deity goes around while being at peace, *htp*. This is a reference to the movements of the nocturnal sun, already set—*htp*—in the Netherworld. Though the sun is set it is not at rest.

²⁴¹ See the references in Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept*, pp. 136-7, nn. 75 and 79.

²⁴² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 125, ll. 3-4 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 552-553); vol. 2, pp. 132-3. In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, section D, text 19 (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 34, l. 2), two goddesses protect, in this pose, pieces of the butchered damned (*s33=sn hbs.w*).

²⁴³ According to Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 133, *nik.t* appears “als Names des Lassos.”

^c The reading *rh* understands the reed leaf as a writing of *h* through substitution with *h3*, and subsequent loss of the final *3* through application of the consonantal principle.

^d The lower version (pl. 28 lower l. 14) substitutes the *šsp*-sign for $\square + \circ$ (for *p*) in writing the verb *šp*, “to shine.”²⁴⁴ Both the upper and lower versions employ \circ in the value *p*.

^e The conditional-*ir* is preserved only in the upper version (pl. 28 upper l. 12), written as \circ . The initial \circ is for *i*—due to their underlying phonetic value of *ē*.

^f The verb *pri* is only partially preserved in the lower text; in the upper l. 12, the ancient cryptographer employed the *pr*-sign and three strokes to write the verb. The plural strokes appear to represent the ending of the *sdm.w=f* form of *pri* following *ir*.²⁴⁵

If the spoken spells of the netherworld denizens go forth to the assistance of the deity, he will defeat Apep and the forces of chaos, and the inhabitants of the Netherworld in turn will continue to live. The verbal spells here perhaps appear again in the treatise as the *shn.w*-spells in the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30 right-hand annotation l. 5), and perhaps in the flaming arrows of the beings on the slaughtering places of sand on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX (see Chapter 5, pp. 286ff.). The association of beneficial pronouncements and the effective manifestation (*hpr*) of a deity appears in the main portion of the Corridor G Ceiling, pl. 21, ll. 42-44 (parallel to ll. 31-32):

mdw=sn m htw R^c

h3=sn m hpr.w=f

When they speak in the following of Re,
they descend by means of his manifestation.

The speech of the gods is associated with the manifestation of the solar deity, whose manifestation in turn allows deities to descend into the solar bark (for more on this concept, see pp. 183-5 above).




Above the anthropomorphicized prow of the bark in the lower register is the label $\text{⏏} \text{⏏}$, possibly referring to the head and arms below, the “figurehead,” holding a disk back towards the goddess who forms part of the standing deity’s rightmost arm. There is, however, another candidate for subject of the label. The

²⁴⁴ For *šp* as *šsp*, compare the cryptic orthography of *šsp* as *šp* on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, pl. 7, fig. B.

²⁴⁵ É. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* (Geneva, 1986), p. 22, n. 79, and p. 23, n. 86. For plural strokes writing the verbal ending of the *sdm.w=f* form, see Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, pp. 137-39 (§§193-98).

rightmost foot of the solar deity rests on the foot of a prone figure, the head of which is partially obscured by the lower hand of the figurehead; behind the goddess-armed deity in the dropped portion is another prone, mummiform deity.²⁴⁶ These beings are in the same pose as *Tkmy* in the prow of the solar bark in the middle register of the raised portion of the ceiling. These are both *Tkmy*, one looking back to the west, one ahead to the east—as in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 197c-f (Spell 404):

tkm rn=f
iw=f wbz=f 3h.t imnt.t iw=f rh 3h.t izbt.t
tkm rn=f
 Tekem is his name;
 he opens the western horizon and knows the eastern horizon;
 Tekem is his name

The label  can easily refer to *tkmy*— for  is unproblematic (cf. the orthography of the name *knn-ir.ty* in the front *nm.t* at the beginning of the upper register of the main portion of the ceiling). The first sign is a representation of the prone entity, but with an alteration sufficient to remove this from the realm of direct representation and give the whole an enigmatic tinge. Though *Tkmy* in all his appearances in this ceiling is human-headed, the *tkmy* who watches at the fifth gate of the underworld in the Book of Gates has a jackal's head,²⁴⁷ and so is he depicted here in the enigmatic writing of his name.

²⁴⁶ Compare the drawing in Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 436, fig. 140.

²⁴⁷ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 142, vol. 2, p. 121.

THE *SCHUTZBILD* IN CORRIDOR G (PLS. 29-30):

Abitz and Hornung have applied the term *Schutzbild* to this protective scene with cryptographic annotations, located at the end of Corridor G above the doorway into Room H. According to them, it protected the tomb of Ramesses VI from the entry of hostile demons and any miasmic clouds which might waft through the break into the tomb of Ramesses VI and disturb the voyage of the dead king. As such it would be an afterthought to the decoration of the tomb as originally planned, tacked on as a result of the miscalculation which led to the collision with the older tomb. Abitz does not treat the annotations, and Hornung (given the condition of the left side of the scene) understandably discusses only the intact, rightmost section of text.²⁴⁸

The appellation *Schutzbild* is retained here, for the fiery power of the snake-legged Re-Osiris at the birth of the morning sun is directed at the sinners burning in the fiery oven of the eastern horizon. The central scene also shows the bound damned punished by the sun and its serpentine emanations. The rightmost annotation to the scene does, however, refer to the form of the great deity as he appears on the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling—namely, with the two sisters as his arms. The fact that a text belonging to the *Schutzbild* describes a depiction on the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling is described in a text of the *Schutzbild* does not prove that the *Schutzbild* was part of the original plan of decoration for Corridor G, but such a cross reference does indicate at least an intention that this scene be understood as a part of the whole Corridor G composition.

THE RIGHT-HAND ANNOTATION (PL. 30)

1) $wnn=f^a nti$ $pn^b m$ $shr^c pn$

$\epsilon.w(t)y=f(y) m hf(z).wy^d$

$\epsilon.wy=f(y) mn^e m itn^f$




In this fashion does he, namely this god, exist,
his two (visible) limbs being two snakes,
his two arms remaining in the solar disk.

Hornung reads $wnn.s ntr pn m shr (p)n \epsilon.wj.f m hfz(w)j dd.f mn(w) m jtn$ "So ist er, (nämlich) dieser Gott, beschaffen: seine Arme sind zwei Schlangen, die er bleiben lässt in seiner Sonnenscheibe."


^a According to Hornung, the bolt *s* written here after *wnn* stands for *f*: "Das ist mir aus der aenigmatischen Schrift bisher nicht bekannt, läge jedoch durchaus auf der Linie ihrer Möglichkeiten" (p. 49). Though *s* for *f* is indeed peculiar to this inscription in the corpus of early cryptographic texts, this interchange does

²⁴⁸ According to E. Hornung, "Zum Schutzbild im Grabe Ramses' VI.," in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen, 1988), p. 46, "die fünfzeilige Beischrift im linken Teil ist für eine Bearbeitung zu fragmentarisch."

foreshadow the Ptolemaic use of the horned viper for *s*.²⁴⁹ According to Barta: “Während ... *wnn.f/s/sn m šhr pn* für Amduat und Pfortenbuch typisch ist, begegnet *wnn NN m šhr pn* vor allem im Höhlenbuch und *NN m šhr pn* ganz besonders häufig im Erdbuch.”²⁵⁰ The opening to this annotation accompanying the *Schutzbild* may be a hybrid of the Amduat/Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns versions of this phrase.²⁵¹

^b Confusion between  /  (W11/12) and  (T28) occurs in the cryptic corpus.²⁵²



^c Hornung appears to regard the *p* of *pn* as unwritten. Equally possible is that the jar stand of *šhr* is doing double duty. The book roll and plural strokes which normally accompany *šhr* in the cryptic orthography of Corridor G are absent here; nothing comes between the jar stand and the *n* of *pn*. A confusion of the *p*-socle and the jar stand is attested;²⁵³ one may thus, through haplography, read the stand here as both the *hr/hr* of *šhr* and the *p* of *pn*.








²⁴⁹ H.W. Fairman, “Two Ptolemaic Alphabetic Values of ,” *JEA* 36 (1950): 110-11 (suggesting a derivation from the third person singular masculine dependent pronoun); Derchain, *Le sacrifice de l'oryx* (Brussels, 1962), p. 17, n. 6 (from p. 16); The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, commentary, p. 26, n. c [to pl. 51]; see also H.W. Fairman, “Some Unrecorded Ptolemaic Words,” *ZÄS* 91 (1964): 8. An *s* and *f* interchange occurs in otherwise identical doorjamb texts in The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 2: *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall* (Chicago, 1981), pl. 193A, l. 3 (*im=f*), and B l. 3 (*im=s*). Borghouts, *The Magical texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 193, n. 1 suggests a derivation of the value *s* for the horned viper from its use as a determinative for a word *s3*. Another possible reading is *wnn-sn nti pn m šhr pn* (with the *n* as an haplography, *sn* and *nti* as coordinate subjects [or bolt *s* alone for the Third person pl. suffix pronoun, corresponding to certain Late Egyptian orthographies (Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, §79, p. 36) – compare Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 18, l. 8, with a bolt-*s* for *sn*): “In this fashion do they and this god exist.” Such a reading requires a referent for the *sn*, which it would not be impossible to find; the text mentions the force of the picture acting against an evil one, and speaks as well of the “forms of the dead,” and describes certain of their behavior.

²⁵⁰ Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern*, 96.



²⁵¹ For the suffix pronoun *f* immediately preceding the noun which it anticipates, see The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* (Chicago, 1980), p. 49, n. b to pls. 34-40.

²⁵² See the Appendix of Cryptographic Values. The jar stand is employed as a determinative and ideogram for *ns.t* “throne,” but the value *p* for the jar-stand here probably is not related to a comparison of *p*, “socle,” with *ns.t*, “throne.” Note that *p* for “throne” is the origin of the value *b* (through collapse of the bilabials) for the sign of the throne no. 280 at Esna (Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, p. 170, wrongly derives this value through acrophony from *bḥdw* [*Wb.* I 470, 3-4]).

²⁵³ Compare the orthography of the name of the deity *inpw* in the Osireion version of the scene of the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 195); and the writing of  in the word *šsp* as  in J.

 for *hfz.wy* is a good, compact enigmatic orthography. The route of the value *h* for  is fairly well attested. Vernus²⁵⁴ gives references for confusions of a number of plant signs: *ndm* for *rd*,²⁵⁵  for *h3*,²⁵⁶  /  for *nm*,²⁵⁷ and *bnr* for *ndm* on a stela dating from a relatively short time after the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun.²⁵⁸ An example of a direct confusion between  and  roughly contemporary with that exploited for enigmatic ends on the Tutankhamun shrine occurs in the title *bnr mr.wt* of Queen Ankhesenamun on the small golden shrine from the tomb of Tutankhamun.²⁵⁹ The visually understandable confusion of *ndm* and *h* is attested for the New Kingdom, and the confusions discussed by Vernus did survive into the New Kingdom, not only in cryptography.²⁶⁰

The hieroglyph of the snake serves a dual purpose—it may be seen as an ideogram of *hfz.w*, the *h* being then a phonetic complement. The snake also has the value *f*, which, along with the *y*, provides the attested orthography *hfy* (simple *hf* is also found, *Wb.* III 72, 14-20).²⁶¹ The snake is thus both final strong radical and

Allen, "The Funerary Texts of King Wakhare Akhtoy on a Middle Kingdom Coffin," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), p. 9, l. *63 (and the note on p. 18). A confusion of  (Q3) for  (W11) is attested in a writing of *sg <nn> y* in P. OIM 9787 (T. G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* [Chicago, 1960], p. 34), and in *gr(t)* in P. OIM 10486 (*ibid.* p. 56). Such a confusion may also be present on the Tombos Stela of Thutmose I, where *p* appears to be written for *g* in *gnw*, "powerful ones" (l. 5 = *Urk.* IV 83, l. 13 – see E. Cruz-Urbe, "Late Egyptian Varia," *ZÄS* 113 [1986]: 20).

²⁵⁴ *RdE* 25 (1973): 228, n. *ad*.


²⁵⁵ Citing H.G. Fischer, *Denderah in the Third Millenium B.C.* (Locust Valley, 1968), p. 136.

²⁵⁶ Citing *ibid.*, n. 643.

²⁵⁷ Citing Stockholm NME 29 = B.J. Peterson, "Ägyptische Privatstelen aus dem Mittleren Reich, Neun Denkmäler in schwedischem Besitz," *Orientalia Suecana* 17 (1968): 16, fig. 3.

²⁵⁸ Citing Cairo 20153 = C. Aldred, "Two Monuments of the Reign of Horemheb," *JEA* 54 (1968): 105 etc. Note also W. Helck, *Das Bier im alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1971), p. 104 n. 3 (the *bnr* and *ndm* signs, though they tend to collapse later, are well differentiated in archaic inscriptions).


²⁵⁹ M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1985), p. 22, pls. 18, 22A, 28 (= inscription DR1).

²⁶⁰ Compare the orthography of "cultivator" at Medinet Habu (ie. The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 8: *The Eastern High Gate* [Chicago, 1970], pl. 594), with  for the *hn*-sign.

²⁶¹ The demotic and Coptic descendants of *hfz* likewise show the loss of the final aleph (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 303; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, pp. 740-1; Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* [Cambridge, 1976], p. 306; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 405).

determinative, and the double slanting strokes are final weak radical and dual ending at once.

There are parallels for the feet of a deity being serpents. In the catalogue of the king's members in the Litany of Re, the toes of the king are said to be *ḥr.wt*.²⁶² The sphinx Toutou-Tithoes is often shown standing on uraei, which rear up in front of the being's feet; in the depiction of this deity from Karanis, snakes emerge from the lower legs of the sphinx (the head of which has a radiant halo).²⁶³ In the Brooklyn magical papyrus, both representations of the fiery *bꜣw* of the god have snakes at the knees (and for one, the feet are the heads of dogs).²⁶⁴

^e Following Hornung, the group  is best understood as *mn*.

f *ꜥ.wy=f(y) m ḥfy/ꜥ.wy=f(y) mn m itn*: Hornung's rendering of this section is problematic. As Hornung notes, the text here under discussion is probably a description of the figure on the right side of the *Schutzbild*. If this text applied to the central image, a reading "his two arms are two snakes, and his two arms remain in his disk" might be an acceptable description. Even then, however, the lack of an explicit reference to the feet would be disconcerting. To read "seine Arme sind zwei Schlangen, die er bleiben lässt in seiner Sonnenscheibe" is not a good description of the figure which the text might describe. The arms of the being are not visible, whereas the legs terminate in tall, rearing uraei. The basic description of the being occupies the first line of text, and to have no mention of the legs here—far more visible and remarkable than the unseen arms—would be surprising.²⁶⁵

²⁶² Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 214; vol. 2, p. 88; on the shroud of Thutmose III, the parts of the body termed *ssṯy* (see H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten* [Berlin, 1961–62], vol. 2, p. 796–7) are said to be the *ꜣḥ.ty*, "the two female *ꜣḥ*-shining ones" (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 214); see also Chapter 181 (§dS4) of the Book of the Dead.

²⁶³ S. Sauneron, "Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoès," *JNES* 19 (1960): 269–87; O.E. Kaper, "The God Tutu in Behbeit el-Hagar and in Shenhur," in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds. *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years* (Leuven, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 139–157.

²⁶⁴ *Idem*, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn [Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156]* (New York, 1970) p. 15. The image of Isis and Nephthys as cobras is perhaps behind Neith's obscure statement *dl-l sn.ty r tp-ꜥ rd.wy=k(y)*, "I set the two sisters to be the top(s) of your two legs" in line 16 on the lid of the outer sarcophagus of Merneptah (see J. Assmann, "Die Inschrift auf dem äusseren Sarkophagdeckel des Merneptah," *MDAIK* 28 [1972]: 65, text note 42). Compare also the uraei which at times flank the royal sporran, which on certain Ramesside scarabs are shown as quite large and independent of the sporran, paralleling the positions of the king's legs (see A. Wiese, *Zum Bild des Königs auf ägyptischen Siegelamuletten* [Freiburg and Göttingen, 1990], pp. 18–9, 23–4).

²⁶⁵ According to Hornung's reading of the text, the feet are first mentioned only late in the sixth line, at the very end of the text.

The group $\overline{\text{m}}\text{I}$ is indeed to be read ʿ.wy, “arms.” They are said to remain within the disk, an explanation for their invisibility.²⁶⁶ In lines 3 through 4, the Two Sisters are destined to form the two arms ($\overline{\text{m}}\text{I}$) “in order that the forms of the dead (‘those who are there’) might light up.” These are indeed depicted as the arms of the nocturnal sun in the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling (pl. 27).

ʿ.wy, “arms,” in lines 1 and 3 has the orthography $\overline{\text{m}}\text{I}$,²⁶⁷ whereas the elements which consist of *hfy* are written $\overline{\text{m}}\text{I}$. The orthographies are different, and perhaps describe different portions of the body. The feet of the deity are the *hfs.wy* according to the accompanying depiction, and $\overline{\text{m}}\text{I}$ could be expected to represent *rd.wy*, “the two feet.”²⁶⁸ A simple substitution of the arm sign for the *rd*-leg sign is improbable, and otherwise unattested.²⁶⁹ A reading of the first arm as *r* is just possible, although this value is not common in Egyptian cryptography, and otherwise unattested in the corpus examined here.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ On the arms of the sun, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 303 and nn. 12 (citing P. Boulaq 17, 6/7) and 13.

²⁶⁷ This orthography for ʿ.wy, “arms,” is found elsewhere in this tomb; *ie.* scene 27 in the Fifth Hour of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 167); Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 63, l. 3.

²⁶⁸ Compare P. Brooklyn 47.218.156, document no. 1, page 2, line 3 (Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*, p. 18, pl. 2):



rd.wy=k(y) m ʿr.wt ʿ.wy=k(y) m ir.ty

Your two feet being uraei, your two arms being two eyes

This parallels the Ramesses VI text: description of the serpent feet followed by a description of the arms. The protective eyes of the Brooklyn papyrus’ description (*ibid.* p. 21 n. n) may have solar imagery, and correspond to the *mn m itn* of the Ramesses VI text.

²⁶⁹ Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, p. 54, has a confusion of the walking legs for the arm in *m ʿs* cites F. Ll. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rifeh* (London, 1889), pl. 5, l. 244 (= Tomb I; see also P. Montet, “Les tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh,” *Kêmi* 3 [1930-35]: 51), mentions a cult activity *inn ʿ*, apparently otherwise unattested. The activity is said to occur when the tomb owner “celebrates a festival” (*hst-f hb m s.t qsr.t*). The word ʿ here could be interpreted as a use of ʿ for *rd*, meaning “lower leg,” and “foot” by extension. Alternatively signs may have been skipped, from some original such as *inn <rd m š>ʿ* (see Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 50 n. 22).

²⁷⁰ Drioton, *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 9 gives a reading *r* for $\overline{\text{m}}\text{I}$ (according to de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 77, n. 3, $\overline{\text{m}}\text{I}$ can have the value *r*); this value does not, however, occur elsewhere in the tomb of Ramesses VI. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, p. 33, has an interchange of the hand for *r* in ʿry(*t*) in P. OIM 9787. The origin of this value—otherwise unattested in this cryptic treatise—lies in the use of ʿ $\overline{\text{m}}\text{I}$ or *r* $\overline{\text{m}}\text{I}$, representing *gh*, on which see J. Baines, “*Bnbn*: Mythological and Linguistic Notes,” *Or.* 39 (1970):



Without resorting to obscure values otherwise unattested in the corridor G ceiling sections, the group  is easily read as something more meaningful and appropriate for the being described than “arms.” ʿ.wy here most likely represents the dual of the word ʿ.wt, “limbs,” of which the Coptic plural was **HOY**. The writing of ʿ.wy for ʿ.wt is attested in the Medical Text Berlin 163b, where ʿ.wy=f nb.t is written instead of ʿ.t=f nb.t.²⁷¹ If this were the case in the *Schutzbild*, we would have ʿ.wy written for ʿ.wt, with ʿ.wt, “limbs,” written instead of the expected rd.wy. This is precisely the situation found in P. Berlin 3038, 15, 8163d, where  is written instead of rd.wy in the parallel text from Papyrus Ebers 103, 6,²⁷² apparently as a writing of ʿ.wt, “limbs,” substituting for rd.wy, “feet.”²⁷³ If ʿ.wy writes ʿ.wt here, the cryptographer may have employed an attested variant orthography of ʿ.wty, exploiting the possibility of writing the words ʿ.wy, “two arms,” and ʿ.wty, “two limbs,” with virtually the same orthography in the same line of enigmatic text. Only the variation in the placement of the diacritic strokes indicates visually a difference in meaning for the two words.²⁷⁴


401, n. 2; knowledge of such a representational interchange for this phoneme may have allowed a reading of two arms as rd.

²⁷¹ Von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, p. 116; note also the demotic writings of ʿ.wy “arms” as ʿ.wy “limbs” in O. Naville 4 (see M. Smith, “A New Version of a Well-known Egyptian Hymn,” *Enchoria* 7 [1977]: 129, n. d), and as ʿy.t “limb” in P. Harkness 3/11 (cited by the Chicago Demotic Dictionary, reading by Mark Smith).

²⁷² Ebers 856d=von Deines, Grapow, and Westendorf, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte*, vol. 1, p. 8; Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert*, p. 14.

²⁷³ Von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, pp. 116 and 119, n. 4. According to von Deines and Westendorf (*ibid.* p. 119, n. 4): “Da es sich um eine Oberschenkel-Erkrankung handelt, wird ʿ.wy...entweder ein Fehler (statt rd.wj ?) oder eine Schreibung für ʿ.t sein, wie sie auch in Bl. 163b vorliegt...”

²⁷⁴ There can be no connection between the  describing the snake legs of the divinity and the term ʿ referring to the lower foreleg of an animal—Wb. 156, 1 (human), 4-5 (animal); for a bird, ʿ refers to the wings as the forearms [see also P. Lacau, *Les noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique* (Paris, 1970), §33 (p. 16)]; von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, pp. 113-16. In *Urk. IV*, p. 1248, l. 11, ʿ refers to the lower foreleg of the rhinoceros depicted on the pylon of the temple of Armant (L. Störk, *Die Nashörner, Verbreitungs- und Kulturgeschichtliche Materialien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der afrikanischen Arten und des altägyptischen Kulturbereiches* [Hamburg, 1977], p. 288, translates “Umfang seiner Hand...”; the word ʿ there is better rendered as “shin”). See also G. Lefebvre, *Tableau des parties du corps humain mentionnées par les Égyptiens* (Cairo, 1952), p. 45; Lacau, *Les noms des parties du corps*, pp. 13-17 (note that the writing of the dual ʿ.wy is confused in these works). Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 85 (and n. 52), suggest reading the designation  of the demiurge as ʿ or hpš, but this would be hpš in its extended use as “strong arm” for a human; they are not proposing ʿ as an equivalent of hpš in animal anatomy). Were a term

 would not be a truly cryptic orthography of ʿ.wy, but an attested “miswriting.” The cryptography of the word lies in its potential confusion with the word ʿ.wy, “arms,” found at the end of the line.²⁷⁵ This confusion is all the more meaningful because the arms themselves, hidden as far as the depiction is concerned, can themselves also be seen as uraei (l. 3—the “Two Sisters” are his arms). The ʿ.wy of the god remaining in the disk could also be a pun on the ʿ.wy as the wings of Khepri, for which one may compare the text accompanying part D scene 9 in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk:


ʿ.wy=fy hpr.(w) mswy.w m (for n) Hpri

hṭp m dm3.ty=fy

his two arms having become two children of Khepri,
with the result that he is satisfied with his two wings.

and later in the same scene iʿr.ty šsp=sn dm3.ty=fy ʿ.wy T3.wy, “the two uraei receive his two wings, the arms of T3.wy.”²⁷⁶ His two arms are the two children, depicted as two uraei.²⁷⁷

The arms remain in the disk, and are hidden within it. This describes not only the snake-legged deity in the Ramesses VI *Schutzbild*, but could also serve as an

annotation to the determinative of *imn.t* in the tomb of Ramesses IX as —a man with his arms hidden within a disk.²⁷⁸ The image depicted on the right side of the *Schutzbild*, and described in the right-hand annotation, suggests that image on the mythological papyrus of Amunhotep, where a disk-headed and winged body stands in a bark, as a fire spitting snake stretches over the legs of the being.²⁷⁹ The arms of the deity are uraei which shed light, whereby the forms of the dead light up. The “arms” of the deity which remain in the sun disk are the light.²⁸⁰

from animal anatomy used here, it should refer to the snake legs through one of the terms used for the hind legs, not forelegs, of animals.

²⁷⁵ For a possible significance to a deity walking on his arms, to which the choice of “limbs” written as ʿ.wy “arms” may allude, see text VI in the third scene of the first register in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, l. 1:

nṯr.t tn m šhr pn ʿpp nṯr pn hr dr.ty=sn

This goddess is in this fashion: It is upon her two hands that this god passes...

²⁷⁶ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 30, ln. 7; pl. 30, text 14 (p. 51).

²⁷⁷ For arms becoming deities, see L. Kákósy, “A Horus Cippus with Royal Cartouches,” in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years* (Leuven, 1998), vol. 1, p. 131, n. 18—however, the Ramesses VI ceiling suggests that the arms are the deities, not “(those of)” as Kákósy misinterprets them.

²⁷⁸ See F. Abitz, “Die Veränderung von Schreibformen im Königsgrab Ramses’ IX.,” in H. Altenmüller and R. Germer, eds., *Miscellanea Aegyptologica* (Hamburg, 1989), p. 5.

²⁷⁹ A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri* (New York, 1957), pl. 26 and pp. 189–91.

²⁸⁰ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 303 and n. 13. For the hand of the sun as light, compare the text in Erman, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 21, ll. 2–4:

THE RIGHT-HAND ANNOTATION, TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PL. 30):

2) *hpr hpr.w^a sh.ty m-ht ^cq^b m qrr.t tn hr ntj pn m^c shr^d pn^e*

It is in this fashion that the realization of the horizon dweller comes into being after entering into this cavern in the presence of this god.

Hornung reads this section as: "Es verwandeln sich die Gestalten Achtis nach dem Eintritt in diese Gruft."²⁸¹

^a The word here in the *Schutzbild* is the singular *hprw*.²⁸²

^b The orthography of ^cq, with the aleph-vulture substituting for the ^cq-bird, followed by q, allows a reduplication of the same signs in the following m and the first radical of qrr.t, thus heightening the graphic effect of the cryptography with a repeated pair of signs.

In scene 27, in the Fifth Hour of the Book of Gates, the sun god addresses the guardians of the snake *nwdy* with:²⁸³

tn s33=tn hpr hprw=i

wḥm.n=k hprw m itm

di=k ^c-k n nb.w-igr.t

sdry.w twt hr dw3 nfr.w=k

hḏw.t=k hḏ.ti m hr=sn

When you have again become Atum,

you give your hand to the lords of Igeret,

the sleepers assembled praising your beauty,

your light bright in their faces.

²⁸¹ Hornung, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 48.

²⁸² As in *Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 197 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 817)—see R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (Hildesheim, 1978), pp. 133-65, particularly pp. 161-5 (see also the end of the first line from the left in the left-hand annotation of the *Schutzbild*). For reading *hprw* as "realization," see W. Barta, "Bemerkungen zur Semantik des Substantivs *hprw*," *ZÄS* 109 (1982): 81-6 (*hprw* = "Werdung" and "Verwirklichung; Wesen." J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 85-6, n. to Text 9, l. 1, distinguishes, following Osing: 1) the infinitive of *hpr* as the "process of development, change;" 2) the verbal noun *hprw*, "development, stage of development." See also H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, "Textkritische und lexikographische Notizen zu den *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*," *SAK* 10 (1983): 144-5; J. Assmann, "Die 'Häresie' des Echnaton: Aspekte der Amarna-Religion," *Saeculum* 23 (1972): 115 and n. 25, p. 125, n. 63. For *hprw*, see also H. Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat, Sargtextstudien I* (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 232-87 (although he unfortunately treats the Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom royal tombs sporadically at best).

²⁸³ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 167-8.

ntt=tn hpr ʒhw=i

You guard that my realization might be realized,
you bind that my magical power might be realized²⁸⁴

According to Hornung, this passage is parallel to a portion of the Amudat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 117, l. 6): “wonach der Sonnengott für den Kampf mit Apep ‘eine andere Gestalt’ (*kj jr w*) annimmt.”²⁸⁵ The *hpr w* is “nicht das wirkliche Aussehen” of an entity;²⁸⁶ *hpr hpr w* thus results in the assumption of another physical appearance (*ky ir w*).²⁸⁷ Just as he does before encountering Apep, so here *ʒh.ty* undergoes a “manifestation of manifestation” when he enters into the presence of the protective but potentially dangerous snake-legged deity.²⁸⁸ For the protective measures which provide the sun with a shielding aura before his encounter with Apep, one may compare in this connection the use of the terms *ʒhw* and *hkʒw* in the Book of Amduat and Book of Gates,²⁸⁹ and the term *shnw* in line 5 (see below, pp. 253-5; see also the discussion of *phr* on pp. 264-5).

The reference to entry into the *qrr.t* is appropriate to this rightmost figure in the *Schutzbild*, the rightmost hill in depictions of the horizon being the *ʒh.t ʒbt.t*, “the eastern horizon.”²⁹⁰ The west, the left side of the *Schutzbild*, the area of the break, thus becomes the entrance to the Netherworld.

²⁸⁴ For the *ʒhw* associated with victory over enemies, see *idem*, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 154, where the knowledge of the condition (*hr.t*) of the *ʒh.w* is connected with power over enemies.

²⁸⁵ Hornung, *Das Buch von Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 130 n. 4; *idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 117, l. 6 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 524-525): *iw ntr pn ir-f ky ir w r tph.t in stum-f wʒ.t r pp m hkʒ.w ʒs.t ...*, “this god makes another visible appearance at this subterranean chamber, he turns aside the way from Apep by means of the magical spells of Isis ...” The deceased king identifies himself as *hpr-hpr.w* in Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 255 (= vol. 2, p. 94, “der mit wechselnden Erscheinungsformen”).

²⁸⁶ Hornung, in Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*, pp. 132-3

²⁸⁷ In Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 9; vol. 2, p. 100 n. 24, there is a play on *nty ir w-f hpr w=f* and *iri-f hpr w* (see below, in the discussion of line 4, pp. 246-8). The *ir w* is unchanging and specific, in contrast to the *hpr w* of the sun. For *hpr hpr w*, see Wente, in *The Epigraphic Survey, The Tomb of Kheruef*, p. 71, n. d (to pl. 73, l. 1).


²⁸⁸ Abrasax, successor of the snake-legged solar deity in the Corridor G treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (see below, Chapter 6, pp. 387-91) can be dangerous, and have his power turned back against himself—see A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), p. 36.


²⁸⁹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 132; *idem*, *Das Buch von Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 47, 93, 238-9. For Heka’s role in battling Apep, see also H. Te Velde, “The god Heka in Egyptian Theology,” *JEOL* 21 (1970): 175-186.




²⁹⁰ H. Schäfer, *Ägyptische und heutige Kunst, und Weltgebäude der alten Ägypter* (Berlin, 1928)—*Weltgebäude*, fig. 4, p. 89; E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige* (Zurich and Munich, 1983), p. 198


^c The mouth-*r* has here the value *m*, a value attested for this sign elsewhere in this treatise: ll. 31 and 47 in the main text to the lower register of the main portion of the ceiling (pl. 25); l. 2 of the lower register of the dropped portion of the main ceiling (pl. 28B, l. 2); perhaps the end of the right-hand annotation accompanying the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30 right, l. 6: in *nwd nṯi pn im*).

^d Hornung rendered this portion of the annotation as: “um zu verschliessen ist es, dass er brennt gegen den, der ein Böser ist, den dieser Gott seinen beiden Armen überwiesen hat.” According to him, “das Schlüsselwort *sbḥ* ‘verschliessen’ (auch ‘umschliessen’) weist auf die Funktion der ganzen Szene hin: das Grab an dieser versehentlich nach ausses geöffneten Stelle aufs neue fest und wirksam zu verschliessen. Das Suffix *.s* nach *dwj* steht entweder für *.f* (vgl. zu Zeile 1) oder für den Plural *.sn*.”²⁹¹

Hornung reads  as a writing of the verb *sbḥ*, and must read *r* + infinitive + *p(w)*, a construction which is both unattested and grammatically dubious. Furthermore, Hornung’s proposed translation of the passage as a cleft sentence would be better rendered in Egyptian by means of a nominal form of the verb *wḏi*, followed by the emphasized adjunct *r* + infinitive. A more specific and basic objection to Hornung’s translation is that it requires *wḏ* to be a relative; *nty* would




consequently be superfluous.²⁹² The word  is certainly to be read *shr*, and is attested with this orthography in the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]:

pl. 62 [with the text’s non-enigmatic transcriptions]):  (R VI),  (O),  (P).²⁹³

^e Alternatively, though less likely, one might divide the text differently. The signs here read as the introductory *ir nṯi pn* might be taken as belonging to the preceding thought, with the group  read as *hr*.²⁹⁴ This would transform the previous line into: *hpr hpr.w šh.ty m-ht ʿq m qrr.t tn hr nṯi pn*, “It is after entering into this cavern, before this god, that the realization of *šh.ty* comes into being.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

²⁹² Although, as Prof. Wente has pointed out, one might cite Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 316 §400.

²⁹³ See also Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 52, n. 1; for  as *s* alone, see Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 60, ll. 5-8. Compare also the orthography  for  (A. Gardiner, “Davies’s Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription,” *JEA* 32 [1946]: 51, n. k).

²⁹⁴ For the reed leaf for *h3* for *h* see the Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

Reading *hr ntr pn* at the end suggests that the snake-legged image of the sun disk – *ntr pn* – is somehow divorced from the figure of *sh.ty*; this is, however, unlikely.²⁹⁵

If *hr nti pn* be read instead of *ir nti pn*, a reading of the following signs as *m shr pn* becomes somewhat strained. One might then read the mouth-*r* as *ir*. \ominus *r* is attested alone as *ir*, and in \ominus for *iry*.²⁹⁶ Reading *ir shr pn*, one might take *shr* here in the sense of the *shr* of *Wb.* IV 259, 5 “von den Gestalten der Götter (auf den Wänden u.ä.),” attested thus far only for the Late Period.²⁹⁷ The good sense and more expected formulation of a reading *ir nti pn m shr pn* speak in favor of that reading.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ For the image of the disk and light of the sun separated from the deity in the Netherworld, however, one may compare a portion of the opening text of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 82, ll. 5-6); the god addresses the cavern dwellers, informing them that:

šsp itn=i štzyt *hdy=i p=f htw=i*
my disk illumines Shetayet; my light enters after me.

In spell 15 B 3 variant of the Book of the Dead (E. Naville, *Papyrus funéraires de la XXI^e dynastie II: Le papyrus hiératique de Katseshni au Musée du Caire* [Paris, 1914], pl. 13, l. 4), Re is led in the Netherworld by the light of his disk:

‘q=k R^c m t3 dsr
hdd.wt itn=k šsm=sn tw
May you enter, oh Re, into the sanctified land,
the light of your disk leading you.

The two eyes of the solar deity, in the guise of two feathers, two eyes, two Maats, or the sisters Isis and Nephthys, can be said to guide the sun on his nightly journey; this separation of the deity from his light/perception may find expression in the *Schutzbild* (See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 97-8 A. 11; pp. 193-4 A. 6).

²⁹⁶ Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 25 and 27; one may note also the interchangeability of the values *ir* and *r* (ie. the pupil as *r* [in this treatise: pl. 21, l. 47; pl. 24, l. 10] and *ir* [de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 4, p. 338a]). Compare also the reverse, the use of *ir* for *r* – see G. Fecht, “*Cruces interpretum* in der Lehre der Ptahhotep (Maximen 7, 9, 13, 14) und das Alter der Lehre,” in *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. 1 (Montpellier, 1986), p. 247; on the phonetic change behind this, see also G. Roquet, “Chronologie relative des changements phonétiques affectant [z] et [r] et dialectalismes provinciaux à l’ancien empire. – *T’ zrf* et *mrzt* à Hawārtā/Tahna,” in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976*, vol. I: *Égypte pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), pp. 459-60.

²⁹⁷ See also Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 432, no. 77.3822, citing C. Husson, *L’offrande du miroir dans les temples égyptiens de l’époque gréco-romaine* (Lyon, 1977), p. 105, n. 5. The meaning “depiction” is probably derived from the use of the word *shr* in descriptions accompanying scenes, and referring to a deity as being “in this condition (*shr*)” (*Wb.* IV 259, 16-17). In these introductory descriptions (*nm n ntr.w* ...), the term *ntr* may also mean image (see W. Spiegelberg, “*ntrw* “Götter” = “Bilder,” *ZÄS* 65 [1930]: 119-21). See also below, the discussion of the dropped portion of the ceiling, for *r shr pn*, “according to this depiction,” parallel to *m shr pn*, “in this fashion.” But in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 98, l. 5 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 461), it is *irw* which is so used (Hornung, in Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*, pp. 126-8).

²⁹⁸ An even less likely alternative than the rejected one detailed above would be to read *ir nti pn* at the end of line 2, giving two apparently coordinate *ir* clauses; this portion of the

THE RIGHT-HAND ANNOTATION, TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PL. 30)

$stt^a = f$ ir^b $nty-ḏw^c$
 $sn.ty$ $wḏ$ $nṯi$ pn r^d ϵ . $wy=4$ $f(y)^e$
 r $ḥḏ$ $irw.wf$ $imy.wg$

It is against one who is evil that he shoots (light/flame).

It is the Two Sisters whom this god determines to be his two arms,
 in order that the forms of those who are there (the dead) may
 shine.

Hornung reads: "Diesen Gott betreffend - um zu verschliessen ist es, das er brennt gegen den, der ein Böser ist, den dieser Gott seinen beiden Armen überwiesen hat".²⁹⁹

^a Unexpectedly, *stt* has the book roll as a determinative here. This orthography of *stt* also appears at the end of l. 4 in the left-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30, left text, l. 4).

^b Following Hornung, the group $\text{ir} \text{ } \text{mouth sign}$ is read as an orthography of the construct form of the preposition *r*, attested in Old Egyptian, showing that the construct *r* had already undergone the shift $r > i$.³⁰⁰

^c The *ḥ3s.t* -sign is here written for the *ḏw*-mountain;³⁰¹ this represents two *ḏw*-mountains as a writing of *ḏwy*.³⁰² This group may also be found in the third line

Schutzbild would then be rendered: "As for this god, (namely) this depiction..." This reading would correspond to S.I. Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London, 1967), example no. 67 (P. Mayer A 9, 6-7): *ir p3-A Ø ir p3 ptr=i imi iry=f s'ḥ=i*. Also possible would be a reading *ir nṯi pn m šḥr pn*, with the mouth-*r* as *m*, see the Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

²⁹⁹ Hornung, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 48.

³⁰⁰ E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 2 (Rome, 1964), p. 390, §760; H.G. Fischer, "Notes, Mostly Textual, on Davies' *Deir el Gabrâwi*," *JARCE* 13 (1976): 16; *idem*, review of M. Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, in *BiOr* 36 [1979]: col. 31 and n. 18; Fecht, in *Hommages à François Daumas*, p. 235. If mouth sign alone were read as the preposition *r*, the mouth sign could be read as *p* for *p3*. The absence of the article elsewhere in this text, and in the enigmatic treatises of Corridor G as a whole, makes this unlikely.

³⁰¹ Cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 63, ll. 1-2 – the Ramesses IV version writes the *ḥ3s.t* sign in *ḏw(y)-ir.t*, whereas the Osireion version has the *ḏw*-mountain.

³⁰² For this see Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, the term *ḏwy-ir.t*; this is a "phonetic 'false dual'" (R.O. Faulkner, *The Plural and Dual in Old Egyptian* [Brussels, 1929], §37, pp. 42-3).

from the left in the left-hand annotation. For *nty-dwy* referring to Apep, compare P. Bremner Rhind 32, 15, wherein Apep is called:

ḥr dwy
Apep, the fallen, the wicked³⁰³

This “shooting” against the evil one, *stt* as casting light and flame,³⁰⁴ is an expression of the sun god dispelling noxious influences in the Netherworld, and could refer to a judgment made amongst the Datians.³⁰⁵ A cyclical judgment takes place at the eastern horizon at the time of sunrise, and the sun dispels the sins of the Netherworld dwellers (*ḥsf dw.w=sn*) in Chapter 15B of the Book of the Dead.³⁰⁶

d With *Sn.ty* begins a label to the scene, composed of Noun + participle.³⁰⁷ *Sn.ty*, the “Two Sisters,” who may appear as *uraei*,³⁰⁸ and are also referred to as the *rh.ty*,³⁰⁹ are clearly Isis and Nephthys as the Eyes of the Sun.³¹⁰ Isis and Nephthys

³⁰³ R.O. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (British Museum No. 10188)* (Brussels, 1933), p. 89, l. 3; *idem*, “The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus IV,” *JEA* 24 (1938): 52, reads “The Most Evil (?)”

³⁰⁴ For *stt* as the casting of light and flame, see E. Brunner-Traut, “Atum als Bogenschütze,” *MDAIK* 14 (1956): 20-8.

³⁰⁵ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 133-42; and E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen* (Berlin, 1968), pp. 21-9; for burning of criminals in this world in ancient Egypt, see A. Leahy, “Death by Fire in Ancient Egypt,” *JESHO* 27 (1984): 199-206.

³⁰⁶ Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch*, vol. 1, pl. 19, ll. 22-3; *dw* as “sin” = Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 293. For the punishing power of Netherworldly beings as an arrow, compare the a portion of the *Pistis Sophia* (C. Schmidt and V. Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia* [Leiden, 1978], p. 140, ll. 8-9 [ch. 66])—a light-power descends into chaos **ΝΕΕ** **ΝΟΥ** **ΚΟΤΕ** **ΕΡΖΗΛ**—“like a flying arrow.”

³⁰⁷ Compare pl. 12 (Tutankhamun shrine); pl. 30, l. 5 (Ramesses VI *Schutzbild*); pl. 22, figure A (Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling); pl. 35, figure A, ll. 8-11 (Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX).

³⁰⁸ *Wb.* IV 151, 17; see also Hornung, *Das Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 153 (vol. 2, p. 80, and n. 359 [p. 81]) and vol. 1, p. 209 (vol. 2, p. 87 and n. 471 [p. 143]); Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, p. 34, n. 116.

³⁰⁹ As in Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch*, vol. 1, pl. 50 (ch. 37, ll. 1-2).


³¹⁰ On the Two Sisters see also J. Quaegebeur, “Le nom propre Tsonesontis,” *CdE* 46, no. 91 (1971): 168-70; *idem*, “Les noms de trois temples funéraires thébaines en écriture démotique,” in S.F. Bondi, *et al.*, eds., *Studi in Onore di Edda Bresciani* (Pisa, 1985), pp. 465 and 471 n. 34. There is also the unlikely possibility of reading the word *snty*, “two sisters,” as the word of *Wb.* III 462, 3-6, *sntj.w* (Gr. *snti*), “Rebellen,” if *w3d/wd* were read as *wdi* (on *wdi* (*r*) in this context, see Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 41, 243-4, 285 and n. 5). The resulting translation *‘‘It is the rebel whom this god hands over to his two arms’’ could fit the following *r + sdm=f* purpose clause, if ‘‘the rebel’’ is understood to be Apep, and that by his destruction the continued journey of the sun makes certain the illumination of the Datians. The presence of the Two Sisters as the arms of the solar deity

are frequently associated with the legs in lists of mythic equations of the parts of the body with various divinities,³¹¹ and they are even associated with the soles of the feet on the statue of Djedhor.³¹² In the Litany of Re³¹³ we read:

sn.ty hnm=sn sw
sn r=sn h^c=sn tp.w=f m irw=f n b3 h^cy
 The Two Sisters are wont to unite with him;
 they appear in glory above him in his visible form of glorious
 appearing *ba*.

The text IX of the second scene in the second register of the left wall of the treatise on the Creation of the Solar Disk further describes the union of the two sisters with the solar deity:³¹⁴

Hr pr=f m h3.t it=f
hkn=f n pn wtt sw
sn.ty=fy hnm=sn h3.t=f
 Horus emerges from the body of his father,
 and adores this one who engendered him.
 His Two Sisters unite with his body.

In text XIV of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the two *h^cr.ty* receive the two arms/wings of *T3y*.³¹⁵ Although the majority of the versions of the Litany of Re write *b3 h^cy* with the *b3*-bird,³¹⁶ the text in the tomb of Ramesses IV writes  for *b3*, suggesting the ram-headed form of the sun traveling through the Netherworld. The passages quoted here from the Litany of Re and the Creation of the solar disk describe how Isis and Nephthys join with the body of the reborn *b3*-

on the dropped portion of the ceiling speaks against this interpretation. This argument also opposes a reading of *sn^cty* as the word for corpse (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 19 [14th Address], vol. 2, pp. 104 [n. 47] and 112 [n. 118]).

³¹¹ A. Massart, "A propos des «listes» dans les textes égyptiens funéraires et magiques," *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959): 230 (no. 9) *insty* are Isis and Nephthys (A. Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, in A. Erman, *Akademischeschriften (1880-1928)* [Leipzig, 1986 (reprint of 1901)], vs. 4, 8-5, 6); p. 233 (no. 30) the *mnty*, "upper thighs" (von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, pp. 370-71), are Isis (*mnt wmnt*) and Nephthys (*mnt smnt*). On these lists see also Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, pp. 105-8, and the literature cited there.

³¹² Massart, *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959): 238 (no. 81), the *ibty* are Isis and Nephthys (in E. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-Her-le-Sauveur* [Cairo, 1956], pp. 78-84).

³¹³ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 153.

³¹⁴ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 48 (pls. D [scene] and 26 [text]).

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51, pl. 30, l. 7 (part D, scene 9); compare also the scene in which a uraeus stands with arms in adoration on either side of the disk of the sun, from which emerges a winged scarab.

³¹⁶ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 153.

form of the sun, and this is precisely the dropped portion of the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI depicts—the Two Sisters are shown as the two arms emerging from the anthropomorphic body of the ram-headed sun god (pl. 27, lower register).³¹⁷ In the tomb of Anhurmoise at El-Mashayekh, the sun disk has two uraei, one hanging down to either side; the one to the left has the name of Isis on its head, that to the right the name of Nephthys.³¹⁸ As Isis and Nephthys are associated with the solar arms, so the goddess *Rˁ.t* is associated with the arms of Re.³¹⁹ The text from the Creation of the Solar Disk suggests that the union of the Two Sisters with the sun occurs at the time of the emergence of Horus from the body of his father, that is at the time of the rejuvenation of the sun. This association of solar rejuvenation with appearance of Horus explains the meaning of *bꜣ ḥꜣy* in the text from the Litany of Re; the *bꜣ ḥꜣy* is the Netherworld sun the ram-headed god at the moment of his rejuvenation—his appearance in glory, *ḥꜣ*.³²⁰


³¹⁷ The description in pl. 30, right-hand annotation ll. 3-4 of the being in the lower register of pl. 27, along with the parallel scenes at the end of the middle register of the upper portion of the ceiling and on the dropped ceiling, demonstrates the unity of the decoration on the various portions of the ceiling in Corridor G. A three-dimensional rendering of this concept, and a close parallel to the image of the snake-legged solar manifestation in the Ramesses VI *Schutzbild* appears in H. Messiha and M.A. Elhitta, *Mallawi Antiquities Museum, a brief description* (Cairo, 1979), pl. 14 no. 196. That piece depicts the herm-like bust of a ram-headed deity, with a disk and plumes on his head, disk-topped uraei pendant from his horns, with two rearing uraei slithering ahead of him to each side (on two uraei preceding a deity, and Egyptian renderings of this, see J. Quaegebeur, "Textes bibliques et iconographie égyptienne," *OLP* 20 [1989]: 70-2). The two sisters as uraei may be the image behind a scarab decoration showing the arm of the king merging with a uraeus (Wiese, *Zum Bild des Königs auf ägyptischen Siegelamuletten*, pp. 165-6 [no. 5675]). One may also compare the "snake-charmer" scarabs, showing an often hieracocephalic deity holding a rearing uraeus in each hand (B. Jaeger, *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperré* [Freiburg and Göttingen, 1982]; L. Keimer, *Histoires de serpents dans l'Égypte ancienne et moderne* [Cairo, 1947], pp. 18-20). Compare also the seal from Semna fort showing a deity whose arms appear to transform into uraei (G.A. Reisner, D. Dunham, and J.M.K. Janssen, *Semna Kumna* [Boston, 1960], fig. 7 [28-1-399 W.142]).

³¹⁸ B. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh 2: The Tomb of Anhurmoise—the Inner Room, and The Tomb of Imiseba* (Sydney, 1990), pl. 21.

³¹⁹ A. Gutbub, "Un Emprunt aux textes des pyramides dans l'hymne à Hathor, dame de l'ivresse," in *Mélanges Maspero I orient ancien*, 4th fascicle (Cairo, 1961), pp. 36-37.

³²⁰ This association of rejuvenation and glorious solar appearance supports Hornung's rendering of *bꜣ ḥꜣy* (*Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 81) as "Aufgehenden Ba." According to Hornung (*ibid.* p. 134 n. 360), *bꜣ ḥꜣy* is a "sonst nicht belegtes Epitheton, vgl. aber zu Ba-Bezeichnungen für Gestirne Wb. I 414, 3ff." Also related is the use of *ḥꜣ bꜣ* (two Old Perfectives) describing the newly invigorated king in the next world at the opening of the "Cannibal Hymn" (PT §394a; see the references to Wb. III 240, 17). The newly and awesomely rising king is *bꜣ* and *ḥꜣy*, and the rejuvenated sun is *bꜣ ḥꜣy*. Compare also the epithet *ḥꜣy* of Wb. III 242, 3 and Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, p. 212, no. 79.2161).

^e Here *r* has the meaning “destined to be.”³²¹

^f The word  is the plural of *irw* (*Wb.* I 113, 13ff.), a reference to the visible forms of the dead.³²² The plural strokes serve both as final radical *w*, and as indicators of plurality. For the *irw.w* of the dead in association with the light shedding power of Re see the 50th address of the great Litany of Re:³²³

wḏw sb3.w=f šḥḏ=f kkw m qr(r).wt št3.wt irw.w

Who commands his stars, when he illumines the darkness in the caverns,
mysterious of visible forms.

As Hornung indicates, the mysterious visible forms here are the “Gestalten der Jenseits-Bewohnern, die ja im Text S. 85 und sonst allgemein als *qrtyw* ‘Zu den Gräften Gehörige’ bezeichnet werden”.³²⁴ As *irw* describes a visible form, it often refers to the brilliance of Re.³²⁵ In the context of the *Schutzbild*, the dead have *irw*-forms only when they light up, reflecting the light of the sun.³²⁶ As the *irw*-form is both unchanging and specific, these dead are the blessed dead, for only they, who are the *šḥw*, possess a “bleibende Gestalt.”³²⁷

³²¹ Cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, pl. 20, l. 14; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 2, pl. 115A, l. 5; pl. 115B, l. 8; pl. 140, l. 2; K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions Vol. 2: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford, 1979), p. 631, l. 9.

³²² See the references to *irw* in Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 390 (on p. 321 Assmann renders *irw* as “sichtbare Erscheinungsform”); Hornung, in Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*, pp. 126-8; B. Ockinga, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit im Alten Ägypten und im Alten Testament* (Wiesbaden, 1984), pp. 103-6.

³²³ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 57.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 113 n. 134.

³²⁵ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 66-7, 321.

³²⁶ The dead do not shine, *ḥḏ*, from an internal light source, but reflect the light of the sun, as does the earth (*ḥḏ t3*). Compare line 5 of the hymn to the setting sun on the north side of the vestibule in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192; The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef*, pl. 7, ll. 5-6):

st3 tw b3.w imn.tyw r w3.t imy.t t3-ḏsr(.t)

šḥḏ=k ḥr n iry.w ḏ3.t

sdm=k nis n nty-m-ḏb(.t)

st3=k nty.w-m-dy-ḥr-gs=sn

May the western souls haul you towards the way which is in the holy land,
that you might illumine the face(s) of the denizens of the Netherworld,
that you might hear the call of the one in the sarcophagus,
and that you might raise up those placed upon their side(s).

This has the order of events (illumination, call, and raising up) of the fourth line of the *Schutzbild*, although there the sun god calls, whereas the call in Kheruef is that of the dead.

³²⁷ See p. 239 n. 287 above.

The *irw* may be the visible Netherworld form, the essential and unchanging form, as opposed to the *hprw*, the form of manifestation in the terrestrial world.³²⁸ According to Hornung, “im Gegensatz zu *jr*w bezeichnet *hprw* nicht die von der Schöpfung her geprägte spezifische Gestalt der Wesen und Dinge, nicht das wirkliche Aussehen, also, sondern eine wandelbare Erscheinungsform unter vielen, die Gott und Mensch annehmen und wieder abstreifen können.”³²⁹ The reference here to the *irw.w*-forms foreshadows the immediately following reference to the rising of the dead. On the obelisk of Hadrian in Rome, Antinoös’ heart “rejoices greatly, for he knows his own *irw*” after resurrection.³³⁰

The plurality of *irw* may extend beyond the plurality of the dead—one *irw* for each of the dead—to indicate a plurality of *irw.w* for each one of the dead. If so, the *irw.w* of the dead are perhaps the visible forms of the *hprw.w* of the dead, the various elements of the individual (the *ba*, *ka*, shade, etc.).³³¹ This would further describe the parallelism between *hprw* and *irw* discussed above for line 2, and the wordplay on *irw* and *hprw* in the Fourth Address of the Litany of Re:³³²

hkn n=k R^c q3 šhm
sm33 t3 šd imn.tyw
pn nty ir.w=f hpr.w=f
ir=f hpr.w=f m itn=f ʿ3
 Homage to you, oh Re; exalted of power,
 who causes the earth to see, who illumines the
 Westerners;
 this one whose visible forms are his manifestations,
 when he manifests himself as his great solar disk.

³²⁸ On *hpr* as a “transition from latent to manifested being,” see R.B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator* (Wiesbaden, 1985), pp. 90-2, 144-5.

³²⁹ Hornung, in Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*, pp. 132-3.

³³⁰ Derchain, in Mendel and Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext*, p. 117, n. 4; A. Grimm, D. Kessler, and H. Meyer, *Der Obelisk des Antinoos* (Munich, 1994), pp. 28-9 and 69, n. 6. The *irw* of the dead should perhaps also be compared to the use of *hpr.w* to describe the constituent parts of a person, as discussed briefly by Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, p. 146; thus *irw* here would parallel *hpr.w*, just as *irw* in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 117, l. 6 parallels *hprw*; see also *idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 167-8.

³³¹ Clearly defined in *Urk. IV*, p. 1061, ll. 4-6 (=Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (No. 82), pls. 22-3); see Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, p. 146; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 42ff; J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, p. 29. For the *hpr.w*, compare the *hpr.w* of the eastern spirits of heaven: Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 29 and n. 1; Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, pl. 21 ll. 12-3; see further my forthcoming examination of the Cosmographic treatises.

³³² Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9; vol. 2 p. 100, nn. 23-4.

The *irw* of the solar deity here is the *itn* 𐎢𐎠, the “great solar disk,” illumining the dead, whose *irw.w*, parallel to the visible form of Re, light up. On the parallel benefits of light and breath which result from the call of the great god, see the discussion of the annotation to the lower left scene (pl. 8) on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (Chapter 3, pp. 100-1).

§ Reading the two *m*’s as a false dual orthography representing *my*,³³³ one may read the word *imy.w*, “those who are there,” referring back to *qrr.t tn* of line 2, is a pun on the designation of the dead as *nty.w im*, “those who are there”³³⁴—those who are there, in this cavern, are the dead.

Hornung saw this section as proving the correctness of Abitz’ identification of this portion of the Corridor G ceiling decoration as a *Schutzbild*; while his reading of a verb *sbh*, “to close,” must be rejected (the word in question is to be read *shr*), the rendering offered here yet provides an even more precise description of the treatise’s function. The description of the deity shooting flame, and the two sisters, flaming uraei, as his arms, explains the statement in the Fourth Division of the Book of Caverns:³³⁵

wd=f 𐎢𐎠 f r hfty.w=f
he sending his arm against his enemies

That this deity is made up of various other deities, who become his constituent limbs, shows that this god in the bark is the creator god,³³⁶ Re as the recreator of the world, again the giant deity of the eastern horizon at the time of the mystic union of Re and Osiris. The arms of the solar deity, as they appear in the armed disk of the Atonists, may well refer to the arms of the creator deity and the multiplicity of his creative acts,³³⁷ and the multiplicity of his daughters, his feminine light-power manifestations.³³⁸

Grammatically the pattern Noun + relative form (*wd*) in this section is an example of an attested extension of the cleft sentence. Middle Egyptian employs this form (Noun + relative form) in addition to the usual cleft sentence pattern of *in*

³³³ Compare the use of two aleph-vultures to write *zy* in the orthography of the divine name *hzy* in the middle register of the main portion of the Corridor G ceiling treatise (pl. 22, fig. B, final name).

³³⁴ See A. Moret, “La légende d’Osiris à l’époque thébaine d’après l’hymne à Osiris du Louvre,” *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 736 n. (28).

³³⁵ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 48, l. 5. Compare also the reference to the *s3.ty* breaking (*sd*) the *nkiw*-enemies of the sun, in A. Erman, “Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern,” *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 20, ll. 6-7 of the ostracon.

³³⁶ See E. Iversen, *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine* (Copenhagen, 1984), p. 15.

³³⁷ Assmann, *Saeculum* 23 (1972): 115 and n. 23.

³³⁸ See J.C. Darnell, “For I See the Color of his Uraei”: *Gnosis and Alchemy in Ramesside Egypt, and the Amarna Origins of the Concept of the Solar Sympatheia, forthcoming.*

+ Noun (or Independent Pronoun) + participle/*sdmw=f*.³³⁹ This “relative” or “apparent” cleft sentence appears usually in the form Noun + *pw* + attributive form,³⁴⁰ but can occur without *pw*.³⁴¹ The extended form emphasizes the one acted upon, rather than the actor (emphasized by the usual cleft sentence).³⁴²

THE RIGHT-HAND ANNOTATION, TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PL. 30):

4) *in^a nṯr dwt^{b=f}*
r^c pr=sn^d m-ḥnty qrr.t=sn

5) *r ir.t^e šhn.w^f*

It is the deity who will call,
 in order that they might come forth from their cavern,
 in order to perform *šhnw*-protection.

Hornung reads: “um denen Schaden zuzufügen, die in der Wüste sind, indem er fernhält für ihren Wandel in ihrer Gruft gegen den, der den Ansturm dieses Gottes nicht kennt....”³⁴³

^a Hornung’s reading of the Red Crown as the word for desert (*dšr.t*) does not account for or explain the following seated, bearded figure. The crown could stand for the dative, allowing a reading *n nṯi*, “for the deity.”³⁴⁴ Unlikely is a reading of the crown as a phonetic complement *n* for *nṯi*. More likely the Red Crown is to be

³³⁹ B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris, 1924), pp. 45-65; A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 175-76 (§227.2-3), and pp. 288-89 (§373); Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 2, pp. 423-24 (§§845-46).

³⁴⁰ Cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 312 (§391); Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, p. 60 (type 10, quotation from the Eloquent Peasant); M. Gilula, “An Unusual Nominal Pattern in Middle Egyptian,” *JEA* 62 (1976): 162 and n. 13; W. Barta, “Das Demonstrativpronomen *nw* als kongruierendes Subjekt im *pw*-Satz nach Beispielen der Pyramidentexten,” *GM* 114 (1990): 33-34 (final two references courtesy A.J. Baumann).

³⁴¹ Cf. an occurrence of Noun + relative form, without intervening *pw*, in the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 133, ll. 2-3):

ḥrw nṯr pn ʿz sdm=sn iwtj m33 ḥdw.t

It is the voice of this great god which they hear, without the light being seen.

³⁴² A.J. Baumann, *The Suffix Conjugation of Early Egyptian as Evidenced in the Underworld Books* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1996), pp. 34-37.

³⁴³ Hornung, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 48.

³⁴⁴ The seated god could also conceivably represent the third masculine suffix pronoun *f* (compare the use of the seated man for *f* in Northampton 8), but there is no reason to expect the uncommon positioning of the dative + suffix pronoun after a noun object.

read as *n* for *in*,³⁴⁵ introducing the subject *nti* of the following *ḏwi=f* – *in nti ḏwi=f* *n(=w) pr=sn m-ḥnty qrr.t=sn...*, “It is the deity who will call to them, in order that they might come forth from their cavern”³⁴⁶

^b *Ḑwi* here has the mouth-*r* for *w*, as earlier in l. 38 in the second section of the lower register in the left portion of the ceiling.

^c This statement appears to be grammatically parallel to the preceding statement, and consists of a cleft sentence, followed by *r* + *sdm=f*. The water-*n* here represents *r*, exploiting the not uncommon hieratic confusion of these signs.³⁴⁷

^d Hornung reads the group $\overline{\Delta}$ as the word *ḥp(j)*, “Wandel.” A reading of this group as the verb *ḥp* of *Wb.* III 258, 3-16 is possible,³⁴⁸ but the resulting meaning of the passage is somewhat unexpected. The action occurs “within” the cavern.³⁴⁹ If the text is read to say “they move about (*ḥpj*) within their cavern,”³⁵⁰ or “they fly

³⁴⁵ For *n* as *in*, see W. Barta, “*Jn* als Pleneschreibung der Präposition *n*,” *GM* 103 (1988): 7-11; *idem*, “Beispiele der Sargtexte für *jn* als Pleneschreibung der Präposition *n*,” *GM* 107 (1989): 55-8; and particularly the orthography of agential *in* as *n* (Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 2, §756); M. Gilula, “Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184-85,” in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), p. 76, n. 12; but see also H.G. Fischer, “Occurrence of $\overline{\Delta}$, agential and dative,” *GM* 107 (1989): 69-75.

³⁴⁶ On *in* + noun + *sdmw=f* form, see P. Vernus, *Future at Issue. Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 55-60.

³⁴⁷ See above, Chapter 1, p. 9 n. 39. Just possible is a reading of the signs following *ḏwi=f* as the verb *nḥp*, with the *ḥr*-sign representing the first *h*—for the possible Late Period confusion of *hbl* and *ḥbi*, see M. Th. Derchain-Urtel, “Thot à Akhmim,” in *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. 1 (Montpellier, 1986), p. 175. Although this interchange is otherwise unattested in pre-Late Period Egyptian cryptography, one may note that Coptic $\overline{\Delta}$ serves to write all four of the earlier aspirants in Sahidic.

³⁴⁸ The *ḥ* and *h* interchange—Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, p. 37, §56, 2—is common in the writing of *shr* in the cryptography of the Netherworld Books.

³⁴⁹ For *m-ḥnty* meaning “within,” synonymous with *m-ḥnw*, see G. Posener, “Le chapitre IV d’Aménémopé,” *ZÄS* 99 (1972): 130-3. Note the example in S. Schott, *Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts 1: Bücher und Sprüche gegen den Gott Seth* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 65, ll. 3-4, in which *m-ḥnty* is rendered as *m-ḥnw*. Compare the text accompanying the lower register of scene 1 of part B of the Book of the Earth (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 14, ll. 7-8): *nn n ntr.w m shr pn m iz.t=sn ḥry m-ḥnty ḏbz.t=sn*, “these gods are in this fashion, standing within their sarcophagi,” where *m-ḥnty* must be synonymous with *m-ḥnw*. For *pr m-ḥnw* parallel to simple *pr m*, see Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 11, l. 4 (*m-ḥnw*), and *ibid.*, pl. 12, l. 1 (*m*).

³⁵⁰ The verb *ḥpi* could be read as implying a divinely granted prerogative to move about in certain special areas; compare lines 5a ff. of the stela in J.-P. Corteggiani, “Une stèle héliopolitaine d’époque saïte,” in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976*, vol. I: *Égypte pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), p. 119:

ḥp-f ḥr w3.wt nfr.t nt imnt.t
ḥpp im3ḥw ḥr-s n-ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb p.t ...

about within their cavern,”³⁵¹ the text simply refers to the reanimation of the cavern denizens by the light of the sun. If the dead were envisaged as *ba*-birds by the composer of the cryptic text accompanying the *Schutzbild*, they could be described here as “flying about within their cavern.”³⁵²

It is doubtful if such renditions of the Egyptian are acceptable. *Hpi* followed by the preposition *m* implies a going into something (*Wb.* III 258, 6-8), and *hpr-sn m-hnty qrr.t=sn* should then be rendered as “they return into their cavern.” This action would presumably occur when the sun leaves the cavern, a thought that is not expressed until line 6, wherein the cavern dwellers “go (back) to rest.”³⁵³ *Hpi* is a euphemism for “to die,” meaning “to pass away” (*Wb.* III 258, 17-259, 3),³⁵⁴ can refer to the transformations of the solar cycle,³⁵⁵ and appears also to be used “als Bezeichnung des spukenden Toten” (*Wb.* III 259, 5).

If the *irw* here do indeed refer to the *ba*'s of the dead, then another reading of the group $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{A} \\ \text{A} \end{smallmatrix}$ is possible. The *g*-stand as *p* occurs earlier, in line 1 of this text. The “mat” *p* can in this tomb have the value *r*.³⁵⁶ These cryptic values make a reading

that he travel the good (passable – *ibid.* p. 122, n. f) roads of the West,
on which the blessed ones travel by grant of the great god, lord of heaven ...

³⁵¹ For *hpi* meaning “to fly,” see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 82 n. 6, citing the tenth scene, upper register, of the Third Hour of the Book of Gates, wherein birds fly away from the stench of a lake (*hpr 3pd.w m33=sn mw=f sn=sn st ntt im=f*, “when they see its water and smell the stench which is in it, the birds fly up”). Compare also the designation of the sungod as *hpi* (*Wb.* III 259, 7 and 366, 6-8), the *b3 hpy p nmt.wt*, “flitting *ba*, traveling of strides” (49th Address to Re in the great litany--see Hornung, *Das Buch des Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 56; vol. 2, p. 113 n. 132).

³⁵² Compare *Wb.* III 259, 8: *hpyw*, “Art Götter im Gefolge des Osiris;” perhaps gods flying in the retinue of Osiris. For this concept one may compare M. Smith, “An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 9 (P) + P. Louvre E 10605) (Part 1),” *Enchoria* 15 (1987): 75-6, n. b to col. I, l. 10: *py-i m t3y-i dw3.t hr r3y*, “I fly from my underworld (tomb) in joy.” For *hpi m* replacing *hpr m* in late versions of Book of Dead Chapter 72, see G. Vittmann, “Ein Mumienbrett im Britischen Museum,” in M. Bietak, et al, eds. *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten, Festschrift Gertrud Thausing* (Vienna, 1994), p. 243.

³⁵³ That a use of *hpi m-hnty qrr.t* would refer to a return to inertness within the dark cavern is suggested by the use of *hpi* as a term for death—“passing on” (Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 54). The passage would suggest a return to the state of death after the passing of the sun.

³⁵⁴ See also P. Kaplony, “Leben «sub specie aeternitatis» als *hri-k3*,” in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier, 1984), pp. 119-20 and n. 21 (p. 121); Kurth, in D. Kurth, H.-J. Thissen, and M. Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri (P. Köln ägypt.)* (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 40, n. 113.

⁵ E. Graefe, “*Hpi* <<Wegehen, zur Ruhe Gehen, Sterben>>,” *RdE* 22 (1970): 203-204.

Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 72 (*hpr* written $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{A} \\ \text{A} \end{smallmatrix}$); p. 73 (*shr pn* written $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{A} \\ \text{A} \end{smallmatrix}$). This is probably a use of the value *r* for the normal *p*, an extension of the interchange based on the use of $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{A} \\ \text{A} \end{smallmatrix}$ for *p*, from the $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{A} \\ \text{A} \end{smallmatrix}$ interchange (see pp. 43-5).

pr, “to come forth,” possible.³⁵⁷ While the corpses should remain in darkness, the *ba*’s of the blessed should join the entourage of Re. The compound *m hnty* can correspond to *m hnw* in the Netherworld Books.

Much less likely, though preserving the idea of movement up towards the god, is a reading of $\overline{\Lambda}$ as *h3p*, attested in P. Chester Beatty I vs. G2, 1, with reference to the movement of a gazelle in the desert. This verb *h3p*³⁵⁸ should mean “to spring, to bound.”³⁵⁹

^e *Hm* is a conceivable reading for $\overline{\Xi}$. As line 4 is now read, however, Hornung’s “when he calls to them, they move about in their cavern against the one who does not know the punishing grip of this god” does not make good sense. The orthography $\overline{\Xi}$ of *ir.t* is attested in the Book of Caverns;³⁶⁰ here this orthography allows a reading *r ir.t shnw*, “they move about in order to perform *shnw*.” In the catalogue of the mythic equations of the king’s body parts in the Litany of Re, the arms of the king are referred to as *shny*.³⁶¹

^f According to Hornung,³⁶² the arm motif of line 1 is resumed in line 5. Here we read of the *shnw nti pn*, the “Ansturm dieses Gottes,” as Hornung read, related to *shn* meaning “to embrace” (*Wb.* III 468-9). According to Hornung’s interpretation, the arms of the sun reveal their power for destruction, and in the cruel pun on embracing, the sun god’s beneficent hold becomes a fiery, crushing vice. Contrary to Hornung’s understanding, the word *shnw* (*Wb.* III 470, 8-13) appears always to mean a protective embrace—so the sun god in his cabin is in the *shnw* of the *Mhn-snake*.³⁶³ The notion of embracing in connection with light is, moreover, in general

³⁵⁷ Compare the orthography of *pri* as $\overline{\Lambda}$ \square in P. Vienna 3865, 1 (F.-R. Herbin, “Une liturgie des rites décadaïres de Djemê, Papyrus Vienne 3865,” *RdE* 35 [1984]: pl. 9).

³⁵⁸ Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 187; A. M. Blackman, review of A. Gardiner, *Papyrus Chester Beatty* vol. 1, in *JEA* 19 (1933): 202 (n. to G2, 1).

³⁵⁹ Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison, 1985), p. 67 (n. a to No. 40), citing Caminos and Blackman, translates “bounding” for *h3p* in P. Chester Beatty I vs. G2, 1.


³⁶⁰ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 62, in *r ir.t shr.w*.

³⁶¹ Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, pl. 1, l. 169 (shroud of Thutmose III); pl. 16, l. 18; Piankoff, p. 38, reads “the Embracer;” Massart, *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959): 231 (#13) does not translate.

³⁶² Hornung, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagendonck, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 49, terms this “das strafende Zupacken des Gottes.”

³⁶³ E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* vol. 3 *Die Kurzfassung, Nachtrag* (Wiesbaden, 1967), p. 18, l. 2 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 75); Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 142 states that the abbreviated version of Amduat has *m shnw dsr n mhn*, although the copies of the text clearly read: *m shnw dr n Mhn*. Hornung, *Die Kurzfassung*, p. 32 reads “in der unnahbaren Umarmung der Ringelschlange.” The long version of the Eighth Hour (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 134 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 582-583]) gives *m twt (?) dsr n Mhn*.

a positive one.³⁶⁴ The flames which the sun sends against his enemies may indeed be seen as uraei, the angry eye of the sun, and this is the concept behind the central depiction in the Schutzbild. But there the fiery arms of the sun are not manifested as “two snakes,” *ḥf3.wy*; specifically two snakes are encountered here only in the feet of the entity to the right. Again, it is this being which the first line of text to the right describes.³⁶⁵

The *shnw*, contrary to Hornung’s reading, is not performed by the snake-footed deity, but is said to be performed by those who “leap up within their cavern” when “this god calls” (l. 4). Two deities named *shn* are found in Amduat. The first, number 795 in the Eleventh Hour of the Amduat, is indeed one of several entities carrying a large snake, and his name describes him well. The other is number 901 in Hour 12, one of a number of deities adoring Osiris at the end of the Dat. Hornung questioningly renders his name as “Umfangender (?)”³⁶⁶ and his pose indeed does not appear to show him clearly engaged in *shn*. There is, however, a use of *shn* which might be appropriate to a depiction of adoration and blessing. Faulkner³⁶⁷ gives an occurrence of a word *shnw*, written , which seems to describe a type of *ḥk3*, “magical spell” (the *ḥk3.w* of the passage appear to be specified as *šm.w* and *shnw*).³⁶⁸ Entity number 901 in the lower register of the Twelfth Hour of the Book of Amduat may then be thought of as casting a magical spell of protection about the slanting body of Osiris. This saying of protective *shn.w* by the Netherworld inhabitants parallels the reciting of *s3ḥ.w* and *3ḥ.w tp r3* for the safe passage of the sun god over the back/sand bank of Apep at the time of the narrowly averted cosmic cataclysm.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁴ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 388 (i.e. the embracing of the setting sun by the arms of the *M3nw*-mountains).

³⁶⁵ In order to read a negative connotation into *zhn.w*, one could compare the *shny.w* of demotic astrological texts, “the chances, the fortunes,” the equivalent of Greek τα ἀποτελέσματα (see G. Hughes, “An Astrologer’s Handbook in Demotic Egyptian,” in L. Lesko, ed., *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker* [Hanover and London, 1986], p. 58, and the references cited there). One would then have to understand “in order to make (malignant) influences;” this does not give a clear sense to the passage, and does not specify the object of the bad humours, which one would not expect to find described as sent abroad indiscriminately throughout the Netherworld. Such malignancy would be a peculiar result of the summons of the sun.

³⁶⁶ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 193.

³⁶⁷ Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 242, citing A. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 recto)* (Leipzig, 1909), 6, 6

³⁶⁸ Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, p. 48; *shn* would be a word for encircling and encompassing used in magical terminology, like *pḥr* (see below, the discussion of line 6, pp. 264-5).

³⁶⁹ See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 210 A. 35. Unlikely is an interpretation of *ir.t shn.w* as “to come to rest” (see Assmann, *MDAIK* 28 [1972]: 63, text note 29), referring to the *bas* of the dead coming forth and then alighting at some unspecified location.

Apep is attacked both physically and magically, as in a portion of the text in scene 13 in the lower register of the Third Division of the Book of Gates:³⁷⁰

ir.t.n itm n R^c

s3h.t ntr

shr.t sbi

shd=k

iwt h^c=k

hk3=k

iwt gm=k tw

That which Atum has done for Re:

Making the deity *Akh*-powerful;

overthrowing the rebel.



‘As you have been overthrown,

such that you cannot stand;

so have you been bewitched,




such that you cannot find yourself.’



The group  could conceivably be read as *shr.w*, with the three *nw*-pots representing *r* and the plural ending. Three *nw*-pots over a horizontal line are attested with the value *r* in the Roman period texts in Esna Temple,³⁷¹ and the *nw*-pot is otherwise attested substituting for a liquid.³⁷² This reading *r ir.t shr.w* would have the action performed by the *lrw* of the dead when they come forth from their cavern. For *ir.t shr.w* performed by Netherworld beings, and the deceased, note that *ir shy*, “authority,” is granted to the blessed dead, and there were entities called *nty ir shr*.³⁷³ The orthography  of *shr.w* in a portion of the First Hour of the Amduat could support the reading *shr.w* here.³⁷⁴

³⁷⁰ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 74-75.

³⁷¹ Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, p. 186 (#376).

³⁷² The *nw*-pot can appear as a writing for *r* (H.W. Fairman, “An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values,” *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: 74 [and n. 3]; in a Ptolemaic writing of *shr.w* [*Wb.* IV 258] the *nw*-pot accompanies the *r*, and appears to act as a biliteral, binding together the *r* and the plural *.w* ending [*rw* instead of *nw*]). This may be a continuation of the  and  interchange, the *nw*-pot being a not uncommon Ptolemaic writing for simple  *n*. During the Ptolemaic period, the *nw*-pot appears also to have acquired a use as a writing of *l*: (see J.C. Darnell, “A Ptolemaic Hieroglyphic Writing of 𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒, ‘to Slay,’” *Enchoria*, forthcoming).

³⁷³ Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, pp. 115-6, note to col. X, line 4; *idem*, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Chicago, 1979), p. 141 (and n. 1). The solar deity might be the performer of *ir.t shr.w* (as in the Fourth Division of the Book of Caverns: *R^c sn=f kkw r ir.t shr.w d3.t*, “Re traverses the darkness in order to take care of the Netherworld” [Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 40, l. 6]; in the Fifth Division of the same work, *hup R^c m sh.t imn.t r ir.t shr.w imy.w-t3*, “Re rests in the western horizon in order to take care of those who

THE RIGHT-HAND ANNOTATION, TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PL. 30):

5) *nṯi pn ir b3y.w(t)^a*

ḏwṯ=f^b

hṣṣ^c sṯ3ṯ-t3^d

pr=sn^e

It is this god who has made the burial pits.

When he calls,

the damager of the earth is held back,

they coming forth.

Hornung reads the group *nṯi pn*, with which this passage begins, as a portion of the preceding section (“...gegen den, der den Ansturm dieses Gottes nicht kennt”). He reads the following signs as: “so das er zu einem Gefallenen gemacht ist, und indem er den Unhold fernhält, der die Geheimnisse verletzt und schädigt”.³⁷⁵

^a In this section, the god is the one who has done (*ir*) something; this is followed by a description of the power of the sun’s call. A parallel from the Litany of Re



provides the key for the reading of the troublesome group *ṯṯṯ*. In the 51st Address to Re, the sun god is said to be:³⁷⁶

ir qrr.wt *shpr h3.wt m wḏ.t.n=f r=f ḏs=f*

the one who has made the caverns, who has caused the corpses to exist
through what he himself has commanded.

The creation of the cosmos by divine word repeats nightly in the bowels of the Netherworld.³⁷⁷ So in the *Schutzbild*, the solar deity is said to *ir* something, in a section followed by the description of the effects of the call of the god.

are in the earth” [*ibid.* pl. 62]), but the length of what would then be an intervening parenthetical statement makes this unlikely.


³⁷⁴ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 9, l. 7 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 129). The function *ir.t shr.w*, performed by the solar deity, would signify the control over the destiny of the Netherworld inhabitants (see Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 37 n. 14 [Hathor as *iri shr.w*]; G. Posener, “Philologie et archéologie égyptiennes,” *Annuaire du Collège de France* 68 [1968-69]: 401-7 [discussing Khonsu as *p3 ir shr.w*]).

⁷⁵ Hornung, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 48.

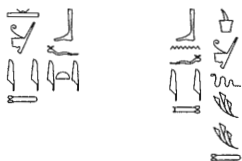
⁶ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 58.

⁷ So *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 114 n. 137.



The word  should describe the pits or caverns, the burial places, of the dead in the Netherworld, parallel to the *qrr.wt* in the parallel section of the 51st Address in the Litany of Re.³⁷⁸ The use of the round pit determinative suits this reading (compare orthographies of *nm.t* on the raised portion of the Corridor G ceiling [pl. 19, B; pl. 20, B], and the orthography of the same word in the enigmatic text in the tomb of Ramesses IX [pl. 33]). Based on cryptic values attested in the tomb of Ramesses VI, this word is to be read as *b3y.w(t)*, “burial pits.”³⁷⁹

The value *b* for the book-roll occurs in the enigmatic writing of the name of a deity *bnfyt* in the second scene of the third register of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns:³⁸⁰



One may also compare the possible use of the book-roll for *b* in the Second Division of the Book of Caverns.³⁸¹ This is in turn related to the use of a horizontal line, apparently the land sign N17, for *b* in a cryptic text in the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns.³⁸² The origin of the book-roll for *b* is to be sought in the use of the horizontal line/land-sign for *b*. Along with the use of the probable N17 for *b* in the Fifth Division, the sign N23 has the value *p* in the same division of the Book of Caverns.³⁸³ This is unlikely to be a value originating in an hieratic confusion of the



³⁷⁸ For further examples of *iri* referring to the action of the sun in creating/regenerating the Netherworld, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 86.



³⁷⁹ W. Ward, “Lexicographical Miscellanies,” *SAK* 5 (1977): 271-4; *idem*, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-3* (Rome, 1978), pp. 49-50; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 110 n. 1 (and the references cited there); Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 2, p. 819, n. 1081; Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte* (Brussels, 1965), pp. 10*, 140, pl. VII (ll. 7/8-9); H.-J. Thissen, “Bemerkungen zum demotischen Harfner-Gedicht,” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 2 *Religion* (Jerusalem, 1990), p. 986; M. Smith, review of F. de Cenival, *Le mythe de l’oeil du soleil*, *BiOr* 49 (1992): 87. The word is written, as here, *b3y* in P. BM 10081, where it refers to the entrance into the Netherworld (see S. Schott, “Drei Sprüche gegen Feinde,” *ZÄS* 65 [1930]: 37).





³⁸⁰ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 151, no. 40.

³⁸¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 17, l. 3, in a writing of *hry.w iskbw*.





³⁸² *Ibid.* pl. 62, in  for , *dw isb.ty*, “eastern mountain.”




³⁸³ *Ibid.* pl. 62, l. 4 (the Osireion version has  for  in the tomb of Ramesses VI).

signs  and ;³⁸⁴ rather the two bilabial values *b* and *p* for the land-signs N23 and N17, and ultimately for the book-roll, appear to derive from a use of the land sign  N21. That sign appears in orthographies of the word *bi3.t*, etc., already in the Coffin Texts, and there are orthographies in which the sign  alone appears to have the value *bi3*.³⁸⁵ The use of N 21 to write *bi3* is the most likely origin of the bilabial values *b* and *p* for the land signs N 17 and N 21, and the bookroll. The word *b3y*, “burial pit,” appears in the abbreviated form of bookroll for *b* and circular determinative in pl. 23, l. 74.

The mouth-*r* for aleph is attested on the raised portion of the Corridor G ceiling,

in the words  *h3p*, “to hide,” and  *3*, “great.”³⁸⁶ *B3y.wt* is an excellent candidate as a parallel for *qrr.wt*, and is so attested elsewhere: in the version of Chapter 149 of the Book of the Dead in the papyrus of Djedkhonsesankh, P. Louvre 3276,³⁸⁷ *b3b3w* is written for the “canonical” *qrr.t*.³⁸⁸

Reading *b3y.w(t)* shows this section of the *Schutzbild* to be a parallel to the 51st Address in the Great Litany of Re. The sun god readies the resting places of the dead, and both protects and enlivens them through the power of his voice.³⁸⁹ The

³⁸⁴ Although hieratic similarity is barely possible (compare the form of the sign Q 3 as  in P. Louvre 3226: 6, 1 in Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 2, p. 34 no. 388), in most cases the hieratic forms of the signs are significantly different; the signs  and  are more similar in their hieroglyphic forms.

³⁸⁵ E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj3-* (Cologne, 1971), p. 85; H.J. Polotsky, review of Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut*, in *OLZ* 42 (1939): 158, n. 2.

³⁸⁶ *h3p*: in the lower register, l. 39 (pl. 25; Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 180); *3*: in line 37 of the second section of the upper register (*ibid.*, line just behind the sixth disk-headed entity from the right; pl. 21).

³⁸⁷ This text is at the beginning of the papyrus—Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 29 and p. 203.

³⁸⁸ Cited by Ward, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-3*, p. 47.

³⁸⁹ The verb *ir* in the 51st Address of the Litany and in the *Schutzbild* is read as “to make, create,” following Hornung. It is also possible that in both passages *ir* is used in the sense “to travel,” or “to visit,” followed by the direct object describing the area traversed or visited (*Wb.* I 111, 12; A. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* [Paris, 1916], p. 97, who cites J.H. Breasted, “Varia,” *PSBA* 23 [1901]: 237-8 [note that the *ir* in Sinuhe B 257 is not, as Gardiner took it, an example of *ir* “to travel,” but is an element of the sentence *ir.n w3r.t hd im-k*, “Flight has taken its toll of you”—so M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1 (Berkeley, 1973), p. 231]; another example is found in an inscription in the tomb of the horologist Amenemhat, wherein it is said of Mitanni that Thutmose I “did” the country “in recompense for crimes” [W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 110: *ir.n-f s(y) m db3 tms[w=s? ...]*, “as recompense for (its?) evil did he do it ...”]; H. Brunner, “Mitanni in einem ägyptischen Text vor oder um 1500,” *MIO* 4 [1956]: 324 translates literally “er machte sie als Vergeltung für das Böse,” without comment on the use of *ir* there; see also J. Assmann, “Eine Traumoffenbarung der Göttin Hathor,” *RdE* 30 (1978): 26, cols. 7-8 for *iri m3n*). The *Schutzbild* passage would then read “it is this god who

reference in the Corridor G treatise to inhabitants of *b3y.w* rising and moving at the approach of the sun finds a parallel in the second section of the middle register of the Fourth Division of the Book of Gates (scene 19), where the *ntr.w hty.w Wsir imy.w b3.wt=sn*, “the gods who are after Osiris, those who are in their burial pits,” are depicted and described:³⁹⁰

in n=sn R^c

m33 n=i ntr.w

idy n=i nty.w m b3.wt=sn

ts tn ir=tn ntr.w

iw=i wd=i n=tn shr.w=tn

wnn=tn m-hnt b3.wt=tn

ntn s33 b3.w

nh=tn m hw3.wt=sn

srq=tn m iw3.w=sn

ts tn n itn=i

m3^c tn n ndw=i

hr.wt=tn n=tn m d3.t m nw n wd=i n=tn

3w.t=sn m iw3.hnq.t=sn m dsr.t qb3=sn m mw

hwt.hr=sn m-ht sdm=sn h33 3.w=sn hr=sn

Re speaks to them:

‘Look at me, oh gods;³⁹¹

move violently for me, oh ones who are in your burial pits;

raise yourselves, oh gods.

I decree for you your situation,

that you should be within your burial pits.

It is you who protect the *ba*’s,

traverses/visits the burial pits.” This would parallel *st.wt=f hr tks qrr.wt*, “his rays reaching the caverns,” in Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 19, l. 15 (text 17 = TT 23), as an expression of the omnipresence of the sun (parallel there to *t3.wy dbn.w hr itn=f*, “the two lands encircled beneath his solar disk”).

³⁹⁰ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 113-117.

³⁹¹ As opposed to Hornung’s “Ich habe die Götter erblickt...” The same plural imperative is found in scene 18 of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 110), but with the plural strokes written after the preposition *n* (see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 108 n. 3, with another explanation of the plural strokes there). That these are actions of the *imy.w b3.wt=sn* is shown by the commands *ts tn n=i*, “raise yourselves to me,” and *m3^c tn n ndw=i*, “direct yourselves rightly to my glow,” of the section summarizing and concluding Re’s address.

living on their putrefaction,
breathing from their stench.



Raise yourselves to my disk,
travel rightly to my glow.
May your needs belong to you in the Netherworld from these
which I have decreed for you’—
their *3wt*-meals consist of meat, their beer of *dsr.t*, their
libations of water.

Then they cry out when they hear their doors slam shut over them.

The reference to the sun as creating the burial places in the Netherworld follows immediately upon a reference to the denizens of the Netherworld rising up and performing magical protection for the sun. A passage in Chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead provides a parallel for this sequence of events:³⁹²







‘q=k m t3 qm3=k
‘q=k m t3 qm3w tw
As you enter into the land which you create,
so you enter into the land which creates you.



This *Kehrspruch* refers to the nightly regeneration of the Netherworld by the sun, during which time, in the newly regenerated Underworld, the sun is itself reborn. The *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI expresses this concept of the creator as a created one as a form of *do ut des* between the sun and the inhabitants of the Netherworld. The creator fashions the Netherworld by means of his light power, the power to which the *Schutzbild* refers.³⁹³

^b With the exception of the first sign, the word  has the same orthography as , *dwi* in line 4. The words are, in fact, the same—*dwi*, “to call.” The orthography of the garment *sdw* / *dy* exhibits a number of variants, among which are


³⁹² Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 98 A. 12; Assmann reads *qm3(.n.)k* in the first line of the “Kehrspruch,” yet *qm3=k* better suits the cyclical nature of the action expressed. Assmann’s translation (*ibid.* p. 92) suggests that he took this as an example of Gunn’s “synchronous present.”

³⁹³ The creator is the one “der die Unterwelt erschafft mit seinem Lichtglanz”—see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 86-7 A. 10 (note that in the example from the Book of Gates [Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 108], the creation of the Netherworld is mentioned in conjunction with the destruction of the enemies of the sun, as in the *Schutzbild*).

forms  /  and  / .³⁹⁴ According to Janssen, “the difference between hieratic  and  is small,” and the groups “are almost certainly one and

the same word.”³⁹⁵ This is the case with the words  and  in the *Schutzbild*, both representing *ḡwi*. For the strong arm for the *ḡw*-mountain sign in an orthography of *ḡwi* in the corpus of royal Netherworld texts, compare Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 279, tomb of Sety I (Third Hour of the Amduat).



^c Hornung proposes reading  as *hrr(.t)*, translating “Unhold.”³⁹⁶ The *hrr.t* “als gefährliche Wesen” mentioned by *Wb.* III 150 (specifically 2-3) is indeed attested in the royal tomb texts, and refers to a sort of Netherworld snake. The word in the Corridor G composition, however, has neither a final *t* nor a serpent determinative. Hornung relates the serpent’s name *hrr.t* to the verb *hri* “Furcht einflößen,” which does not necessarily suit the walking legs present in the *Schutzbild*, nor is this determinative of the walking legs entirely appropriate to “Kriegsfurie.” The walking legs suggest a verb, and there is no suitable *hrr* attested.³⁹⁷ One of the possible values for the *r* sign on this ceiling is *p*, and this value here allows the word in question to be read *hpp*, a verb attested within the context of the Netherworld books. *Hpp*, “to be held back,”³⁹⁸ describes the snake *nwdj* in scene 27 in the Fifth Hour of the Book of Gates:³⁹⁹

hpp hf3w pn r=s iwty snn=f sy

the snake is held back from it, without being able to pass it (the gate)

Those holding this snake in the scene from the Book of Gates are said to “hold back” (*nḡr*) the snake when Re comes. In line 4 of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild*, the god calls (*ḡwi=f*) to the dead (the *imy.w* mentioned earlier in line 4); in line 5 the god calls again, and the resulting *hpp*, “holding back,” would indicate that this second address is directed at the enemy of the dead.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁴ J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices From the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 272-7 (summary of orthographies on p. 272).

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 273 (and n. 116).

³⁹⁶ Hornung compares *Wb.* III 150, and E. Edel, *Die Inschriften der Grabfronten der Siut-Gräber in Mittelägypten aus der Hierakleopolitenzeit* (Opladen, 1984), pp. 80-83 (noting Edel’s suggested translation “Kriegsfurie”).

³⁹⁷ *Wb.* III 150, 6 does cite a word *hrr* from the Graeco-Roman period, which it relates to the preceding word *Wb.* III 150, 5, “vom Brüllen des Löwen” (see also Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. 2, p. 135). This word does not seem to fit the context of the *Schutzbild*.


³⁹⁸ *Wb.* III 70, 12.

³⁹⁹ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 166.

⁴⁰⁰ If one were to insist here on a reference to the cataclysmic events accompanying a theophany (the call of the god), other readings would be possible—perhaps the *hrr* as a


^dThis word, which Hornung read as *sizt*, should supply the subject of *hpp*, the evil being which the call of the snake-legged, disk-headed deity expels. Hornung understands this as a participle from *sizt*, “verletzen.” A reading *sizt* is a possible interpretation of the signs, and the word can be related to the *sizty* of *Wb.* IV 32, 6, “der Verstümmeler (von Wesen im Jenseits).” The orthography of this word in E.



Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 1, pl. 102, l. 6 (chapter 90):  also suggests the reading of the word in question in the *Schutzbild*: the *t* written above the back of the aleph, by becoming the hobble-*t* in the cryptic orthography would, retaining this position, be written over the aleph entirely. In *Urk.* VI 123, 2 and 139, 19, the verb *sizt* describes certain actions of Apep.⁴⁰¹

P. Bremner Rhind 32, 23, refers to Apep as:

pp hr sizd-t3
Apep, the fallen, damager of the earth⁴⁰²

Were one to read the sign  in line 5 of the text under discussion as an element in *sizt-t3*, then the following word is *pr*, and the dead are said to come forth at the call of the solar deity. There is no problem in seeing the verb *pr* broken across two lines of the text, and one may compare the suffix pronoun *sn* broken between lines 4-5.

^e The courtyard-*h* here stands for *p*, through substitution with the *pr*-sign for *p* (cf. the orthography of *pn*, “this,” in pl. 23, l. 74). The *p*-sicle has the value *r*, the reverse of the more common use of the mouth-*r* for *p* in the enigmatic texts on the Corridor G ceiling.⁴⁰³ The *n* of the suffix pronoun *sn* appears as the *t3*-land sign.⁴⁰⁴

The suffix pronoun *sn* in this line refers back to the *irw.w imy.w*, “visible forms of those who are there (the dead),” mentioned in l. 3 of this annotation. In l. 4 they

“roaring” (*Wb.* III 150, 5-6) of the *s3tw* “ground.” For *hup* of a god accompanying an earthquake, see the middle register of the Third Division of the Book of Gates (scene 11; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 67; vol. 2, pp. 85 and 86-7 n. 7).

⁴⁰¹ *Sizt* mutilation may also be visited upon Apep by the victorious Re—cf. P. Berlin 3050, col. 3, l. 7 = Sauneron, *BIFAO* 53 (1953): 85, l. 11.

⁴⁰² Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 89, l. 11; *idem*, *JEA* 24 (1938): 52, translated “The Despoiler of the Land.”

⁴⁰³ This enigmatic value is attested elsewhere in the tomb of Ramesses VI—see Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pp. 72 and 73.

⁴⁰⁴ A frequent cryptographic value of the *t3*-sign is *n*—cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 77, l. 6 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 397).

are already said to come forth: *pr=sn m-ḥnty qrr.t=sn*. The mention of the coming forth of the forms of the dead (ll. 4 and 6), in conjunction with the destruction of evil (l. 5), finds a parallel in the 40th Address in the Litany of Re:⁴⁰⁵

ḥkn n=k R^c q3 šhm
šhm-ib r imy.w-ḥt=f
wḏ rkḥw m ḥtmy.t
twṯ is ḥ3.t rkḥy
 Praise be to you, oh Re, high of might,
 mightier of heart than those who are in his following,
 who ordains heat in the place of destruction;
 you are the corpse of the one of heat.

The accompanying entity shows a mummiform figure with a burning taper on his head, shedding light.⁴⁰⁶

THE RIGHT-HAND ANNOTATION, TRANSLATION CONTINUED (PL. 30):



6) *ḥtp^a imy.w-t3^b*
phr^c nṯi pn
m3^c=f^d ḥt št3yt
nwd^e nṯi pn im^f
 Those who are in the earth rest (again),
 as this god travels about (further),
 he traveling rightly through Shetayet,
 this god slithering about therein.”

At the end of line 4 Hornung read a participle of *thi*, “to trespass;” at the beginning of line 5 he read *št3y.t*. For the interchange of *p* and *š*, in his reading of *št3y.t*, Hornung cites Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 146.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 46-47.




⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 56, 59, and p. 111, n. 110.

⁴⁰⁷ Such a substitution could be based on the similarity in appearance between *š* and the stone determinative of the word *p*, “socle” (W. Czermak, *Die Laute der ägyptischen Sprache, eine phonetische Untersuchung*, vol. 1: *Die Laute des Alt- und Mittelägyptischen* [Vienna, 1931], p. 6 [§4]; P. Gaboda, “A P-Prefix in Egyptian,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 (1989): 97-98. Alternatively, the *š*-sign may have been viewed simply as an elongated *p*-sign; for elongation, compare the elongated *niw.t*-sign determinative of *ip.t-S.wt* in the cryptic titulary of Ramesses II on the architraves on the east side of his court at Luxor Temple (Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 319-328; see above, pp. 19-21); note

^a For the orthography  of *hṭp*,  as *h* is attested in the first scene of the third register in the fifth division of the Book of Caverns.⁴⁰⁸ The mouth *r* as *t* presents no difficulties.⁴⁰⁹ The *h*-sign represents *p* through substitution with the *pr* sign.⁴¹⁰ For the association of movement (l. 5) and a return to a state of rest (l. 6) for the netherworld denizens under the influence of the solar deity, one may compare a portion of the morning hymn to Amun in the Taharqa structure by the sacred lake at Karnak, in which it is wished that the dead should awaken, yet remain in a state of *hṭp*-rest:⁴¹¹


[*rs.ti hṭp.ti rs-k m*] *hṭp rs imn m ḥnh rs Nm hṭp rs-k <m> hṭp*
 [May you awaken! May you be at rest! You should awaken in] resting!
 As Amun awakes in life, so N awakes in resting. May you awaken <in>
 resting.

This combination of awaking and being at rest, both as a result of the rising of the sun, corresponds to *pr ... hṭp ...* in lines 5-6 of the *Schutzbild* in corridor G. The denizens of the Netherworld are at rest when the sun is near; their rest follows the restoration of order and the reassurance of the deity's continued presence after the happy outcome of the cosmic catastrophe, when the solar bark runs aground on the back of Apep.⁴¹² The combination of resting and being awake links the states of life (wakefulness) and death (resting), as the sun sets (*hṭp*) in order to rise, so the dead sleep in order to live again.

also the use of the sign  for *h* at Esna (Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, p. 167 [no. 268]  for  with *š* for *h*).

⁴⁰⁸ Cited already by P. le Page Renouf, "The Royal Tombs at Biban-el-Moluk and 'Enigmatical' Writing," *ZÄS* 12 (1874): 101-5.

⁴⁰⁹ See Chapter 1, p. 9 n. 39.




⁴¹⁰ Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 34; A. Roccati, "Remarque sur le graphème  au Moyen Empire," *RdE* 21 (1969): 151-3 on the *pr* sign with the value *p* (and note the derived use of the courtyard *h* for *p* in E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit* [Wiesbaden, 1981], p. 88). On the *wsh* sign substituting for the *pr* sign, see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 425, and *idem*, "Amon, Refuge du Coeur," *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 4. Note also the use of the *pr*-sign for the courtyard *h* in the upper register of the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 195 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 809]). For the courtyard *h* for the *pr* courtyard, see P. Vernus, "Un texte oraculaire de Ramsès VI," *BIFAO* 75 (1975): 108, n. (1); W.F. Petrie, *et al.*, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa* (London, 1915), pl. 44 l. 121 (in a writing of *pr*); and substituting for the *pr*-sign as a determinative (i.e. in *k3r* in K. Myśliwiec, "La renaissance solaire du mort," *Bulletin du Centenaire* [BIFAO 81 Supplement, 1981]: 100, fig. 6, l. 1).

⁴¹¹ Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, pl. 27, and the comments by M. Smith, review of R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, in *JEA* 74 (1988): 285; compare also Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 174 n. 23.

¹² Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 367-8.

^b The plural nisbe *imy.w* appears as the hobble-*t* for *m* over a bookroll, with the plural strokes below.

^c The deity's peregrinations about the Netherworld are described in general as *phr*, which in the context of this *Schutzbild* means more than simple motion around. The word *phr* is important in the magical vocabulary of ancient Egypt,⁴¹³ where encirclement and protection are closely associated. By traveling about, the sun god encompasses, rules, and protects the cosmos.⁴¹⁴ The words *phr* and *hk3*, *hht*, *shn*, etc.,⁴¹⁵ can express this enchanting solar perambulation. Here the word *phr* relates all of these concepts.⁴¹⁶ Line 5 of this annotation alludes to the enchantment of encircling when the denizens of the Netherworld perform *shnw* -protection for the sun. The fiery, disk-headed, snake-footed deity travels around (*phr*) the Dat, shedding his aura of protection.⁴¹⁷

^d Hornung (p. 49) read the signs  as *m3r-s* (the suffix pronoun  referring back to , read as *pr.t* by Hornung), translating "es wirkt verdrängend". Hornung is referring to the verb *m3r* given in *Wb.* II 30, 5 and Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 103. Both dictionaries give the same, single attestation of the

⁴¹³ See J. Johnson, and R. Ritner, "Multiple Meaning and Ambiguity in the 'Demotic Chronicle,'" in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 498-505; Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 57-67. Note the use of the cryptographic concept of perturbation in the enigmatic texts on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun to show protection as a circle (pl. 4, B).


⁴¹⁴ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 302-6; even at the specific time of rising, the sun may be said to *phr* (the beginning to chapter 133 of the Book of the Dead in the papyrus of Nwnw [P. BM 10477, sheet 16]; see E.A.W. Budge, *Book of the Dead* [London, 1898], p. 288, l. 13), a reference to the *perpetuum mobile* of the sun, and to the god's continuing protective activities. For *phr* and the concept of *perpetuum mobile*, compare the late hymn with a demotic parallel on O. Hess, ll. 11-2, wherein the sun is said to *phr D3.t / m hr.t-hrw*, "perambulate the Dat / daily" (M. Smith, *Enchoria* 7 [1977]: 124).

⁴¹⁵ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 302, and n. 8; Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, p. 62 and n. 285

⁴¹⁶ As Ritner, *ibid.*, p. 63, indicates, Setne's use of the term *phr* when enchanting the Netherworld is "not simply figurative," but "represents a fusion of the magician with the god Re in his circuit." Note that Setne will see Pre and the moon, the stars and fish. The reference to the fish is probably an allusion to the fish-forms in which the stars begin life when rising from the waters separating the upper and lower worlds (as in the Nut Book, and P. Carlsberg, see p. 411 below).

⁴¹⁷ Cf. the passage in Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt* 825, pp. 16*, 143, pls. 14-15 (ll. 14/11-15/1), in which a flame travels around (*phr*) a man as his protection (*s3*).

verb in a legal context.⁴¹⁸ The determinative of the verb is the striking man, not the walking legs. The Berlin dictionary suggests relating the verb *m3r* to *3r* (*Wb.* I 11, 9-16), which verb also appears never to have the walking legs as a determinative.



There is no reason to expect the rare verb *m3r* here, and the group  is rather to be read as *m3ʕ*, "richtig sein, richtig machen", "mit Bezug auf gehen, leiten, u.ä." (*Wb.* II 22, 13-23, 6). Such a reading accounts for the presence of the walking legs as the word's determinative, and the word *m3ʕ* fits the context of the Netherworld Books, referring to the guiding of the solar bark. The mouth-*r* is attested with a number of values in this treatise, and here it has the value ʕ, a value derived through the reversal of the cryptic use of the ʕ-arm to write *r*.⁴¹⁹

The verbs *phr* and *m3ʕ* occur together referring to the travel of the sun through the Netherworld:⁴²⁰

phr itn=fm3ʕ b3=f

his (Re's) solar disk traveling around, his *ba* traveling rightly.⁴²¹

The bolt-*s* here writes the suffix pronoun *f*, as in *wnn=f* at the beginning of the first column of the right-hand annotation (pl. 30, right-hand text, l. 1; see above).

^e The group  is to be read *nwd*, the mouth-*r* having the value *w*, attested for it in the treatise on the ceiling of corridor G (in *itn.w iry.w=sn*, pl. 24, ll. 18 and 32; in *sn dwt=sn*, pl. 26, l. 37; and in *dwt* in the *Schutzbild*, pl. 30, rightmost text, ll. 4 and 5). The sign  which Hornung read as the verb *pr* is more likely the determinative of *š3yt*. The verb *nwd*⁴²² occurs in the name of the great serpent in scene 27 of the Fifth Hour of the Book of Gates, *nwdy*, with the determinative of the back-turned walking legs (in 6 out of 7 examples in I 165 and 167 [forward in M]). Hornung⁴²³ suggests rendering the name as "Zurückweichenden," or "Schwankenden," ein

⁴¹⁸ R. Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub* (Leipzig, 1928), pl. 22, l. 8.

⁴¹⁹ Two arms have the value *r* in de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, p. 77, n. 3; the arm holding a conical loaf has the value *r* in Drioton, *ZAS* 79 (1954): 9. For the probable phonetic origin of these enigmatic interchanges of the ʕ-arm and the mouth-*r*, compare the observations of Baines, *Or.* 39 (1970): 401, n. 2.

⁴²⁰ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 152.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 80.

⁴²² *Wb.* II 225, 2-6; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 255; W. Westendorf, "Eilen und Warten," *GM* 46 (1981): 28-31; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 130 n. 2; H. Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun* (Baltimore, 1975), p. 178; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3 (Berkeley, 1980), p. 86, n. 8; E. Edel, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften des alten Reiches* (Opladen, 1981), pp. 68-9

⁴²³ *Das Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 130 n. 2.

passender Name für den beweglichen Schlangenleib".⁴²⁴ The entity which is said here to move in the manner *nwd* indeed has snakes for feet; as it is these which convey him, *nwd*, "to slither," would be a suitable description of the being's movement. This also explains the use of the turned-back walking legs as determinative.⁴²⁵

f The mouth *r* here can be read as *m*, giving the possible reading *im*, "there."⁴²⁶ This is in fact the spelling of *im* in line 40 of the second section of the bottom register of the main portion of the Corridor G composition (pl. 24). *Nwd* can also mean "to avoid," with the object introduced by *r* (*Wb.* II 225, 4). *Nwd*, "avoid," would be a possible reading here, suggesting that the entity cannot enter Shetayet proper,⁴²⁷ were it not that *nwd nṯi pn im* follows the statement that the deity is

⁴²⁴ For *nwd* meaning "to slither," compare the use of the verb to mean "'lie crookedly' or 'slackly'," describing a rope (see Gardiner, *JEA* 32 [1946]: 51, n. *k*, and the references given there). For another verb of entwining applied both to a snake and a rope in a Netherworld book, compare the use of *m'nn* for snakes supporting the left eye of the sun in the Tenth Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 164), and *m'nn* for a rope in the upper register of the Sixth hour of the Book of Gates (scene 36; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 215-8; vol. 2, pp. 158-60). *Nwd* describing the motion of a snake is more descriptive than *pn'n* (S. Sauneron, *Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie (Papyrus du Brooklyn Museum N° 47.218.45 et 85)* [Cairo, 1989], p. 24 n. 3). The use of the back-turned walking legs in the writing of the name of *nwdy* in scene 27, Fifth Hour of the Book of Gates may indeed suggest "twisting/slithering back," as Hornung suggested. This would then refer to the lateral slithering motion of a viper (*ibid.* p. 30 n. 4 and p. 143). Note the description of the motion of a viper given by Tregenza (cited by Sauneron, *Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie*, p. 143), who noted that the two end curves of the moving body point back, and only the center curve points forward. Compare the verb *bn* (*bne*), "twist, turn around, turn back," used of a snake in the demotic P. Louvre E 3452 (Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, pp. 131-3 n.b to col. VIII line 4, citing H. Kees, "Ein alter Götterhymnus als Begleittext zur Opfertafel," *ZÄS* 57 [1922]: 115-6; and W. Ward, "Notes on Some Egypto-Semitic Roots," *ZÄS* 95 [1968]: 66-7).

⁴²⁵ Ignoring the problem of the *n* following the determinative of *štyt*, Hornung's reading of *štyt* as *rd.wy* would be possible, with the walking legs substituting for the two legs, reversed to face left with the figure being described. The body parts when mentioned in lines 1 and 3 do not, however, show reversals. The *nwd*, "slithering," going to and fro, may relate to the word *pḥr* as a magical "twining"—see Keimer, *Histoire de serpents*, pp. 30-1, n. 5 (p. 30), on "serpents enlacés" on the magical "knives."

⁴²⁶ Compare the old writing for *imy* (*Wb.* I 72). The mouth *r* has the value *m* in lines 31, 40, and 47 of the second part of the lower register of the main part of the ceiling (the text accompanying the goddesses), and in the lower register of the dropped portion of the ceiling—see the Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

⁴²⁷ Compare scene 31 in the Fifth Hour of the Book of Gates, in which those in *ḥtmyt* cannot see those who are in Shetayet (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 184-5); the place of destruction is lower and deeper than Shetayet, the area of the sun god's travels (see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 139 n. 7; Hornung, *Altägyptischen Höllenvorstellungen*, pp. 32f).

“traveling rightly through ($m\dot{z}^c=f$ $h\dot{t}$) Shetayet.” Were this concluding section read as an incomplete sentence, ending with the preposition r but missing the object, then one could read “this god receding from...,” with perhaps a missing reference to some portion of the Netherworld which this protective but potentially dangerous emanation of the sun should not disturb, such as an area in which reside the damned, who cannot see the light of the sun.⁴²⁸ Lines 5-6 of the *Schutzbild* express the same concepts found in the epithets of Ptah in P. Harris I 44, 5:⁴²⁹

ir d\dot{z}.t *sh\dot{t}p h\dot{z}.w(t)* *d\dot{i} n^c y R^c r sw\dot{d}z=sn*
 Who made the Netherworld, who puts the corpses to rest, who lets Re
 travel in order to heal them

The text of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* reads:

- 1) *wnn=f n\dot{t}\dot{i}* *pn m sh\dot{r} pn*
 $\epsilon.wy=f(y)$ *m hfy*
 $\epsilon.wy=f(y)$ *mn m itn*
- 2) *hpr hpr.w \dot{z}h.ty m-h\dot{t} \epsilon q m qrr.t tn hr n\dot{t}\dot{i}* *pn* 3) *m sh\dot{r} pn*
stt=f ir nty-dwy
sn.ty w\dot{d} n\dot{t}\dot{i} pn r \epsilon.wy=f(y)
- 4) *r h\dot{d} irw.w imy.w (n n\dot{t}\dot{r} ?)*
in n\dot{t}\dot{r} dw\dot{i}=f
r pr=sn m-h\dot{t}nty qrr.t=sn
- 5) *r ir.t sh\dot{n}.w*
n\dot{t}\dot{i} pn ir b\dot{z}y.w(t)
dwi=f
h\dot{p}p s\dot{i}z\dot{t}-t\dot{z}
- 6) *pr=sn*
h\dot{t}p imy.w-t\dot{z}
p\dot{h}r n\dot{t}\dot{i} pn
m\dot{z}^c=f h\dot{t} \dot{s}t\dot{z}yt
nwd n\dot{t}\dot{i} pn \epsilon\dot{z} im

- 1) In this fashion does he, namely this god, exist,
 his two (visible) limbs being two snakes,
 his two arms remaining in the solar disk.
- 2-3) It is in this fashion that the realization of the horizon dweller comes
 into being, after entering into this cavern before this god.
 It is against one who is evil that he shoots (light/flame).

⁴²⁸ Alternatively the r could be a substitution for a horizontal $\epsilon\dot{z}$ sign, giving the reading *nwd n\dot{t}\dot{i} pn \epsilon\dot{z}; such a reading seems, however, incomplete. *N\dot{t}\dot{i} pn \epsilon\dot{z} does occur, however, in line 3 of the lefthand annotation to the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30, left l. 3).**

⁴²⁹ W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I, hieroglyphische Transkription* (Brussels, 1933), p. 49, ll. 12-13 (this text cited by Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 86); see also the translation by P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (Cairo, 1994), vol. 1, p. 284.

It is the Two Sisters whom this god determines to be his two arms,
 4) in order that the forms of those who are there (the dead) may
 shine.

It is the deity who will call,
 in order that they might come forth from their cavern,
 5) in order to perform *shnw*-protection.

It is this god who has made the burial pits.
 When he calls, the damager of the earth is held back,
 6) they coming forth.

Those who are in the earth rest (again),
 as this god travels about (further),
 he traveling rightly through Shetayet,
 this god slithering about therein.

The text of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* is patterned after the three divisions of solar hymns which Assmann has described:⁴³⁰


I Epiphanie, Geburt, Werden, Auszug
 II Ausübung der Königsherrschaft Gericht + Fest
 III Ankunft, Heimkehr, Einzug, Tod, Ruhen, Verwandlung

Rather than referring to the entry of the deity into the upper or lower world, section I (lines 1-2) of the *Schutzbild* refers to the god's entry into a specific portion of the Netherworld, a localized epiphany within the Netherworld (the verbs describing the deity's epiphany are *hpr* and *ʿq*). Section II (lines 3-6 [beginning]) refers to the punishment of evil (*stt=f ir nty-dwy; hpp s3t-t3*), and the festive atmosphere which the solar deity brings into the Dat (*pr=sn*); there is also a reference to the greeting of the sun by the Netherworld inhabitants (*pr=sn ... r ir.t shn.w*).⁴³¹ In part III of the text (line 6), the Datians return to rest (*hpt imy.w-t3*), and the journey of the solar deity continues (*phr, m3ʿ, nwd*).

The themes of snakes and encircling, bound together perhaps by the word *nwd*, run through the text and the entire treatise. Snakes often live in the walls of houses, slithering in and out of cracks and holes,⁴³² and the composer of the *Schutzbild* may

⁴³⁰ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 12 n. 61.

⁴³¹ "Epiphanie und Empfang bilden ein konstantes Paar in der Thematik ägyptischer Hymnen" (*ibid.* p. 5).

⁴³² See Sauneron, *Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie*, p. 137 and n. 4, who cites the Arabic جدارى referring to snakes, meaning "celui des fondations de murs." Note also PT Utterance 241, §246, which refers to the potentially malevolent serpent as *lšw-inb*, "saliva of the wall" (on *lšn* see Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 51, no. 78.0502; compare also the orthography of *whn* in the B4L_a and BIL versions of A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 2 [Chicago, 1938], p. 379a [spell 160], where a determinative , a hybrid of the *whm*-flame [for *whn/whm*—see Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 102, no. 78.1051] and the tumbling wall of *whn*, determines *whn* in "that snake atop his mountain, who is in his *whn*"). For the concept of snakes as saliva, compare the spitting of the snake catcher onto the ground, followed by a conjuration that the snake

have envisioned the blasting and vengeful heat of the sun entering as a snake through the hole in Corridor G.⁴³³ The hole was perhaps an inspiration for the composition of this portion of the treatise, transforming the accidental break into an older tomb from a way of ingress for noxious influences into a special entrance for the protective rays of the sun. The potentially dangerous accident becomes a second “way of Shu.” The *Schutzbild* is not a protective covering of the hole as much as a reaffirmation of the power of the sun, and an attempt to turn the accidental break into another passage for the power of the sun into the recesses of the tomb. The hole through which evil snake-like beings might slither⁴³⁴ becomes a hole through which the snake-legged manifestation of the power of the sun will slither, for the protection of Ramesses VI and his tomb.⁴³⁵

In the Fifth Litany of the Litany of Re,⁴³⁶ the verbs *phr* and *m3ʿ*, referring to the journeying of the sun, occur together; shortly thereafter, in the same litany,⁴³⁷ the Two Sisters join with the solar deity in his form of a *ba* appearing in glory. The right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* of the Corridor G ceiling makes allusion to this passage, both textually and pictorially. The verbs *phr* and *m3ʿ* occur together in l. 6 of the right-hand annotation; the Two Sisters are described as the arms of the serpent-legged sun in l. 3, and appear as the arms of the nocturnal sun god in the scene on the dropped portion of the ceiling.

Other potentially dangerous and violent disk-headed beings occur in a netherworldly context, such as the four arrow-wielding, disk-headed beings in the

should emerge (see E.W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* [Cairo, 1989 (reprint of London, 1895)], p. 379). Note also the snake and spitting pun on *tp*, “spucken; ausfließen, vergehen,” in J. Osing, “Zu einigen magischen Texten,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (Budapest, 1992), p. 475 (citing A. Roccati, *Papiro Ieratico n. 54003, Estratti magici e rituali del Primo Medio Regno* [Turin, 1970], p. 25). For snake Agathodaimons, see K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs* (Berlin, 1929), p. 27 (§§ 39-40). Keimer, *Histoire de serpents dans l'Égypte ancienne et moderne*, p. 90 and n. 1, discusses snakes living in more recent Egyptian houses as objects of veneration, protectors of the house; they can both kill and help.

⁴³³ Note that the snake heads of the legs of the leftmost being (pl. 29) face towards the right, away from the hole, whereas the snake heads of the rightmost protective figure face to either side, away from the figure. This suggests that the leftmost being is indeed depicted as coming through the hole into the tomb.

⁴³⁴ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 42, no. 64, the text to the figure:

intt-k hf.tyw Wsr-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ n pr=sn m ts
May you bind the enemies of Usermaatse,

so that they will not emerge from the earth.

The enemies, emerging from the earth, are apparently snakes.

⁴³⁵ The passage describing the sun as *ir b3y.t* could also be a pun on the hole and the anguipede. *B3b3* can designate the hole of a snake (*Wb.* I 419, 3), as well as a hole or crack in a home, through which malignant influences might enter (Ward, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-3* §80 p. 47 = P. Beatty VIII vs. 1, 4).

⁴³⁶ See above, p. 265-6.

⁴³⁷ See above, p. 244.

middle register of the Tenth Hour of the Amduat.⁴³⁸ In the papyrus version of this hour on P. Cairo 122,⁴³⁹ two disk-headed beings also occupy the upper left portion of the hour. Only one three-dimensional Egyptian representation of a disk-headed being has thus far appeared, but the notion of the being there represented remains obscure.⁴⁴⁰

The disk-headed being on the right side of the Corridor G *Schutzbild* is the giant Re-Osiris, his form here emphasizing the unified deity as the source of the punishing flames and brilliant light at the eastern horizon (see chapter 6).

THE LEFT-HAND ANNOTATION (PL. 30):

The text here is badly damaged, but, as Hornung indicates, the photograph given by Piankoff allows a certain amount of the inscription to be seen. Little of a connected text can be established, however, and repeated examination through binoculars from the floor of the corridor have helped only little; any attempt at a full treatment must await collation of the text with the aid of a ladder. The signs which appear certain are given on plate 30. A running translation is not at present possible, and there follow suggestions on what might be read from the traces.

l. 1) The line concludes with *Hpry hpr hpr(w?)*, “Khepri is one whose realization are come into being,” a statement similar to *hpr hprw sh.ty*, “the realization of *sh.ty* comes into being,” at the top of the second column in the right-hand annotation. The plural strokes expected following the final beetle are perhaps postponed until the top of the second column.⁴⁴¹

l. 2) The signs below the remnants of a yellow bird(?) hieroglyph may read *nty dwy*, “the one who is evil (Apep),” corresponding to the same words in the third line of the right-hand annotation. The bird could then stand for *r*, giving *r nty dwy*, “against the one who is evil,” corresponding to the *ir nty dwy* opposite. This group

⁴³⁸ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 175 (nos. 733-36) = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 730.

⁴³⁹ A.-A.F. Sadek, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Amduat* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1985), pp. 114-9 (specifically p. 116 for the disk-headed deities).

⁴⁴⁰ R. Bianchi, “New Light on the Aton,” *GM* 114 (1990): 35-40; E. Cruz-Uribe, “Another Look at an Aton Statue,” *GM* 126 (1992): 29-32 (but note that an Amenhotep III or early Amarna date for the object remains uncertain). This figure is perhaps one of the few representations in the round of the denizens of the Egyptian Netherworld (compare certain of the ritual figures from the tomb of Tutankhamun (N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* [London and New York, 1990], pp. 130-135), the Ramesside tomb figurines now exhibited in the British Museum, and the pairs of prisoners apparently bound to a *wsr*-stake, recalling a scene in the Amduat [A. Scharff, “Eine Kalksteingruppe zweier an einene Prahl gebundener Männer,” *ZÄS* 63 (1928): 123-5, pl. 2]; N. Beaux, “Ennemis étrangers et malfaiteurs égyptiens: la signification du châtement au pilori,” *BIFAO* 91 [1991]: 33-54).

⁴⁴¹ Examination of the text in the tomb reveals no trace of signs below the final *hpr* beetle. For a similar separation of the plural strikes of a word onto the top of the following column of text, in this cryptic treatise, compare the division of *nn n ntr/.w* in middle register text no. 1, ll. 2-3 (pl. 22).

is followed by a kneeling man with his arms raised before him, *dw3*⁴⁴² or *imn*;⁴⁴³ the snake following is perhaps a variant for the horned viper, as is usual in the right-hand annotation. One could then read *imn=f* or *dw3=f*.

The final word in the second column might be read *šr.w*, "the little ones(?)," *šr* written in *Normalschrift*, the "evil bird" being a determinative. Who these "little ones" might be would remain a mystery. Reading "he hiding the little ones," one is tempted to see a reference to the hidden arms of the entity, assuming he is like the right-hand entity, with *ʿ.wy=f(y)* *mn m itm* (right-hand annotation l. 1). The arms would then be referred to as "the little ones," a parallel to the right-hand annotation's (l. 3) reference to the arms as the two sisters, *sn.ty*.⁴⁴⁴ This interpretation has as possible support the fact that, in the right-hand annotation, the goddesses as arms are mentioned immediately after the god shoots at the evil *nty ȝwy*; on the left side, the *šr.w(t)* goddesses, perhaps the hidden arms, would be mentioned immediately after what may be *r nty ȝwy*.⁴⁴⁵

Also possible would be a reading *imn=f št3w*, reading the mouth-*r* as a *t*, a value derived through an hieratic confusion, and the evil bird substituting for the *3*-vulture (on *imn št3w* see Chapter 5, pp. 289-93).

l. 3) The end of the line is *ȝwi ntr pn ʿ3*; the final word may be *mtn*, "to endow," perhaps referring to the forms with which the deity is endowed.⁴⁴⁶

l. 4) At the top of the line there is what may be the word *imnt.t*, "the West." This is followed by what may be a water sign (not drawn), then the cloth-*s*, a grasshopper, a bird, and the group mouth-*r* and *n*, probably for *pn*; the reed leaf and bird after this may be *im*. The signs suggest a reading *nsr.t tn im*, "this flame therein," with the grasshopper in its standard enigmatic value *r*, the following bird *t* (from *tyw*), and the mouth-*r* as *t* (through exploitation of hieratic similarity between the mouth-*r* and the loaf-*t*). The group *im* probably represents the end of a statement.

⁴⁴² Cf. Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949): 118.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 8*.

⁴⁴⁴ For *šr.t* as a reference to a goddess as the daughter of a deity, see *Wb.* IV 527, 7; Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 78.4174.

⁴⁴⁵ Also possible, although the parallelism with line 3 of the right-hand annotation would be lost, would be to read *imn šrw.t* here as the opposite of the *wn šrw.t* of *Wb.* IV 528, 1. This would refer to the deity as the one who "hides the blocked-up area," a protector of the tomb in general (for *šrw.t* as tomb, see Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 78.4175), and of this blocked up hole in particular (this would then be the reference to the scene as a *Schutzbild*, which Hornung sought at the top of line 3 in the right-hand annotation).

⁴⁴⁶ See the discussion of *mtn*, "to endow," in the bottom register of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 34A, l. 10; Chapter 5, pp. 310-11). Alternatively one might read *mn ntr...*, the bird and *n* for *mn* (compare the bird and snake for *mn* in line 1 of the right-hand annotation).

Following a small gap after the possible *nsr.t tn im* are two *r*-mouths and seven red crowns. Each crown could represent *nt* for *ntr*,⁴⁴⁷ the whole referring to some group of seven deities. The number 7 would suggest seven deities who might attack Apep, one for each of the fiend's neck vertebrae.⁴⁴⁸ The two *r*-mouths could be interpreted as a writing of *ir*,⁴⁴⁹ allowing a reading "As for the seven deities..."

The sign to the left of the seventh Red Crown is uncertain, although it may be yet another Red Crown; this is followed by the animal skin, two reed leaves, a bird, and plural strokes, suggesting a word descriptive of the seven deities. The most common cryptic value of the skin is *k*, as in *kkw*, which would give a word ending in *-kyw*. Appropriate to seven deities battling Apep would be the term *nik*, *Wb.* II 205, 9 and 14, also written as *nk* or *nki*; if there are indeed eight Red Crowns together in this column, one might read *ntr.w 7 n(i)ky.w*, "the seven (Apep) punishing deities." This is followed by signs which may, in keeping with the idea of punishing evil, be read as *stt n*, or perhaps better as *stt-s[n]*.⁴⁵⁰

The legible portion of line 4 may thus read:

... *nsr.t tn im*
ir ntr.w 7 n(i)ky.w stt-s[n...]
 ... this flame therein.
 As for the seven (Apep) punishing deities,
 th[ey] shoot [...]

Seven deities standing atop sandy slaughtering places help the bark of the sun deal with the *Nh3-hr*-serpents and Apep in the enigmatic composition in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 31).


⁴⁴⁷ On the Red Crown for *nt*, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 47; for the Red Crown writing *ntr*, see the writing of *hw.t-ntr* as the red crown within the *hw.t*-sign, cited above, p. 166, text n. a.

⁴⁴⁸ For the seven deities attacking Apep, see Chapter 5, pp. 293 and 304-5. Alternatively, four Red Crowns might form a group for *dšr.wt*, "deserts, foreign lands," one for each point of the compass, as they are attested from the Graeco-Roman period (see A. Gutbub, "La tortue animal cosmique bénéfique à l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976*, vol. I: *Égypte pharaonique* [Cairo, 1979], p. 433); one might then read the first three crowns as the plural of *nt* for *ntr.w*, reading *ntr.w dšr.tyw*, "necropolitan deities" (although one might expect deities *dšr.tyw* to be inimical [cf. *Wb.* V 494, 14; Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 435, no. 78.4837], the sun is called *dšr.ty* [see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 129 n. 300; for *dšr.t* as necropolis, see *Wb.* V 494, 7).

⁴⁴⁹ The first mouth-*r* could substitute for the reed leaf, based on phonetic substitution. For three mouth-*rs* writing the word *iry.w*, "guardians," see Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 24. The two *r*'s could also write *pḥr*, referring to a circular, enchanting motion by the entities.

⁴⁵⁰ For the writing of *stt* here, with two mouth-*r*'s as the two *t*'s, followed unexpectedly by the book roll determinative, compare the similar orthography of *stt* in line 3 of the right-hand annotation (pl. 30, right text, l. 3, see p. 242 above).

l. 5) This line appears to begin with *srq*, “breathe,” written in *Normalschrift*, followed by what may be *phr h3(wt)=sn im-m*, “their corpses traveling around therein.” The writing of *phr* with two mouth-*r*’s presents no difficulty (*Wb.* I 544), but the absence of the walking legs is slightly disturbing, as this determinative appears to accompany the verbs of motion in the right-hand annotation. *H3.t*, “corpse,” written as only the *h3*-fish is also possible (*Wb.* III 359), although such a truncated orthography does not appear to occur elsewhere in the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Alternatively, the two *r*-mouths here could represent *ir* or *try*.

At the end of this line, there is a group , which may be read as the word *smȝ.t*, “desert, necropolis.” For the orthography, compare the demotic orthography, in line 8 of stela Hamburg C 4059, with *s* written over the foreign land sign.⁴⁵¹

THE CENTRAL IMAGE

In the central portion of the *Schutzbild*, four snakes emerge from the sun. In the scene to the right of the central disk in the *Schutzbild*, the legs of the snake-legged Re-Osiris, and the arms which are the sisters Isis and Nephthys, all appear as serpents emerging from the sun.⁴⁵² The serpents emerging from the disk of the sun in the center of the *Schutzbild* suggest the snakes depicted as if issuing forth from the disk of the sun in the introductory scene to the Great Litany of Re.


The introductory scene to the Litany of Re has been interpreted as an emblem of the sun scattering its enemies before it in the Netherworld.⁴⁵³ However, if that interpretation of the scene were correct, then the sun would scatter some of the undesirable elements deeper still into the Netherworld which the deceased ruler must travel, for the snake and crocodile are depicted as though rushing into the depths of the tomb. The place of the final fiery consumption of the damned is in the glowing red bowels of the east, at the root of the Osirian corpse-horizon from which the newborn sun must rise (see below, chapters 5 and 6). It is difficult to imagine that an Egyptian theologian or artist would have thought of allowing noxious beasts to be shown rushing unpunished toward the royal burial chamber, through which the Osirian king would complete his journey into the Netherworld.

⁴⁵¹ W. Spiegelberg, “Demotische Miscellen,” *RdT* 26 (1904): 160-1; cited and discussed by H.J. Thissen, “Die Kunst der Kritik,” *GM* 106 (1988): 93-4. On the orthography of this word see also G. Roquet, in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976*, vol. I: *Égypte pharaonique*, p. 459, n. 1.

⁴⁵² B.H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus* vol. 3 (Leiden, 1975), pp. 238-9, with fig. 31, interpreted the four snakes as “de vier cosmische rivieren.” See also *idem*, “The Enemies of Re I: the doctrine of ascesis,” *DE* 23 (1992): 71 and n. 264: “from the zenith stream four rivers which determine the four cardinal points.” For this depiction, compare the scarab in fig. no. 236 in Jaeger, *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperré*, and §1226, pp. 172-3.

⁴⁵³ So Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, pp. 29-30. J. Janssen, in B. van de Walle and J. Vergote, “Traduction des Hieroglyphica d’Horapollon,” *CdE* 18, no. 35 (1943): 89, relates the crocodile in the scene to Horapollon I §69, where Horapollon states that for the west the Egyptians “peignent le crocodile se baissant en avant” (p. 88).

The snake and crocodile in the introductory scene to the Litany of Re are not fleeing the sun, but rather the sun sends them out as its emissaries to root out and punish evil in the Netherworld/tomb.⁴⁵⁴ The interpretation of the snake and crocodile as evil-punishing emissaries of the sun is supported by the images in the central portion of the *Schutzbild*. From a small disk above the large, central disk, the head of a crocodile emerges; a snake thrusts its head from the top of another small disk below the large sun. Here, in the Corridor G treatise, where fire-breathing serpents spew flames onto bound enemies, the crocodile and the snake represent the solar deity's aggressive hatred of evil. The final and most persuasive evidence for the meaning of the opening scene of the Litany of Re comes from an apparently thus far ignored scene on the exterior foot end of a Late Period sarcophagus in the Cairo Museum. The scene in question, on the foot of the sarcophagus of the lady Tadipakem, CCG 29316,⁴⁵⁵ shows a variant of the opening scene in the Litany of Re: from a solar disk containing a scarab and a ram-headed human figure there proceeds a crocodile to the right, and a serpent to the left. Below the crocodile a text specifies the being as *hnty sꜣwtꜣ sbꜣ imnty m dꜣ.t*, "the *hnty*-crocodile (*Wb.* III 308, 4) who protects the western portal in the Netherworld." The serpent is described as *wꜣmmw sꜣwtꜣ sbꜣ ḥꜣ m dꜣ.t*, "the serpent of roasting flame (<*wꜣm* "dörren, rösten," *Wb.* I 251, 10)⁴⁵⁶ who protects the portal of the West in the Netherworld." In this late version of the opening scene of the Litany of Re, the crocodile and the serpent are labeled, and they are each termed a guardian of the portal of the West.

As on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, the cryptography of this treatise primarily consists of common signs with generally uniliteral enigmatic values, derived for the most part through substitution. The *ꜥpr*-sign  appears, with the value *ꜥp* through application of the consonantal principle; this sign does not appear elsewhere in the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, and is otherwise

⁴⁵⁴ For the crocodile punishing wrong-doers and protecting the royal tomb, compare the small seal type N from the tomb of Tutankhamun, showing an enemy pressed down by a rearing and roaring lion, with a crocodile standing on its tail before him (see C.N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings* [London, 1990], p. 66, fig. 21). Two crocodiles standing on their tails protect a royal figure on British Museum EA 10270 (S. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* [London, 1992], p. 74 fig. 41). Although there is a certain ambivalence, "so gehören die Masse der Texte, die das Krokodil als Sonnenfeind behandeln, der späteren Zeit ägyptischer Geschichte an" (E. Brunner-Traut, "Ägyptische Mythen im Physiologus [zu Kapitel 26, 25 und 11]," in W. Helck, ed., *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August 1967* [Wiesbaden, 1968], p. 36). An echo of this concept appears in Giorgio Vasari's painting of the Battle of Lepanto—in the far right corner angels pour serpents and other noxious creatures down upon death and Islam (J.F. Guilmartin, *Galleons and Galleys* [London, 2002], p. 123).

⁴⁵⁵ G. Maspero and H. Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, vol. 2 (CGC; Cairo, 1939), pp. 108-109, pl. 32; the texts as given on pp. 108-109 are somewhat faulty, and were collated in the Cairo Museum in September 1994.

⁴⁵⁶ A serpent *wꜣmm.ty* is attested (*Wb.* I 251, 15) as an associate of Apep. Here, the entity, although similarly named, is a guardian of the western door of the Netherworld.

scarce in New Kingdom cryptography. The use of the sign *𓂏* for *shy*, through exploitation of a hieratic confusion, and the phonetic similarity of *shy*, “to be deaf,” and *shr*, “plan,” is another peculiarity of the Corridor G cryptography. For no enigmatic sign value in this treatise does acrophony enter into the explanation.

The texts and iconography of the various elements of the Corridor G treatise emphasize the sun at the eastern horizon, the giant, snake-legged entity on the right side of the *Schutzbild*, his arms composed of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys on the dropped portion of the ceiling. The headless beings, with disks where their heads should be, also suggest the eastern horizon, the cavern where the heads of the blessed dead are returned to their headless corpses after they complete their nocturnal journey with the sun. The treatise also emphasizes the importance of turning over the blessed dead as they enter the Netherworld, reorienting them to their new surroundings (end of the middle register, main portion of the ceiling [pl. 16 middle right), and the need to keep the damned down in the bowels of the flaming east (dropped portion of the ceiling, pl. 27 right).

CHAPTER 5

THE ENIGMATIC WALL IN THE TOMB OF RAMESSES IX

The final extant enigmatic Netherworld Book of the New Kingdom, and the last of the surviving versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, is the treatise on the right wall—looking into the tomb—of the third corridor in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 31).¹ Alexandre Piankoff and Étienne Drioton dealt with the annotation accompanying the ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene of this treatise (pl. 36),² and Erik Hornung has offered a brief discussion of the whole composition.³ Portions of the treatise are in full cryptography, others in partial cryptography.⁴ Neither Piankoff nor Hornung delved deeply into the iconography of the accompanying scenes, and neither appears to have seen the texts and scenes of the enigmatic treatise as forming a connected and interrelated whole.

LEFT SECTION, FIRST REGISTER (PL. 32):

In the upper left horizontal division of the Enigmatic Wall are eight circles, four red to the right and four yellow to the left.⁵ These spheres are filled with concentric circles of black dots, and each is occupied by a black figure, its head to the bottom of the circle, facing left, feet and arms spread wide. Each of the eight larger circles rests on a smaller, red disk. For Stricker, each figure is “de cosmische mens, rad der wereld,” and shows that “God is anderzijds immanent.”⁶ According to Hornung: “Die kreisenden Figuren in den gelben und roten Scheiben deuten wohl auf die wirbelnde Bewegung des Lichtes.”⁷ Elsewhere Hornung refers to these figures as

¹ F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX* (Cairo, 1907), pls. 63, 76-81. E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), p. 88, commenting on the Netherworld Books of ancient Egypt, notes that this Enigmatic Wall, together with portions of the inscriptions and scenes in the sarcophagus chamber of the same tomb, represent the end of the “schöpferische Zeit dieser Literaturgattung.”

² A. Piankoff, “Les deux papyrus ‘mythologiques’ de Her-Ouben au Musée du Caire,” *ASAE* 49/2 (1949): 129-67.

³ E. Hornung, “Eine ägyptische Wand im Ramses’ IX.,” in J. Osing and G. Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass* (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 226-37.

⁴ The cryptography in the tomb of Ramesses IX is not limited to this version of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity; for an overview of heraldic cryptography in the tomb of Ramesses IX, see F. Abitz, “Die Veränderung von Schreibformen im Königsgrab Ramses’ IX.,” in H. Altenmüller and R. Germer, eds., *Miscellanea Aegyptologica* (Hamburg, 1989), pp. 1-5.

⁵ Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 231, states that the circles are “abwechselnd rot und gelb ausgemalt,” which would suggest that the circles alternate red and yellow.

⁶ B.H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus* vol. 4 (Leiden, 1982), pp. 349, 352 fig. 41.

⁷ Hornung, *Tal der Könige* (Zurich, 1983), p. 148 (pl. 126).

“Rhönrädern.”⁸ The dots could only represent sand⁹ or flame and light.¹⁰ The lack of white dots accompanying the black dots on the red and yellow backgrounds speaks somewhat against interpreting these dots as indications of sand. On the basis of the use of the colors red and yellow for the backgrounds of the encircled areas, the circles probably represent sources of light.¹¹ The concentric circles of dots which surround the figures within the disks suggest that while the disks are made of light, they are not to be understood as emitting light; though filled with light they do not shed light. The dots circle back on themselves, so that when connected, they form a circle, enveloping the figures. This echoes the clothing effects of light discussed in Chapter 3 (see above, pp. 134-9). Light travels around and hides these figures, as in the fiery pits in the Eleventh Hour of the Amduat (the third shows the dots of fire forming hemispheres). The figures in the circles of light in the Ramesses IX treatise are, perhaps, not really seen, as suggested by the black figures residing within them.

Although he recognized that there are no obvious iconographic parallels to these figures, Hornung suggests that “eine ähnliche Darstellung begegnet als aenigmatisches Zeichen für *nb* und meint eigentlich einen Schwimmenden im Wasser, das hier durch den Sand der Unterwelt ersetzt ist”.¹² After describing in detail the pose of the figures, Hornung notes: “dazu kommt eine Gedankenverbindung mit der Hieroglyph für *Dat* ‘Unterwelt’ (Stern im Kreis).” Hornung does not, however, explain the upside-down pose of the figures, beyond comparing them to the *pg3.w* of the Book of Gates¹³ and the *igy.w* of the Amduat.¹⁴ He also does not read the figures; as an interpretation of them, Hornung suggests:

Die gemeinsame Idee ist offenbar, dass die Verstorbenen durch die Unterwelt (dort als Urgewässer Nun, hier als Wüstenregion) dahintreiben, aber durch den Sonnengott vor Vernichtung bewahrt und mit neuem

⁸ *Idem*, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 231.

⁹ The hill behind Osiris has a red background in the Amduat in the tomb of Thutmose III; the graves in the Sixth Hour of the Amduat are one yellow and two red.

¹⁰ Cf. Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, fig. 106 (p. 133) and fig. 139 (p. 163).

¹¹ In this context, according to K. Myśliwiec, “À propos des signes hiéroglyphiques ‘*hr*’ et ‘*tp*’,” *ZÄS* 98 (1972): 94.

¹² Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 231. For this sign use cf. A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division,” *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 70, ll. 1-3. For the swimming figure as *nb*, “lord,” from *nbi* “to swim,” see also the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, É. Drioton, “La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhamon,” *JEA* 35 (1949): 118; *idem*, “Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie,” *RdE* 1 (1933): 37; *idem*, “La cryptographie égyptienne” *CdE* 9, no. 18 (1934): 194.

¹³ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* (Geneva, 1980), vol. 2, p. 215.

¹⁴ *Idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 171.


Leben beschenkt werden; die Darstellung des Gottes im Amduat und im Pfortenbuch ist hier durch die Sonnenscheibe ersetzt.

Although Hornung concludes: "Da erläuternde Beischriften fehlen, muss sich unsere Deutung allerdings nur auf die Bildinformation stützen;" apparently he does not assume a close connection between the top registers and those below.¹⁵ The cartwheeling figures do lack an overt annotation, yet one may derive sufficient information from their appearance and context to identify these plummeting beings as falling stars. They are the *nb.w-d3.t*, the "lords of the Netherworld," stellar Blessed Dead, in peril at the moment of supreme cosmic danger, when the bark of the sun nearly runs aground on the back of Apep.

Although there is no immediately evident annotation accompanying this portion of the treatise, each of the eight figures within a disk may be read as *nb-d3.t*, "lord of the Netherworld." They are the falling *nb.w-d3.t*, the lords of the Netherworld, the Blessed Dead in danger of plummeting into the place of destruction at the time of the cosmic peril when the bark of the sun is delayed on the spiny sandbank of Apep.¹⁶ Hornung correctly read each individual element of the figures as an enigmatic group-*nb* and *d3.t*-although he did not put these elements meaningfully together. Each figure may in fact be read as an enigmatic group representing *nb-d3.t*, "lord of the Netherworld," reading each figure and the surrounding dots as a variant of *nb*, the swimming man, and reading the star-like pose of the figure within the circle as *D3.t*.¹⁷ Cryptographically, the upside-down figures in the circles are to be read as *nb.w-d3.t*, "lords of the Netherworld."

¹⁵ F. Abitz, "Der Bauablauf und die Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' IX.," *SAK* 17 (1990): 26 and n. 69, follows Hornung.

¹⁶ See the extended discussion in Chapter 7.

¹⁷ In the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 70, ll. 1-3), the use of  in writing *nb-imn.t* may allude to the beings as stars. For the circle of watery dots of *nbi* used alone to write *nb*, "lord," see the writing of *nb-t3.wy* cited in the Montpellier list (*Valeurs des signes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 3 [1990], p. 448 no. 263); for examples in New Kingdom cryptography, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 37; *idem*, *CdE* 9, no. 18 (1934): 194; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949): 118; E. Hornung, "Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltsbuch," *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 34. The swimming pose of the figures alludes to the stars setting in the waters of Nun. In P. Carlsberg I E III 3, there may be a reference to stars called "praised ones," *hs.w*, as though "drowned ones" (see O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* [Providence and London, 1960-69], vol. 1, p. 57 n. to E III 3). In scene 58 of the Book of Gates, in the middle register of the Ninth Hour, drowned dead are presided over by Horus, and Re must call out to them and set them upright (on this passage, E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 217-9). This scene parallels the drowning, inverted stars on the Ramesses IX treatise. In the Amduat, the dead are once called the *imy(w)-nww*, "those in the flood," a designation which already appears in the Pyramid Texts (see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 95 n. 1). This would be immersion and even drowning as the path to a blessed state, not a reference to punishment (on drowning as a punishment, see A. Grimm, "Der Tod im Wasser: Rituelle Feindvernichtung und Hinrichtung durch Ertränken," *SAK* 16 [1989]: 111-9); see also G. Meyer, "Das Hirtenlied in den Privatgräbern des Alten Reiches," *SAK*

Iconographic details support this reading, and clarify the presence of the figures in the context of the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall. Hornung's observation of the star-like appearance of the figures is important. They are the inverted stars, the *shd.w* stars of Chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead.¹⁸ The resemblance of the figures to writings of *nbi*, "to swim," provides not only the first element of the enigmatic reading of the register, but also provides an important iconographic detail. Swimming is appropriate behavior for stars.¹⁹ As swimmers the lords of the Netherworld are similar to the dead in the bottom register of the Tenth Hour of the Amduat, figures floating in water, some of whom are upside down.²⁰

That the upside-down star-like beings are indeed stars is a surmise supported by the standing figure to the left, who parallels the figure of the enthroned, falcon-headed Horus-Upon-his-Throne (*Hr-hr-hndw=f*) as the "Orderer of the Hours," to the left of a row of figures with stars atop their heads, in the lowest register of the Seventh Hour of the Amduat.²¹ The duties of *Hr-hr-hndw=f* are:

irr.t=f pw m d3.t snhp.t sb3.w

ir.t h̄c.w wn.wt m d3.t

What he performs in the Netherworld:

sending upwards the stars,

setting the positions²² of the hours in the Netherworld.

In terms of an entity's comportment in the Netherworld, *h̄c*, "to stand," can correspond to *hr rd.wy*, "upon the two feet," and is found in contrast to *shd*, "to go

17 (1990): 265-6, §6.5.1 (on drowning), 266-7, §6.5.2 (on reaching the Netherworld by swimming), and 267-9, §6.5.3 (on souls in water).

¹⁸ E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und herausgegeben* [Berlin, 1886], vol. 2, p. 219. A text in the doorway to the shrine of Isis in the temple of Sety I at Abydos (K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions Vol. 1: Historical and Biographical* [Oxford, 1975], p. 168, l. 9) hints at the stellar nature of the *nb.w-d3.t*: the temple of Abydos is said to be "an eternal undersky for the lords of the Netherworld (*nb.w-d3.t*), and a portal for the cavern dwellers (*qr.tyw*). The temple is a place giving freedom of movement for various manifestations of the Blessed Dead—a nethersky in which the stellar lords of the Netherworld may orbit, and a door (as of a tomb) through which the cavern dwellers may proceed.

¹⁹ According to P. Carlsberg I VI, 14-15, "Stars begin in the lake" (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 75). The act of swimming, *nbi*, may also allude to the term *nby*, "flame" and "doulour cuisante" in a magical context (Y. Koenig, "Le contre-empoûtement de Ta-idi-Imen. Pap. Deir el-Médineh 44," *BIFAO* 99 [1999]: 263, note g and references therein).

²⁰ The *igy.w*—see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 169-71, 172-3.

²¹ E. Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 128, ll. 4-8 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 563-564); vol. 2, p. 135. A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York, 1954), pls. 90-1.

²² For a further mention of the "stations" of the stars, see P. Carlsberg I, F III, 36-8.

upside-down,” and *qs*, “to go bent over.”²³ Horus-Upon-his-Throne probably does more than simply place the stars and hours in the correct places, and should also be seen as ensuring their upright positions in the Underworld.²⁴ The mummiform appearance of the standing figure in the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX is perhaps an allusion to the *ba* of Osiris as Orion, the ruler of the stars.²⁵ The stars on the Enigmatic Wall of Ramesses IX appear as swimmers; in the 32nd section of Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, the sun is one:

*psd m itn=f wbn m 3h.t=f nb hr bl3=f*²⁶

who shines in his disk, who rises from his horizon, who swims upon his firmament

The Imperishable Stars do not enter the Dat at all, but leave Re’s bark as it plunges into the Underworld.²⁷ The Unwearying Stars accompany the bark in the Underworld but, like the souls of the dead entering the Dat, must be set upright, relative to the Dat, upon their entry into the Netherworld.²⁸

The circles of light beneath the heads of the dark and inverted beings might be taken as representing fiery pits into which the stars are plummeting.²⁹ More likely,

²³ See J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), pp. 76-7.

²⁴ For Isis in aretologies of the Graeco-Roman period as the one setting the stars in their correct positions, see D. Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 39-40 (M 13).

²⁵ See the references in F.-R. Herbin, “Une liturgie des rites décadaires de Djemê, Papyrus Vienne 3865,” *RdE* 35 (1984): 122 text note 65.

²⁶ H. Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden, ausgewählte Texte des Totenbuches* (Leipzig, 1915-17), p. 55, ll. 4-5; p. 56, ll. 3-4; p. 57, ll. 16-7.

²⁷ W. Barta, “Funktion und Lokalisierung der Zirkumpolarsterne in den Pyramidentexten,” *ZÄS* 107 (1980): 1-4; N. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire, JE 48862 et 47086-47089, Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne* 1, (Cairo, 1981), p. 79, n. 230. According to the study of N. Beaux, “Étoile et étoile de mer: une tentative d’identification du signe ⋄,” *RdE* 39 (1988): 197-204, the star hieroglyph derives from the starfish, these creatures likened to the lower stars of the waters below, in contrast to the celestial stars of the upper firmament; if this identification is so, then there is an added level of meaning in allusions to swimming stars.

²⁸ For the star bodies of the figures, one may compare the sign for *dw3yt* in the cryptographic orthography of the name of Darius I in the temple of Hibis in the oasis of Khargeh—see É. Drioton, “Receuil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40 (1940): 342-3 (sign no. 18). There may also be a reference here, appropriate to the *nb.w-d3.t* being born into the Netherworld, to the foetus-like appearance of the solar child in the disk-womb (see É. Drioton, “Un Oudja à représentation hermopolitaine,” *RdE* 1 [1933]: 81-5).

²⁹ Compare the red color of the circle determining the word *hfty.w*, “enemies,” in the Merneptah version of E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* (Geneva, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 131 and 195.





the disks atop the inverted heads of the beings are the stellar attributes of the falling Lords of the Netherworld (see Chapter 7, pp. 430-2).

This division of the falling lords of the Netherworld on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall into two quartets may have been suggested by the group of stellar entities in Scene 87 in the Twelfth Hour of the Book of Gates. There, eight female entities sit on coiled uraei, and hold each a star in the hand; they are each called *dwꜣy.t nḏt(y).t*, “the dawning one who protects.”³⁰ The description of these deities begins:

wnn=sn m šḥr pn
mḥn=sn ḥr=sn
ꜥ=sn ḥr sbꜣ.w
pr=sn m ltr.ty n ntr pn ꜥꜣ
4 n izbt.t 4 n mḥt.t

In this fashion are they,
 their protective uraei beneath them,
 their arm bearing stars,
 they coming forth on either side of this great god,
 four to the east, four to the west.

Hornung³¹ questions whether this description of the deities being “to the east” and “to the west” is to be interpreted literally, or as meaning “to the left” and “to the right” of the god.³² If east and west are intended as the actual compass directions

³⁰ E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 384; *ibid.* vol. 2, pp. 271-2. The name “the dawning one who protects” recalls the determinative of *shd.w*, “the upside-down stars,” found in a number of the versions of Chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead:  instead of  (Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 219). This is in origin a phonetic play on the pronunciation of *sbꜣ* (note the spellings found in *Wb.* IV 57 and 82; compare also the Coptic *sbꜣ* as *CIOY* [J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 167; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965-77), pp. 203 and 491, W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Leuven, 1984) p. 200a], and *sꜣ* as *CO* [Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 174; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, pp. 182-3]). According to G. Jéquier, “Le monde à l’envers et le monde souterrain,” *RdT* 39 (1920): 97, n. 2, *sꜣ* is “un phonétique remplaçant l’idéogramme . Dans des textes plus récents, les étoiles, et particulièrement celles des décans, sont désignées parfois sous le nom de  ‘étoiles protectrices,’” citing H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum, Altägyptische Inschriften, gesammelt, verglichen, übertragen, erklärt und autographiert*, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1883-91), vol. 1, p. 136. The playful orthographies of a number of the examples of chapter 99 may allude to specific stars, perhaps the equivalents of the *nḏ.wt* from hour 12 of the Book of Gates (for a further pun on *sbꜣ*, as *siw/sriw*, see J.-C. Goyon, “Le feu nouveau du jour de l’an à Dendara et Karnak,” in *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. 2 [Montpellier, 1986], p. 338, and p. 343, n. 63).

³¹ *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 272 n. 2.

³² On *ltr.ty* see *ibid.* p. 272, n. 2, p. 235 n. 3; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 149 n. 3; there is probably no reference here to the above ground world (on *ltr.ty*, “the two

here, the *itr.ty* would correspond to the *gs.wy* of the sky mentioned in the text accompanying the bottom register of the Ramesses IX treatise (pl. 34 A, ll. 38-39), in general the eastern and western halves of the sky.³³ The eight deities in the final hour of the Book of Gates assist the sunrise, and are appropriate to the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the imagery of which shows the struggle and ultimate triumph of the sun at the time of commencing the sunrise. These deities, four to the east and four to the west, are perhaps related to the souls of the east and the souls of the west in the cosmographic texts, the four baboons and the four jackals, which adore and tow respectively the bark of the sun.³⁴ Two groups of four may thus represent the eastern and western cusps of heaven, the total extent of the upper and lower skies.

P. Carlsberg states that at a given time eight stars are in the east at night (E III 18-23), while seven are in the Dat preparing to rise in the east (E III 16-7).³⁵ The eight falling Lords of the Dat who appear in the tomb of Ramesses IX may be the eight stars which should be "working" in the eastern sky, falling down because of the cosmic danger. The stars on the Enigmatic Wall are not, however, a single group of eight, but are divided by their differing red and yellow backgrounds into two groups of four.³⁶ The undesirable and ultimately destructive state of the entities is emphasized by division into two groups of four, perhaps a purposeful allusion to the frequent groups of four in scenes of the damned in the Netherworld Books.³⁷

chapels," with this reference, see J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 105 and 110).

³³ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 232 n. 13, pp. 233-4; as opposed to the "two heavens," the halves of heaven corresponding to the south and the north (*ibid.* p. 235 n. 45 and p. 128 n. 7). On *gs.wy* as "two halves, both sides," see W. Westendorf, "Die Insel des Schiffbruchigen—keine Halbinsel!," S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 1060-1062.

³⁴ The total of eight lords of the Netherworld depicted in the tomb of Ramesses IX may also allude to the Ogdoad which should adore the rising sun (see M. Smith, "A New Version of a Well-known Egyptian Hymn," *Enchoria* 7 [1977]: 123, l. 7 and pp. 131-2 – [quoting the demotic text]: *Nsy.w-Hmniw n=f m iw hft h'z-f*, "The Ogdoad be for him, in jubilation when he rises").

³⁵ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pp. 58-9.

³⁶ That there is a total of eight stars may, however, allude to the four pairs of *hh.w*-entities, "two at each limb of the sky goddess" (J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts*, [New Haven, 1988], pp. 18-21). The *hh.w*-deities ensure the stability of the sky, and the inverted stars in the tomb of Ramesses IX show its instability at the time of the narrowly averted cosmic disaster. See also R.O. Faulkner, "Some Notes on the God Shu," *JEOL* 18 (1964): 268-9.

³⁷ See R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1993), pp. 168-9, comparing the four limestone execration figurines of the Mirgissa execration deposit. On enemies coming in fours, see also R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Providence, 1979), p. 62 n. 9.

The colors of the stars may also be significant. Although the star of the eighth decan, named *tms n hntt*, “the red one of *hntt*,”³⁸ is red, it is probably unrelated to the red background of the rightmost quartet of stars in the treatise under discussion. The sun is always red within the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, and yellow only in decoration on the exterior of a tomb.³⁹ The sun bark on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall is traveling towards the right, and thus out of the tomb. If one reads the wall as containing a reference to the midday standstill of the sun (see below, pp. 287-8, the discussion of *ir-f h'w* in pl. 33), the bark correctly travels toward the west, but also out of the tomb, the entrance into the Netherworld. After midnight and the sun's nocturnal halt at the sandbank of Apep, the solar bark correctly travels out of the tomb (i.e. Netherworld), but also into the west—the *perpetuum mobile* of the solar journey. The four stars with red backgrounds are to the right, the four with yellow backgrounds to the left. The red ones are those near the “dawn” of the scene, the “east” of the composition, and represent Re rising in his redness.⁴⁰ Echoing the use of yellow for the solar disk in representations outside of the tomb, and red for the disk of the sun in depictions inside the tomb, the red and yellow backgrounds of the upside-down figures may also indicate that these stars are located on the cusps of the horizon, some of them (red) inside, others (yellow) outside the Dat. Placing the red towards the entrance to the tomb also reverses the expected color scheme and again suggests the eternal round of celestial bodies.⁴¹

The scene of the falling lords of the Netherworld in the tomb of Ramesses IX, in proximity to seven slaughtering places where evil serpents are destroyed, parallels the bottom register of the Sixth Hour of the Amduat. There, four seated male entities, and their four female counterparts, represent the weariness of death; the sun bids them stand and awaken: *h' ir=tn m hm.w dwn ir=tn m wrd.w*, “get up and do

³⁸ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 24, suggest that this “might refer to a specific star of reddish color”.

³⁹ Cf. Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, p. 114, caption to fig. 86.

⁴⁰ Although possible, it is less likely that the color differences represent stars of different brightnesses. L. Borchardt, *Altägyptische Zeitmessung* (Leipzig, 1920), p. 18, “suggested that the appearance and disappearance of stars of different brightnesses may have been the actual way of defining the beginning and end of ‘night’” (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 119 n. 2). As Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 105 describe, “civil twilight is the period between sunset and the moment of visibility of very bright stars, whereas astronomical twilight marks the appearance of all stars” (underlining of Neugebauer and Parker). If red and yellow stars represent stars of different brightnesses, and all are shown to collapse and turn over (*pn*) here, then the complete night of the Netherworld is shown.

¹ The disks of red and yellow in which the falling figures are situated have parallels on a papyrus in Richmond, Virginia (J.M. Brown, et al., *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum* [Richmond 1973], pp. 42-43, no. 42; see *infra*, pl. 42). On this papyrus, which also preserves the image of a figure parallel to that of the ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall, each of four uraei sits atop a circle. Within each of the four circles, alternating red and yellow in color, is a scarab; above the tail of each uraeus is a star.

not turn back; stretch and be not tired.”⁴² At the right end of the bottom register of the Sixth Hour of Amduat the nine snake-like staves of the gods (*mdw.w-ntr*) burn up (*zm*) the enemies of Khepri, and are watched over by the figure of Nun.⁴³ The scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX of upside-down figures over others who leap up (*nhp*) near the sandy slaughtering place of the foes of Re is closely paralleled by the third scene in the third register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁴⁴ The inverted heads which descend from the top of that scene all have *šw.t*-symbols atop their heads, and appear collectively to be labeled *šw.ty*—they are dark and in shadow.

The inverted figures of the lords of the Netherworld also foreshadow what would happen to the solar bark were Re not to be victorious over Apep and his gang—the solar bark itself might suffer shipwreck and *pn*, “overturn.”⁴⁵ For the stellar manifestations of the blessed dead as the followers of Re, one may compare the statement *sbz-k m p.t*, “your star in heaven,” which is parallel to *wn-tw m šmsw mskt.t* and *m šmsw R^c m m^cnd.t*, “you being in the following of the Mesektet bark,” and “in the following of Re in the Mandjet bark,” in the tomb of Basa.⁴⁶

The blackness of the figures on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall is not in rough imitation of the stick-figures of the tomb of Thutmosis III, but shows rather the lack of light at the time of the cosmic disaster.⁴⁷ The drowned dead who should swim through Nun in the bottom register of the Tenth Hour of the Amduat are “dark in Nun” (*snk m Nnw*).⁴⁸ The prominence given to the stellar “lords of the Netherworld” in this enigmatic underworld treatise is an early example of the mixture of astronomical and Netherworld imagery such as is common on the ceilings of Graeco-Roman temples, and represents a relative early example of the transfer of the Dat to the “cosmic zone.”⁴⁹

A section of P. Cologne 3547, discussed above in Chapter 7 (pp. 433ff.), supports the iconographic identification of the falling figures within disks as

⁴² Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 114, l. 9 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 516).

⁴³ *Ibid.* pp. 115-16 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 518-522).

⁴⁴ A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (Cairo, 1953), pp. 22-3, pls. 10-12, texts 22-24.

⁴⁵ See G. Posener, “Sue l’emploi euphémique de *hftj(w)* «ennemi(s)»,” *ZÄS* 96 (1969): 33 (§7).

⁴⁶ J. Assmann, *Grabung im Asasif* vol. 2 *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole* (Mainz am Rhein, 1973), p. 63 = T 20, and p. 63 n. b to T 20 (pl. 7).

⁴⁷ H. Kees *Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten* (Göttingen, 1943), pp. 416-7; compare the black figures in the shrines in the Fourth hour of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, p. 132 fig. 101).

⁴⁸ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 176, l. 7 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 733). Normally these *nb.w-Dz.t* should be righted and shining, like the angels called “church of saints, lights without shadow” (D.M. Parrott, *Nag Hammadi Codices III, 3-4 and V, 1*, Nag Hammadi Studies 27 [Leiden, 1991], pp. 106 and 108, codex III 81, 1-6).

⁴⁹ See the remarks of L. Kákosy, “Decans in Late-Egyptian Religion,” *Oikumene* 3 (1982): 182-4.

representations of the *nb.w-d3.t* as falling star. According to col. ii, l. 3 of the papyrus:⁵⁰

nn pn^c=sn n3 nb.w D3.t ntyw m hr.t-ntr

they will not turn over the lords of the Netherworld who are in the necropolis.

There, when the sun has run up on the back of Apep, the stars tumble out of the sky, and those newly entering the Netherworld cannot be set aright. So in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the cartwheeling stars, in their circles of light, with their disk attributes atop their heads, fall above a scene of the solar bark delayed on the spine of Apep. As in the text in P. Cologne 3547, the tumbling stars in the tomb of Ramesses IX, read as an enigmatic group, are also termed the *nb.w-D3.t*. The passage P. Cologne 3547 col. ii, l. 3, shows the iconographic identification of the cartwheeling figures as stars and the enigmatic reading of the group as *nb.w-D3.t*, “lords of the Netherworld,” to be connected and mutually supporting conclusions.

The upper register of the left portion of the Enigmatic Wall depicts a group of upside-down stellar beings. The splayed figures within the dot-filled circles are an enigmatic orthography of *nb.w-D3.t*, the “lords of the Netherworld.” By virtue of their position, above the bark of the sun stopped upon the back of Apep, they illustrate the feared cosmic disaster—the catastrophic inversion of the blessed dead—that might occur should the bark of the sun be unable to sail clear of the spiny sandbank of Apep.

D. Kurth, in D. Kurth, H.-J. Thissen, and M. Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri (P. Köln ägypt.)* (Wiesbaden, 1980), pl. 2.

LEFT SECTION, SECOND REGISTER (PL. 33)

UPPER BAND OF ENIGMATIC TEXT

$wnn=sn^a$ m shr pn
 $nh3-hr.w$ b $sm3w.n$ R^c
 $ir=f$ $h^c w$ c hr $nm.t$ $d=sn$ nt $š^c$
 imn $št3w$ $dw3y$ $h^c.w$ $im=f^e$

In this fashion do they exist:

the Nehaher snakes which Re slaughtered,

he making a pause at their slaughtering pit of sand;

‘He who hides the mystery, who praises the members which are in it

(the $št3w$).’

$sqdd$ nti pn m shr pn m $dpy=f^f$
 $n^c w g$ hr $bqs.w$ h nw i $c3pp$ j
 $pp=f$
 $dd=<sn>$ $šsr.w=sn$ k
 nhp $n=f$ $imy.w-i3.wt=sn$ l
 $di=sn$ $sd.t$ tw^m
 $hryw$ $šsr.w=sn^n$ $s3m=sn$ $hfty.w$ R^{c0}
 $m-ht$ is $p=f$ $hr=sn^p$

In this manner does this god travel in his boat,

having navigated upon the back of Apep.

As soon as he passes by,

they loose their arrows.

While casting this fire,

those on their mounds leap up to (or ‘for’) him.

Those armed with their arrows burn up the enemies of Re,

even when he passes by them.

^a The plural pellets of the suffix pronoun sn appear twice, once after s , and again in the more expected position after n . The initial plural pellets following s suggest the influence of Late Egyptian orthographies, in which s + plural strokes is an attested writing of the third person plural suffix pronoun sn .⁵¹

⁵¹ On s for sn , see A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1933), §79, p. 36. Writings of sn as s + plural strokes occur already during the Eighteenth Dynasty—cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1*, (Chicago, 1994), pl. 20.

^b Hornung read “So sind sie beschaffen / als oberste Wächter (?) des Re,” suggesting “Lies *m hrjw z3w*?”⁵² Hornung does not explain any derivation of the value *m* for the sign 𓆎 (presumably he was thinking of *mdt/mdwt*, with an acrophonically derived value *m*), and no value *m* for 𓆎 is otherwise attested.

For the pustule standing for the *dm*-sign in hieratic, from which the cryptic value *nh3* derives, see: P. Brussels E 6857 (Leopold 4,3; Ramesses IX);⁵³ P. Turin 2083/178 Ro. 1 (Ramesses IX);⁵⁴ P. Turin 2021, 4, 3 (Ramesses XI).⁵⁵ The snake to the far left in the middle register, Apep, is also called 𓎓 , *nh3-hr*.

^c Hornung read “wenn seine Scheibe angehalten hat;” for 𓏏 he suggested another possibility: “Oder: sein Auge.”⁵⁶ Hornung’s first reading is to be preferred, taking the pupil to be a *pars pro toto* substitution for the *iri*-eye. The description of Re “making a pause” refers to the entire bark standing still.⁵⁷ This passage in the tomb of Ramesses IX parallels text 13 in the fourth scene in the second register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk:⁵⁸

iw ntr pn 3 ir.n=f h=f m qrr.t imn.t wn.wt=f

This great god has paused in the cavern ‘She Who Hides His Hours.’

The determinative of 𓏏 in the tomb of Ramesses IX is that of *h*-(y), “noontime,” (*Wb.* I 223, 8-9) the time of the standstill of the bark, the time of the cosmic danger.⁵⁹ The parallel from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk

⁵² Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 231 and n. 19.

⁵³ J. Capart, A.H. Gardiner, and B. van de Walle, “New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies,” *JEA* 22 (1936): 182-3.

⁵⁴ G. Botti and T.E. Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe* (Turin, 1928), pl. 15, 2-3.

⁵⁵ S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit* 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1973), pl. 118-119.

⁵⁶ Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 232.

⁵⁷ For *h*-, “standstill,” of a vessel not moving, see *Wb.* I 218, 9, citing examples of the solar bark not sailing. D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (New York, 1988), omits this term, although on p. 211 he lists the equally netherworldly verb *pi*, “to pass.” On *h*- as “to remain,” see R.A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe from a Hieratic Papyrus in the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow* (Oxford, 1977), p. 58, commentary to col. 4, l. 12.

⁵⁸ A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 8, ll. 1-2, p. 17.

⁵⁹ In Ancient Egyptian, “noontime” and “standstill” are the same word: J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1976), vol. 1, p. 72; *idem*, *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808* (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 212, n. 606; J. Assmann, *Re und Amun, die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1983), p. 78. For *h*- as a term for stars “standing,” see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970), p. 32 n. 2; *idem*, *Das Grab des Basa*, p. 61 n. a to T 14. In the tomb of Anhurmosé at El-Mashayikh, a text suggests

supports the reading of $\overset{\circ}{\text{ir}}=f$.⁶⁰ Rather than simply pausing, the solar bark in the Ramesses IX treatise has almost run aground on the back of Apep. The pause is the time of Re's acceptance of Apep's challenge, and the time of the defeat of Apep.⁶¹ One could also read "he spends time at their slaughtering pit of sand." Such a translation would also refer to the midday pause.

^d For this orthography of *nm.t*, and a discussion of the term, see the discussion of the two identical occurrences of this cryptic group in the main, left-hand portion of the enigmatic composition on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 18A= pl. 19B, and pl. 18B= pl. 20B; and Chapter 4, p. 170).

Hornung reads *nw.t*, "Hügel," relating the word to the "Bezeichnung für ovale Gebilde oder für die ganze Unterwelt".⁶² The *nw.t*, however, is not a suitable description of the element depicted here, or of the *nm.t*-structures in the tomb of Ramesses VI. The *nm.wt n.yt šꜥ*, "slaughtering pits of sand," in the context of the

that the solar bark pauses (*ir ḥꜥ*) at the moment of the weighing of the deceased's heart, treated as a critical moment for the cosmos (B. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh 2: The Tomb of Anhurmose—the Inner Room, and The Tomb of Imiseba* [Sydney, 1990], text 118, pp. 17-8, pls. 4-5). In the mythological papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh II (A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri* [New York, 1957], pl. 22) is a prayer that no evil deed will be reported against the deceased in the Netherworld, and that he be recognized as blameless. Immediately following this text is a representation of the solar bark, hovering over the prow of which is an ankh holding a large *ḥꜥ*-sign, another reference to the cosmic standstill linked with the moment of justification of the deceased in the Netherworld. In connection with the scales on which the heart is being weighed, there may be a pun on *ḥꜥ*, "state of equilibrium (of scale)," and the bark as *ḥꜥ*, "standing," even "balanced," teetering in the sky at a moment of peril (for *ḥꜥ*, "balance" [*Wb.* I 220, 9], see K.A. Kitchen, "Papyrus Northumberland III Verso, a Weighty Bagatelle?" in *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. 2 (Montpellier, 1986), pp. 436-37. See also Kurth, in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri*, pp. 32-33 (text note 44); P. W. Van der Horst, *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher* (Leiden, 1987), p. 54, n. 5 to fragment 4. For the standstill of sun, moon, and stars in Coptic magical texts, see V. Stegemann, "Über Astronomisches in den koptischen Zaubertexten," *Or.* 4 (1935): 396-405.

⁶⁰ For the sun performing *iri ḥꜥw*, "taking up a position," see Assmann, "Die Inschrift auf dem äusseren Sarkophageckel des Merenptah," *MDAIK* 28 (1972): 59, text note 11.

⁶¹ In the Fifth hour of Amduat, the gate is called *ḥꜥw-nṯrw*, "pause of the gods" (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 75, l. 8 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 386]), in the Fifth Hour of the Book of Gates, the gate is named *nb.t-ḥꜥw*, "lady of pausing" (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, 190). On *ḥꜥ* as "standhalten" (*Wb.* I 218, 5), "standing fast" confronting an opposition, see J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*, vol. 1 (Louvain, 1992), pp. 241-2; the passage discussed by Zandee can also mean that although Re stops in his journey, an undesirable occurrence, he yet suffers no ill effect. Compare also *iri ḥꜥw*, describing the sun pausing in a Cavern (see the references given in W. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern*, [Frankfurt am Main, 1990], p. 94).

⁶² Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, *Form und Mass*, p. 232, n. 21.

defeat of *Nḥ3-ḥr*-snakes, are allusions to the sandbank of Nehaher in the Seventh Hour of the Amduat.⁶³

^e This portion of the annotation, which appears out of place and the exact reading of which remains somewhat obscure, finds a parallel in a portion of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, specifically text six of the “paroi du fond”⁶⁴ There, within an oval stand two figures facing each other on a ground line below which are two groups of three flesh signs. A vertical line over the standing figures within the oval is:

imn ḥꜥ.wt
hidden of members

A horizontal annotation placed between the two standing is a variant of this:

imn ḥr ḥꜥ.wt
hidden with respect to members

To the right and left of the oval, the praising female figures are labeled:

dw3y imy-t3
the giver of praise who is in the earth

If these annotations from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk do parallel the portion of the Ramesses IX treatise under discussion, then in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the portion of the enigmatic text reading *imn št3w dw3y ḥꜥ.w im-f* would describe the figures atop the mounds. In this case, the term *št3w* in the Ramesses IX text corresponds to *ḥꜥ.wt* as employed in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. *Št3w* can refer to the corpse of the sun.⁶⁵ In the third scene of the first register in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns, there is *imn [št3w] nṯr [3] ḥnty D3.t*, “hidden of [mysteries], [great] god, foremost of the Netherworld.”⁶⁶

⁶³ On *Nḥ3-ḥr* see R. El-Sayed, “Nehaher,” *Bulletin du Centenaire (BIFAO 81 Supplement, 1981)*: 119-40, specifically 122-23 for the sandbank.

⁶⁴ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 31 and pl. B.

⁶⁵ See pp. 289-93, 384-5, n. 54.

⁶⁶ A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts, sixième division,” *BIFAO 43* (1945): pl. 124, l. 5; for a discussion of the term *imn št3.w*, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 84-6. The use of the terms *ḥꜥ.w* and *št3* to refer to the *iwf*-corpse of the solar deity explains the reference to a *wi3 n ḥꜥ.w* in the tomb of Antefoker at Thebes. In the song of a harper on the south wall of the shrine in that tomb—N. de G. Davies and A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostri I, and of his Wife, Senet (No. 60)* (London, 1920), pl. 29B, l. 5—the goddess Hathor is *shn.t s.t m wi3 n ḥꜥ.w*, “advanced of position in the Bark of the Members.” Rather than requiring some emendation (such as *ḥꜥ.w* for *ḥḥw* – tentatively

Similarly named netherworldly beings are the *imn ḥ3.wt*, “hidden of corpse,” of the Second Division of the Book of Caverns,⁶⁷ and P. Salt 825 IX, 5-6: *imn py m ḥꜥ=f*, “that one hidden of his member.”⁶⁸ The name of the entities on the Enigmatic Wall—“he who hides the mystery, who praises the members which are therein”—is similar to the annotation to the first oval in the fifth scene in the first register of the Third Division of the Book of Caverns: “the one who hides the hidden one.”⁶⁹

The concluding portion of this section, *ḥꜥ.w im=f*, suggests the designation of the deepest chamber of the Netherworld in the Litany of Re:

imn.t št3w wnn.t Wsir im=s

She who hides the mystery, (she) in whom Osiris is⁷⁰

This same place may appear as *imn.t ḥꜥ.wt=f*, “she who hides his members,” in text 14 on the “Paroi du fond” in the Book of the Creation of the solar disk; in the Book of Aker, the *<i>3.t (?) ḥ3.t ntr*, “<m>ound of the corpse of the god,” is described as having *št3(.t) imn.t mn.ti m ꜥ=s*, “the hidden mystery remaining in its region.”⁷¹ In the cryptic annotation in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the *imn št3w dw3y ḥꜥ.w im=f*, ‘he who hides the mystery, who praises the members which are therein,’ does not refer to a cavern or *nm.t*-slaughtering place, due to the masculine gender of the being described. The standing figures are shown as adoring the approaching solar bark; each is an excellent candidate for the title *dw3y*. If taken to refer to a representative of these figures, the term *imn št3w dw3y ḥꜥ.w im=f*, “who hides the secret members, who praises the members which are in him,” would parallel the designations of the *ḥry.w št3w* of the Sixth Hour of the Book of Gates.⁷² The three deities, each termed *nḥp imy i3.t=f*, “leaping one on his mound,” in the third register of section A of the Creation of the Solar Disk are described in text 24 as:⁷³

nn n ntr.w m šḥr pn m i3.t=sn

sn rn(sic)=sn dī=sn tp=sn m ḥnty št3.t=sn

suggested in *ibid.*, p. 24, n. 3), this is a reference to the bark of the sun in the Netherworld, the “bark of the corpse (of the solar deity).”

⁶⁷ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 23, ll. 4-5.

⁶⁸ Drioton, “La cryptographie du papyrus Salt 825,” *ASAE* 41 (1942): 126; Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte* (Brussels, 1965), p. 12* and pl. IX.

⁶⁹ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 21, and compare the description in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 1 (text 1, end): *ḥ3.wt=sn ḥnty i3.wt=sn*, “their corpses before/within their mounds.”

⁷⁰ References and discussion in Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 85; also in text 5 of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk—Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 43, and pl. 24, l. 5.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 35 and 73; pl. 19, ll. 3-4.

⁷² See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 85-6.

⁷³ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 11, ll. 8-9, pp. 22-3.

These gods are in this fashion on⁷⁴ their mounds,
they stick their heads out from within their ‘mystery.’

The *iz.t*-mound is a *št3.t*, a “mysterious place,” suggesting a burial place,⁷⁵ similar to the *iz.t št3.t ntt št3 ʕ3 m-ḥn.t=s*, “the mysterious mound in which is the great mystery,” in the conclusion to the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns.⁷⁶ This scene from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk closely parallels the Ramesses IX treatise, the inverted *šw.ty* heads of the Book of Caverns corresponding to the upside-down lords of the Netherworld in the Ramesses IX treatise. The figures on the ground in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk are ten female heads emerging from the ground, and three from hills. Those emerging from the hills emerge from their *št3.t*, the others are *ntry.t imn-ḥ3.wt*, “goddesses hidden of corpses.” This latter annotation from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk suggests that the *imn št3w* portion of the text refers to the entities atop the mounds.

The final scene in the middle register of the Seventh Hour of Amduat provides a parallel to the slaughtering places of sand and their figures on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall. In the Amduat scene, four chests appear; each chest has a pile of sand inside, a head on each upper corner, looking in towards a knife rising from the middle top of the chest. The text states:⁷⁷

irw.w pw št3(.w) n dz.t hn.w t3 tp.w št3.w
wnn=sn m ph ts pn
pr tp.w sf.w imy.w=sn
sdm=sn ḥk3 Nh3-ḥr
ʕm.ḥr=sn sšm.w=sn m-ḥt ʕpp ntr pn ʕ3 niw.t tn
wnn Nb-w3s Ḥtm-t-ib m try.w sšmw pn št3
n sbi.n b3 n rh s.t n qn.t nyt sf.w=sn

The mysterious forms of the Netherworld, the chests of the earth,
the mysterious heads;
They are at the end of this sandbank,
the heads and knives which are in them coming forth,
when they hear the enchanting of Nehaher.
They swallow their images when this great god passes by this town.

⁷⁴ For *m* as “on,” see below, the discussion of the *imy.w-iz.wt=sn*, and the references cited there (p. 296 nn. 98-99).

⁷⁵ On *iz.t* as a place of burial, see Assmann, “Harfnerlied und Horussöhne,” *JEA* 65 (1979): 62, n. 75. In Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 53, l. 1, *iz.t*, “mound,” and *db3*, “sarcophagus,” are linked.

⁷⁶ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 144, ll. 3-4.

⁷⁷ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 126, l. 11-p. 127, l. 5 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 558-560).

Nb-w3s and *Htm.t-ib* are the guardians of this mysterious image;
the *ba*-soul of one who knows it cannot pass away through the power of
their knives.

The four chests⁷⁸ are called: *hry-sšmw-itm*, “the one containing the image of Atum,” *hry-sšmw-Hpri*, “the one containing the image of Khepri,” *hry-sšmw-R^c*, “the one containing the image of Re,” and *hry-sšmw Wsir*, “the one containing the image of Osiris.” They are divine burials, containing the images of deities. In the Ramesses IX treatise, each figure atop its mound is described by the label: *imn št3w dw3y h^c.w im=f*, “he who hides the mystery, who praises the members which are in it (the *št3w*).”

The designation *imn št3w*, “he who hides the mystery,” referring to the figures, is paralleled by the name of a group of netherworldly beings appearing in section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk:⁷⁹

pr=sn m h3.wt imn.t št3.w
when they come forth from the corpses ‘which hide the of mysteries’

In text 11 in the third tableau of the second register in section D of the same composition, there are:⁸⁰

iz.ty nty h3.wt ht(w) R^c im=s
the two mounds in which are the corpses in the following of Re

A passage from the funerary papyri of Nesmin supports both the equation of *št3w* with the members of the body of the deity, and the pronoun in *im=f* back to *št3w*. According to P. Louvre I 3079, 110, 38, and P. BM 10208 II, 2-3, referring to the deceased:⁸¹

twt h.t=k št3w.t=k h3pw=s imy=s
whole is your body, your mystery, it hiding what is in it

The term “mystery,” in the feminine form *št3w.t*, is equated with *h.t*, “body.” This body/mystery hides what is in it, the body/mystery. So on the Enigmatic Wall of Ramesses IX, the text refers to one who praises the members (*h^c.w*) in the *št3w*, the mysterious body.

The *imn št3w* label further suggests the entities at the beginning of section B of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. There, mummiform entities within ovals

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* vol. 1, p. 127, ll. 7-10 (nos. 522-25) = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 560-562.

⁷⁹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 43, pl. 23 l. 9 (text IV).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 49 and pl. 27, l. 3 (text 11).

⁸¹ F.M.H. Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, part 1, (Brussels, 1970), p. 58, ll. 7-8 and part 2, p. 60, text note 24.

are each labeled to the right *dw3 ḥʿy*, “who praises standing;” and to the left *ntr pn m šhr pn m i3.t=f m ḥʿy*, “this deity is in this fashion on his mound as one standing.” The accompanying text further specifies:⁸²

sn r=sn di=sn tp.w=sn m-ḥnty št3w=sn
they stick their heads out from within their mystery.

In the concluding portion of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns, one of the seven entities in the top register adoring the disk of the sun is called *sšt3w-ḥpr.w*, “one who hides the manifestations.”⁸³ The seven slaughtering places appearing on the Enigmatic Wall, associated with beings who hide the mystery of a deity, suggest the description of the nine snake-like staves at the end of the bottom register of the Sixth Hour of the Amduat. Those staves destroy the enemies of Khepri and are the *mdw.w psd.t 3.t sšm.w n irw.w ntr.w=f*, “staves of the great ennead, images of the visible forms of his deities.”⁸⁴

The form of the reed leaf in *im=f* may have its origin in the use of three reed leaf-signs to write *i/y*, Semitic initial *i*.⁸⁵ This appearance of the reed leaf is a manifestation of the general substitution of plant signs in cryptography; a sign of similar shape writes *w3d*, derived from the hieratic, in *w3d.ty* on the Middle Kingdom stele BM 147 [839].⁸⁶

fDpy is most likely an orthography of *dpw*.

§ The verb *nʿw* appears to be a stative, describing the bark as “having sailed upon the back of Apep,” where it is now “aground.”⁸⁷

⁸² Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 28 and pl. 14, ll. 1-2 (text no. 1); compare also *ibid.* p. 11 and text IX, pl. 5.

⁸³ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 45.

⁸⁴ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 115, l. 8 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 519). The designation of each of the beings atop the mounds on the Enigmatic Wall as “he who hides the mysteries” is similar to the designation of a mound itself as the *i3.t ntr imn.t šhr.w=s*, “Gotteshügel, dessen Wesen verborgen ist” (Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, text, pp. 121 [far right] and 124 [far left], translation, p. 122); the same grave is later termed *i3.t št3.t*, “secret mound,” in the same text.



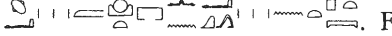
⁸⁵ G. Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache* (Glückstadt, 1960), p. xiv.

⁸⁶ E.A.W. Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, vol. 2 (London, 1912), pl. 7 (l. 6 at the top of the stele). Compare also the similarly derived form *↙* for *w3d* in L. Limme, “Deux stèles inédites du Sérapeum de Memphis,” *CdE* 47, no. 93 (1972): 93, example 5; for more on the substitution of plant signs, see the Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

⁸⁷ *NHY* derives from Late Egyptian *m + iwt*, and *NA* from Late Egyptian *m + nʿy* (E.F. Wente, *The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian* [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The

^h In *bsq.w*, the plant sign substitutes for the *sw*-plant—cf. the three-pronged plant M 2 for *s* in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 44; the reed leaf substitutes for *sw* in the middle register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic treatise (see the Appendix of Cryptographic Values). *Bsq.w*, “back,” here corresponds to the *ts.wt*, “neck vertebrae,” of Apep.⁸⁸ The bark briefly stops on the spine of Apep because the great serpent, at the time of the greatest cosmic danger, drinks out the water on which sails the bark of the sun.⁸⁹

ⁱ The sign of the egg above a stroke appears to substitute for the *nw*-pot above a stroke as an orthography of the masculine plural indirect genitive *nw*.

^j The name of the great serpent Apep is written as the ʕ-sign followed by a single pustule. This orthography of Apep parallels the writing in cryptogram number 56 in the Book of the Day and the Night in the tomb of Ramesses VI. Either the pustule has here the simple value *p*, the name being written in the syncopated form ʕ*p*,⁹⁰ or the pustule represents *pp*, as Drioton proposed to read the sign in two cryptic writings in the Book of the Day and the Night;⁹¹ he assigns this value in cryptograms number 56 , the name of Apep, and number 99 , ʕ*p*=*w*, “they passing,” in the enigmatic section . For cryptogram number 56 in the Book of the Day and the Night, Drioton reads ʕ*pp*,

University of Chicago, 1959], pp. 28–33), so one might also read (*m*) *nʕw* here, an early example of Coptic ΝΑ, although the scene describes a vessel momentarily stopped.

⁸⁸ See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 296 n. 59 (the wordplay between *tsw* “spine” and *tsw* “sandbank” is lost with *bqsw*).

⁸⁹ For the drying up of the water beneath the solar bark and other phenomena of the Apep-induced near-cataclysm, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 295–8, A 13, and pp. 310–1 and n. 47; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 132; Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, p. 147, n. 8. The conflict of the solar bark, aground on the back of Apep, with Apep and his minions occurs during the Seventh Hour of the Amduat, in scene 89 in the Book of Gates, and during the Sixth–Ninth Hours in the Book of the Day. This is the dangerous time at sunrise and sunset, when the bark of the sun is in danger of running onto a sandbank; see J.F. Borghouts, “The Victorious Eyes: A Structural Analysis of Two Egyptian Mythologizing Texts of the Middle Kingdom,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 2: *Religion* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 703–16, particularly pp. 709–10.

⁹⁰ *Wb.* I 180, 2 cites an ʕ*p* as an “Art Wurm?” in one XIXth Dynasty version of Chapter 32 of the Book of the Dead—see Naville, *Das ägyptische Todenbuch*, vol. 1, pl. 45 (papyrus of Nakhtamun only). T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* (Chicago, 1974), p. 42 (Spell 32b, S 4) reads the name ʕ*p* as a variant of the name Apep, and assumes that somewhat more than the final *p* of ʕ*pp* has been left off. E.F. Wente points out that the context of Chapter 32 speaks against ʕ*p* in the Papyrus of Nakhtamun referring to Apep; he suggests that ʕ*p* there is “a reinterpretation of ʕ*pw* in CT V, 226d, hence the one *p*” (personal communication).

⁹¹ Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (Cairo, 1942), p. 104.

Apep. Though an alternate writing of the name of Apep as $\epsilon 3pf$ is just possible,⁹² $\epsilon 3pp$ is a more likely transliteration. A reading $\epsilon 3pp$ finds support in the label to a serpent in the lower register of the left portion of this treatise (pl. 34, B, no. 16), where \square alone, in the twice-repeated group $\square \square$, serves to write the name $\epsilon 3pp$. Drioton takes the form of ϵp in cryptogram number 99 to be the geminating form ϵpp ; on the basis of context, however, cryptogram number 99 could also represent the circumstantial $\epsilon p=w$, the whole passage in question reading $\epsilon p=w m 3h.t nn \epsilon q=w n t(3) p.t$, “they passing into the horizon without entering into the sky;” alternatively the section could in fact begin with a nominal $\epsilon pp=w$, emphasizing $nn \epsilon q=w n t(3) p.t$, “It is without entering into the sky that they pass into the horizon.”⁹³ Drioton derives his proposed value pp for the pustule from the word $ipp.t$, attested in the medical texts (*Wb.* I 69, 10, “Kloss, Pille”); this derivation coincides with the consonantal principle and is also paralleled by a similar “medical” explanation behind the cryptographic value ϵ for the pustule.⁹⁴

^k Hornung reads: “Wenn er vorbeizieht, werden ihre Pfeile ausgesandt,” suggesting reading $dd \check{s}sr.w=sn$. This requires interpreting dd as a geminating form of the passive $s\check{d}m=f$ of $r\check{d}j$, which is both unattested and unexpected in Middle Egyptian, although such a form does appear in Late Egyptian⁹⁵ (Hornung’s translation suggests that he did not wish to understand a possible suffix pronoun w as missing—pronouns do not appear to be left off in this text, and w does not commonly appear in this genre of text). Here sn is taken to be a haplography, and the section is read as $dd < =sn > \check{s}sr.w=sn$, a nominal $s\check{d}m=f$ forming a *Wechselsatz* with the preceding $\epsilon pp=f$.

⁹² This requires reading the apparent snake determinative as a variant of the horned viper, understanding the three signs as $\epsilon 3pf$, a variant form of the name of Apep ($\square \square \square \epsilon 3pf$ is attested in chapter 39 of the Book of the Dead [see E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead, The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* vol. 1 (London, 1898) p. 105, l. 5]; for the orthography of $\epsilon 3pf$ there compare $\square \square \square \square \square \square \epsilon 3pp$ in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 17). For the possible substitution of \square for \square in the name of Apep, compare the spelling $\square \square$ occurring in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 33.

⁹³ Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 92.

⁹⁴ See pp. 46-8 above.

⁹⁵ See J. Černý and S. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome, 1984), pp. 243-44, §16.1.4; P.J. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen, 1974) p. 29, §18. According to Černý and Groll (*Late Egyptian Grammar*, 244), the second \square of the apparent dd form may actually be the “carrier of the passive mood” (that is, a writing of tw through collapse of the dentals); they suggest that the apparent $dd.tw$ writings are actually orthographies of a $s\check{d}m.tw.tw$ formation. For a diachronic approach to these orthographies, see J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien, 1: La morphologie verbale* (Liège, 1992), pp. 325-6.


^l For *imy.w i3.wt=sn*, one may compare a portion of the annotation to the first scene of the lower register of section B of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁹⁶

nn n ntr.w m shr pn m i3.t=sn

ḥꜣy m-hnty db3.t=sn

These deities are in this fashion, upon their mound(s),
standing within their sarcophag(i).⁹⁷

The preposition *m* here has the meaning “on,”⁹⁸ with the object *i3.t* “mound.”⁹⁹

The group  appears to read *i3.wt*, “mounds,” on the basis of the determinative. The use of *t* also allows a reading *i3.wt*, “slaughtering places (*Wb*. I 35, 2).”

m Hornung reads: “und springen für ihn die Hügelbewohner auf. Sie lassen die von Pfeilen Getroffenen in Flammen setzen.”¹⁰⁰ As its form suggests, *di=sn* is best interpreted as a circumstantial, depending on the initial nominal *nhp*, meaning “to leap up,” as the denizens of the Netherworld physically move closer to Re at the

⁹⁶ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 14, ll. 7-8 (text no. III).

⁹⁷ For the sarcophagus/chest (*db3.t*)-shaped enclosure also termed a *i3.t*, “mound,” compare an identical shape also described as a *i3.t* as the fourth area of the Netherworld in chapter 150 of the Book of the Dead.

⁹⁸ E.F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago, 1967) p. 46, n. b (to text #13 [l. 25/1]), citing H. G. Fischer, “Land Records on Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty,” *RdE* 13 (1961): 107, n. 3 (Fischer’s examples deal mostly with “the use of the preposition *m* before words like ‘pond,’ ‘lake,’ ‘dyke’, in cases where it cannot literally mean *in* these water-filled places”). For a pictorial representation of a similar situation, see H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst* 4th ed., E. Brunner-Traut, ed. (Wiesbaden, 1963), fig. 96 = I. Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell’Egitto e della Nubia* vol. 1 *Monumenti Storici* (Geneva, 1977 [reprint of Pisa, 1832]), pl. 50 = The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, vol. 4: *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I* (Chicago, 1986), pl. 6 (now mostly destroyed). For a tree shown *m* water, see also *ibid.*, pl. 7B (now lost; visible in J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* (Paris, 1844), vol. 2, p. 92; both are in J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, d’après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1845), pl. 292; Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell’Egitto e della Nubia* vol. 1 *Monumenti Storici*, pl. 50. R. Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* [Berlin, 1849-59], vol. 3, pl. 128, shows that the tree touches the water, but the fort does not quite touch it.

⁹⁹ On *m* as “on,” with the object *i3.t*, “mound,” see Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 31 n. *af* (to text #5). In the occurrences Wente cites from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, deities depicted as mummiform within ovals are said each to be *m i3.t=f* (p. 28), their bodies are also *hr i3.t=sn* (pl. 14), yet “when Re passes by them, they hide” *m i3.t=sn imy*, “in their mounds therein.” This suggests a certain confusion as to whether they are in or on the hill, perhaps also present in the Ramesses IX text.

¹⁰⁰ Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 232.

time of his triumph over Apep. The leaping up could refer to the “jumping for joy” attested elsewhere for the inhabitants of the Netherworld.¹⁰¹ In the eighth scene in the second register in section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, two hills are shown, each containing a mummy called *sḥyt i3.t=f*, “female mummy of his mound.” Atop each hill is a head, with arms in the pose of adoration, called *nhp imy i3.t=f*, “leaper who is on his mound.”¹⁰² This scene from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk parallels the Ramesses IX treatise, with inverted, shadowy (*šw.ty*) heads emerging from the upper border of the scene. The “leaping” deities in the tomb of Ramesses IX are also atop *i3.wt*-mounds.

Nhp also means “to get up early,” an action which one performs in order to adore Re at the time of his birth.¹⁰³ *Nhp* can also refer to the rising of entities from the state of death,¹⁰⁴ or the rearing up of a serpent on its tail.¹⁰⁵ The *nhp* of these gods may then contrast with the movement of the falling lords of the Netherworld to the

¹⁰¹ Compare M. Smith, “An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 9 (P) + P. Louvre E 10605) (Part I),” *Enchoria* 15 (1987): 75-6, n. b to col. I, l. 10: *py=i m t3y=i tw3.t hr ršy*, “I fly up from my underworld in joy.”

¹⁰² Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 19; similarly, in the eleventh scene in the third register of the same section, the same names occur three times (*ibid.* pp. 22-23).

¹⁰³ J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), text 17 (TT 23 [15] II), p. 19, l. 17 and p. 22, n. q. For a transitive use of *nhp*, see A. Barucq and F. Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1980), p. 332 n. t (N. de G. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration* [New York, 1953], pl. 33, ll. 8-9).

¹⁰⁴ See the discussion of the verb *nhp* in the chapter on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun pp. 120-1. To that discussion, one may add: *nhp* “leaping” appears parallel to *hḥ.wt*, “jubilation,” in section 21 of the Book of the Gates (Hornung, *Pfortenbuch*, vol. 1, p. 130):

nhp n-k hḥ.wt n ʿ.wy=k(y)

Leaping be to you, and jubilation to your two arms.

Hornung, *Pfortenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 117 n. 9, understands this as “wie das Hochsein Anzeichen der wiederkehrenden Lebenskraft, die ihn [Re] über seine Widersacher triumphieren lässt.” His reading of this section (“es schwellen für dich die Muskeln an deinen Armen” p. 116) is possible. The reading adopted here understands *nhp* as synonymous with the verb *bsl*, referring to Re-Osiris’ ultimate rising out of the Dat (see Chapter 3, p. 121). The *hḥ.wt*-jubilation of the arms is the gesture of justification, as is also the raised arm of the ithyphallic Osiris, whose Nun-hand (see below, Chapter 6, pp. 391-5) ushers the reborn sun into the upper world.

¹⁰⁵ Note also the text annotating a small serpent, standing up on his tail, in the third scene in the first register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 45):

pn nh3-hr=f m šhr pn

nhp=f hr rd.wy št3(.t) nh3-hr

This one whose face is violent is in this fashion,

he rearing up beneath the feet of she-who-is-mysterious – (it is) Nehaher.

Piankoff translated *nhp=f* here as “il monte la garde.” Probably it is simply “he jumps up,” with the suggestion of guarding remaining a possibility.

left. As discussed above, the action *snhp*, “to make get up early,” which Horus-Upon-his-Throne (*Hr-hr-hnd=f*) takes in the third register of the Seventh Hour of the Amduat, results in the stars standing in the Netherworld; there *snhp*, like *pn**, “turn over,” elsewhere, rights the plummeting, inverted souls who enter the Netherworld.¹⁰⁶ *Nhp*, “to leap up,” means that these entities are standing and correctly oriented in the Netherworld. Their *nhp*-action is a first step towards restoring order at the time of the cosmic catastrophe.

A combination of movement nearer to the god while the punishment of Apep continues occurs in the Twelfth Hour of the Book of Gates, the 89th scene, wherein is said of the children of Horus:¹⁰⁷

ḥḥ=sn hr ntr pn
nwh=sn m db.w=sn*
 They fly up before this god,
 their bond in their fingers

Leaping would be particularly appropriate as a celebratory gesture at the time of the defeat of Apep and the renewal of creation. One of the possible occurrences at the time of the cosmic disaster is the collapse of creation, when the sky and earth are no longer separated. The *nhp*-leaping of the gods demonstrates and celebrates the presence of Shu, and the safety and stability of creation. Leaping up within the newly protected space of the renewed cosmos reaffirms the act of creation and ensures the continued existence of ordered space in the cosmos.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 128, 6-7 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 564); vol. 2, p. 135.

¹⁰⁷ *Idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 391; O version has *m ḥ=sn db*.w=sn*, “in the fingers of their hands” (a *badal*-apposition, as E.F. Wente has suggested).

¹⁰⁸ The verb *nhp* here does not refer to “mourning”—according to *Wb.* II 284, 17, *nhp*, “trauern,” does occur with the walking legs as determinatives. The passage which the *Belegstellen* volume cites, has, however, *nhp n=f ḥḥ m w*r.t*, parallel to *ḥḥy n=f imy.w w*r.t*. These parallel statements of joy in the necropolis read “multitudes leap up to him in the necropolis,” and “those in the necropolis jubilate to him.” *Nhp* in the passage which the *Wörterbuch* cites refers to the Netherworld denizens rising up. In line 60 in the autobiographical inscription in the tomb of Inhermose at El-Mashayikh (B. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesseid Tombs at El Mashayikh 1: The Tomb of Anhurmose—the Outer Room* [Sydney, 1988], p. 44 and n. 204, pls. 28-9, l. 60), the deceased says *nhp ntr niw.t=i n=w*, “my city god calls out loudly to them,” they being the dead, “in the West.” Ockinga and al-Masri note that the rendering of *nhp n* is “a little uncertain,” and, although translating “cares for them (?),” they note that this should be *nhp hr* rather than *nhp n*. This could be the verb *nhp* “to scream,” with a more subdued meaning “to call out with a loud voice,” perhaps a parallel to *ḡwi*.

In the “livre de protéger la barque du dieu,” a group of protective entities which guard the bark of Osiris are referred to as *nhy.w*.¹⁰⁹

nhy nhy nhy.w

“que fassent attention, que fassent attention les guetteurs”¹¹⁰

For the beings called *nhy.w*, P. Louvre N 3219 provides no determinative, P. BM 10252 has the man with his hand to his mouth, P. Metropolitan Museum 35.9.21 has a seated, bearded god as determinative, and the copy at Dendera Temple gives the walking legs. Goyon accepts the determinative of the man with his hand to his mouth as correct and reads “guetteurs.” The verb *nhy* relating the action which the *nhy.w* perform has in three copies the walking legs as determinative; in the Louvre papyrus no determinative is given. The line should be read “the leapers leap up”—they perform *nhy* as they survey the overthrow of Seth and his gang, and the preservation of the *nsm.t*-bark of Osiris. The similar context to the 89th scene of the Book of Gates suggests that “the leaping ones leap up” is a better rendering of the passage.¹¹¹

For *dl sq.t* in this context, P. Bremner-Rhind 22, 13¹¹² provides a parallel—there Re casts his spear at Apep: *dl=f sq(.t) im=f*, “he casting fire in him.” In P. Bremner-Rhind 22, 14-5, the title is *rdl sq(.t) m pp*, “casting fire into Apep.”¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques, I. «Le livre de protéger la barque du dieu»,” *Kémi* 19 (1969): 56-7.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹¹¹ The verb *nhy* here could also recall *nhy*, “to get up early” (*Wb.* II 284, 5-8; see also the form *snhy*, *Wb.* IV 167, 15, not only of the sun – see Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, text 187, l. 3 [p. 260] and p. 261, l. 9, where *snhy* is parallel to *nhs* [*Wb.* IV 168, 1], “to wake up”), not infrequently employed in the context of adoration of the sun (see *ibid.* p. 22, n. q). Note that in Assmann’s hymn 187, line 4 (lines 15-6 of Assmann’s transliteration), one reads:

dmq Km.t *nhy dšr.t*
r m3 hcf hr tp dwzyt

Egypt assembles, the desert rises early,

in order to behold his appearance at the break of day

This *dšr.t* which rises early here is the area of the necropoleis; as *Km.t*, the land of the living, assemble to praise Re, so *dšr.t*, the land of the dead, praise him early (in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 365e and p. 374h, the deceased rises early [*nhy*]). For the leaping praise, compare the terms *tbhn*, *thm*, and *thb* used of the vaulting praises of animals (Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 324 and n. 44).

¹¹² R.O. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (British Museum No. 10188) (Brussels, 1933), p. 44, ll. 1-2 (22, 14).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 44, l. 4 (22, 14-15). *dl sq.t* here may also allude to the illumination which some of the Datians are desired to provide for the sun during his travels in the Netherworld (compare *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 152: *st(w) n-i*, “illumine for me”). For *rdl h.t m*, “setting fire to,” referring to the punishment of earthly criminals by burning, see A. Leahy, “Death by Fire in Ancient Egypt,” *JESHO* 27 (1984): 199-206.

ⁿ The *hry.w šsr.w=sn*, protective beings who bear arrows in defense of the sun, have counterparts in beings in the middle register of the Tenth Hour of the Amduat.¹¹⁴ One of the protective entities there (no. 734) is named *šsri*, “he relating to the arrow.” The label describing the armed protectors of the sun begins:

wnn=sn m šhr pn hr šsr.w=sn hr ‘bb.wt=sn hr pd.wt=sn m h3.t ntr pn ʿ3

They are in this fashion, bearing their arrows, bearing their lances, bearing their bows before this great god ...

On pl. 31 the arrow-bearing *hry.w šsr.w=sn* appear as the figures standing atop mounds, the beings who have sent their flaming arrows against the necks of the serpents of chaos. The *hry.w šsr.w=sn* are not those suffering from the arrows.¹¹⁵ The proximity of plummeting stars (pl. 32) to arrow-wielding protectors on this wall may allude to the notion of the decan stars as arrow-wielding protectors.¹¹⁶

^o Grammatically, the enigmatic annotation presents a Noun + *sdm=f* construction – *hry.w šsr.w=sn s3m=sn*. The term after *s3m=sn* ends in *-ty.w* and should refer to Apep and his gang of Nehaher serpents as opponents of Re. The context of the word in question strongly suggests a reading *hfty.w*, “enemies.”¹¹⁷ Reading *hfty.w* requires understanding the first sign of the word as *hft*. In chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead and in Address 71 of the Great Litany of Re, the souls of the *hfty.w*-enemies of the sun are the object of the verb *s3m*,¹¹⁸ and the association of *s3m* and *hfty.w* in those passages supports reading the object of *s3m* on the Enigmatic Wall as *hfty.w*. Such a reading requires that ☉ on the Enigmatic Wall should represent *hf* or *hft*, a value otherwise attested for the sign only in the Book of Caverns. In the version of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns in the tomb of Pedamenope, an entity (number 12 in Piankoff’s numbering) is called:¹¹⁹



cryptography



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¹¹⁴ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 174, l. 7-p. 175, l. 5 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 725-6), and entities nos. 733-744 (pp. 175, l. 6-176, l. 3 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 730-731]).

¹¹⁵ Contra Hornung’s “die von Pfeilen Getroffenen.”

¹¹⁶ See L. Kákosy, *Oikumene* 3 (1982): 164-5 (*šsr.w=sn hw=sn d.t=k*, “their arrows protect your body”).

¹¹⁷ Apep is *hfty pfy n Rʿ*, “that enemy of Re” (A. Farid, “New Ptolemaic Blocks Rub-el-Maganin-Armant,” *MDAIK* 35 [1979]: 67 [insc. 25]).

¹¹⁸ Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden*, p. 40, l. 8; p. 42, l. 9; A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York, 1964), pl. 7; Hornung, *Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 80.

¹¹⁹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 147, no. 12.

Also in the Book of Caverns, in the first scene of the third register in the tomb of Ramesses VI, a group representing the hearts of the tormented damned are called:¹²⁰







cryptophy



Normalschrift

These two annotations, with the enigmatic text in the tomb of Ramesses IX, provide the only examples of the nose sign thus far recognized with the cryptographic value *hft*. The nose as *hfty*, “that which is in front,” is a reasonable cryptographic value.¹²¹ In the orthography of *hfty.w* in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the circular sign above the back of the bird represents the determinative of *hfty.w*.

In a scene in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu depicting the spearing of Apep beneath the prow of the solar bark, the text states that the *wr.t nb.t nsr.t*, “great one, lady of fire,” (l. 11) is she *s3m.t hft(y.w) nw R^c*, “who burns up the enemies of Re” (ll. 13-4).¹²²

For a possible reading of the group  as *irw.w*, with the circular sign representing the pupil substituting for the *ir*-eye, and the bird as *w*, one may compare the orthographies of *irw.w* in the Book of Amduat:¹²³  *pw štz*, and the orthography  for  in the tomb of Pedamenope.¹²⁴ Such a reading here would, however, produce a nonsensical translation.

^P For the construction *m-ht is p=f hr=sn*, see text 5 in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Paroi du fond):¹²⁵

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 150, no. 36.

¹²¹ Cf. also the word *hft* for face, given as questionable, in *Wb.* III 274, 2.

¹²² The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6: *The Temple Proper Part 2, The Re Chapel, The Royal Mortuary Complex, and Adjacent Rooms, with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall* (Chicago, 1963), pl. 421 B. On *3m(m)* fire, see C. Cannuyer, “Recherches sur l’onomasiologie du feu en Ancien Égyptien,” *ZÄS* 117 (1990): 107.

¹²³ Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, pp. 121, l. 2, and 126, l. 11 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 537 and p. 558 respectively).

¹²⁴ See Piankoff, “Le Livre de l’Am-Duat et les variantes tardives,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien (Fs. Grapow)* (Berlin, 1955), p. 245, n. 5.

¹²⁵ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 19, l. 6 (for the orthography of *hr.t* there, see p. 36, n. 4).

ntr ʕ3 wd ȝw.wt=sn
m-ht is ʕp=f hr=sn

It is the great god who assigns their evil (condition),
 even when he passes by them.

The particle *is* occurs with *sdm.n=f* forms following *m-ht* in the Book of Caverns, there also after an initial verb form which is not nominal.¹²⁶ The *is* in such a context may then serve to emphasize the adverbial adjunct, in the absence of an initial nominal verb form. To capture the nuance of this passage the present translation employs “even.” One would expect the nominal form of the *sdm=f*, here *ʕpp=f*, after *m-ht* or *m-ht is*;¹²⁷ but the verb here has only one *p*, as in the parallel from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, and appears to be the prospective nominal form.¹²⁸

In the middle register of the main, left-hand portion of the Enigmatic Wall there are eleven rampant snakes, called Nehaher serpents in the horizontal band of enigmatic script above them. Five of these serpents, those to the left of the beings atop their mounds, are each given the vertical enigmatic annotation *sšrw* (pl. 31). The dark figures who adore the sun from atop their piles of sand in the right half of the middle register are all given a single label *pthy* (pl. 31), written in front of the first, leftmost figure. Although they have long hair suggestive of feminine gender, the fourth figure from the left wears a curved beard; like the figures in the left-hand

¹²⁶ A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts. 1^{er} tableau,” *BIFAO* 41 (1942): pl. 3, ll. 3-4 (*srq ȝwtw=tn sdm=tn mdw.w Wsir m-ht is ʕp.n=i d3.t*; “your throats breathe, when you hear the speech of Osiris, even after I have traveled the Dat”); *ibid.*, pl. 6, l. 3 (*tw=i ir=i šhr.w dw3.t(yw) di=i ȝtp b3.w ȝ3.wt=sn m-ht is ȝtp.n=i ȝ3.t=i*; “I take care of the Dat(ians), I causing that *bas* occupy their corpses, but only after I have occupied my corpse”); see M. Gilula, *Enclitic Particles in Middle Egyptian* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, 1968), p. 193; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 144 n. 26. Piankoff interprets the *m-ht is* in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk and in the Book of Caverns as initial forms, but this is impossible in the Ramesses IX text, which shows that the *m-ht is* is subordinate to what precedes. For *m-ht is*, see also K. Jansen-Winkel, “Neue biographische Texte der 22./23. Dynastie,” *SAK* 22 (1995): 185 n. 29.

¹²⁷ See W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten* (Berlin 1962), p. 161, §229, 2; in the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, compare *m-ht* + nominal *sdm=f* in Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, l. 8 (*ȝt ʕpp nȝi pn ʕ3*); pl. 23, ll. 55-56 (*ir m-ht ʕpp=f*); pl. 24, l. 23 (*m-ht ʕpp nȝi pn ʕ3*); pl. 24, ll. 25-26 (*ir m-ht ʕpp=f*); pl. 24, ll. 35-36 (*m-ht ʕpp nȝi pn ʕ3*); pl. 25, figure A, ll. 38-39 (*ir m-ht ʕpp=f*); Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 34, figure A, ll. 17-19 (*m-ht ʕpp nȝi pn*). For *m-ht is* + nominal *sdm=f*, cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 34, ll. 1-2.

¹²⁸ É. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System in Old and Middle Egyptian* (Geneva, 1986), p. 64 and n. 672, states that the circumstantial *sdm=f* can follow *m-ht/hr m-ht*. He cites Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 119, §156; pp. 133-134, §178, 4-6. These are, however, examples of the nominal *sdm.n=f*, the nominal passive *sdm=f*, and the prospective nominal *sdm=f* (Gardiner, *ibid.*, p. 133, notes that the form *m-ht pr=f* occurs [*ibid.*, p. 133, n. 25] when the main verb refers to a future event).

portion of the lower register, they appear to be somewhat androgynous. The shafts of the arrows are yellow; their feathers and their points are blue-grey. The dots of fire connecting the arrow points to the heads of the Nehaher snakes are red.¹²⁹

Hornung suggested that the enigmatic labels *sšrw* refer to the arrows which strike the Nehaher snakes.¹³⁰ Regarding the snakes themselves, Hornung proposes: "vor der ersten steht, wohl stellvertretend für alle, 'der zu Boden Geworfene' (*pthj*), während die Anbetenden auf ihren Sandhügeln ... anonym bleiben." The hieroglyphs of the annotation *pthj* face in the same direction as the figures atop the slaughtering places of sand, however, and should be the one-for-all label of these figures. The arrows whose fiery tips strike the snakes directly in front of the solar bark point up to the left—the feathered ends are shown as though almost touching the necks of the snakes. The annotations *sšrw* face to the right, opposite to the arrows, but in the same direction as the Nehaher snakes, which they in fact describe.

The annotations *sšrw* should describe the snakes, with which they are oriented. The snakes are shown as they are struck by the fiery points of the sun's arrows; they are shown being shot. There is a verb *sšr*, "to shoot,"¹³¹ of which *sšrw* should be a masculine singular imperfective passive participle¹³²—"the one who is shot." The designation of the Nehaher snakes as *sšrw* may be the same word as the term *sšr* designating a "sacrificial animal."¹³³

The word *pthj* is from the verb *pth*, "jem. (etw.) zu Boden werfen u.ä." (*Wb.* I 565, 16-7), as Hornung recognized, but it is not a passive participle describing the Nehaher snakes as he assumed. The word faces in the same direction as the figures atop the sand-piles of slaughtering, and describes them in their action of protecting the solar god from the serpents before him. *PTH r t3* is attested for throwing an animal,¹³⁴ and the designation of the first of the *imy.w-iz.wt=sn*, "those on their mounds," as *pthj* is best understood as a *nomen agentis* of the verb *pth*—"one who

¹²⁹ For the shape of the arrow points, compare W. McLeod, *Self Bows and Other Archery Tackle from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 24-5, pl. 4, #76. For the sharp edge of the arrow points giving off flame, compare the end of the third register in the Third Hour of Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 53, l. 11-p. 54, l. 1 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 305-306]; and vol. 2, p. 71, text note 6):

shpr=sn zm.wt hfty.w m imy.t-tp.w sf.w=sn

By means of that which is on the tips of their swords do they bring about the burning of the enemies.

¹³⁰ Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 233.

¹³¹ *Wb.* IV 547, 2-7; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1981), p. 382, no. 78.4197.

¹³² As Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London, 1957), p. 275 (§358) indicates: "the ending -w [for the masculine singular imperfective passive participle] ... is much more frequently written than omitted."

¹³³ *Wb.* IV 547, 8-9; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1980) p. 379, no. 77.4301; *idem*, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 382, no. 78.4198-9. For Seth the enemy as a sacrificial animal, see H. Te Velde, *Seth, god of Confusion* (Leiden, 1977), pp. 94-8.

¹³⁴ H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten* (Berlin, 1961-62), vol. 1, p. 301.

lays low (the enemy)."¹³⁵ The entity *ꜥwy*, "Ausstreckender," who appears in the Amduat and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk,¹³⁶ is perhaps the same as the *pṯy*-beings in the tomb of Ramesses IX; in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk the being is specifically the *ꜥwy n ꜥꜣꜣ*, "the one who stretches out Apep."¹³⁷

For the combination of *pṯy*, "to lay low," and *šsr*, "to be shot (with an arrow)," in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, one may compare the combination of *pꜥ*, "to stretch out," and *šsr*, "to shoot," in PT § 1545 (= Utt. 580):

pꜥ ꜥw m pꜥ.t

šsr ꜥw m šsr

The one who has stretched you out is stretched out,
the one who shot you is shot.

There are seven of the entities at "their slaughtering pit of sand" (*nm.t-sn nt šꜥ*), to whom the horizontal band of enigmatic text above their heads (pl. 33) refers as *imy.w iz.wt-sn*, "those on their mounds," and *hry.w šsr.w-sn*, "those bearing their arrows." They are not shown carrying their arrows, nor are they depicted in the act of shooting the arrows. The scene in the middle register of the main portion of the Enigmatic Wall appears rather to show the immediate aftermath of what the text describes as *dd=<sn> šsr.w-sn*, "they loose their arrows."¹³⁸ There is a relationship between seven uraei and the neck vertebrae,¹³⁹ such as occurs in PT §511 (Utterance 318):

NN pw nꜥw

kꜣ psꜥ.t

¹³⁵ See Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 1, pp. 120-211; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 52-69 (§2.3), 72-73 (§2.5), 89-97 (§2.6.2), *et passim*. On the interchange of -y/-w/-ty endings, see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 94, §172. For later writings of the -w ending as -y (as in *pṯy* here), compare *nmḥy* for *nmḥw* (Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 1, p. 176, and vol. 2, p. 686, n. 779). See also p. 119 n. 380.

¹³⁶ See the references given by Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern*, p. 38.

¹³⁷ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 61.

¹³⁸ For the significance of seven beings here, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 157, and the references cited there. In the text from the Book of the Day and the Night which Assmann discusses, the seven uraei of the sun slaughter the enemies of the sun. According to Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1956), p. 158, "Wir begegnen der Neunzahl als große Vielheit neben der magischen Siebenzahl als Ausdruck einer grösst-möglichen Ballung göttlicher Kräfte bei Gruppen verschiedenster Art." See also W.R. Dawson, "The Number 'Seven' in Egyptian Texts," *Aegyptus* 8 (1927): 97-107; J.-C. Goyon, "Nombre et Univers: réflexions sur quelques données numériques de l'arsenal magique de l'Égypte Pharaonique," in A. Roccati and A. Siliotti, eds., *La Magia in Egitto ai Tempi dei Faraoni* (Milan, 1987), pp. 57-76.

¹³⁹ B.H. Stricker, *De Hemelvaart des Konings* (Leiden, 1990), p. 30 n. 186; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 157; P. Barguet, "Le livre des cavernes et la reconstitution du corps divin," *RdE* 28 (1976): 27.

ḥm sḥt.t=f iʿr.wt

ḥpr=sn m sḥt.t=f nḥb.wt

The king NN is a *nʿw*-serpent, bull (lord) of the ennead,
who swallows his seven uraei,
with the result that they become his seven neck vertebrae.

This association also occurs in Coffin Text spells 85-7 and 374, and in scene 60 in the lowest register of the Ninth Hour in the Book of Gates, where there are seven entities on the back of the “flaming” snake. In the papyrus of Djehutymose, P. Turin 1781, seven headless beings, with snakes where their heads should be, sit atop seven mounds of sand.¹⁴⁰ These interrelationships of seven appear to apply here on the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX—seven entities destroy the enemy of the sun, having cast arrows into the necks of serpents, while the bark of the sun is stopped on the neck vertebrae (*bqs.w*) of Apep.¹⁴¹

The right eye in the stern of the solar bark¹⁴² launches a dart against the serpents. This is the solar eye,¹⁴³ described as wielding a spear in P. Boulaq 17 (=P. Cairo

¹⁴⁰ Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 21; these beings appear to correspond to the twelve women of the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, entities nos. 822-33 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 807-808]) with fire-spitting uraei on their shoulders. The women in the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat are elements in a scene of the triumph of light at the root of the eastern horizon, and they do not correspond to the four seated upon twin uraei at the end of the top register of the Eleventh Hour of Amduat, who cannot move (*ibid.*, p. 183, l. 12 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 762]: *itwy pr.n=sn*, “they unable to proceed”), and whose feet are (*ibid.*, p. 183, l. 10 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 761]) *m kkw-smzw*, “in the complete darkness”).

¹⁴¹ Note also that the seventh hour is the time of the destruction of Apep and the enemies of the sun (see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 89, A. 13, and pp. 221 ff.). For seven as the number of the enemies of the sun, compare also the seven chiefs dispatched by Amenhotep II in the Amada stela (*Urk. IV*, p. 1297); the solar imagery of the king’s wrath is carried further there by the subsequent inverted fate of the corpses. In the earliest attestation of this upside-down hanging of defeated enemies, Thutmosis I hangs the corpse of his defeated Nubian foe upside-down from the prow of his vessel (*Urk. IV*, p. 9, l. 5); see also S. Schott, “Ein ungewöhnliches Symbol des Triumphes über Feinde Ägyptens,” *JNES* 14 [1955]: 97-9; Grimm, *SAK* 16 [1989]: 111-9).

¹⁴² For the representation of the solar bark in the tomb of Ramesses IX, compare the representation of the same on a fragment of a Third Intermediate Period coffin in *La vie au bord du Nil au temps des pharaons* (Calais, 1980), pp. 45-6, object no. 74. Note that in the front of the bark there, there is a mirror, apparently taken from the moon bark (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 51) at the right end of the second register of the Second Hour of the Amduat (this is the hour of the Amduat on the wall opposite the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX).

¹⁴³ The left eye is the moon, the right eye is the sun (see *i.a.* J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*, vol. 1 [Louvain, 1992], p. 39). The eyes as shown here are reversed, the *canthi* pointing outwards, perhaps a reference to the notion that the eyes should go around (*phr*) the solar deity as he traverses the Netherworld (L. Žabkar, “A Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator at Philae,” *ZAS* 108 [1981]: 158, citing P. Berlin 3055, 20.2-6: *phr n=f šh.ty=f[y]*, “for whom his two *šh.t*-eyes perambulate”). The scene reads from

58038), iii, 4-iv, 1, and Stele BM 40959.¹⁴⁴ There, in a hymn to Min-Amun, we read:

ir.t=f pw šhr sbi.w
dī-s mʿbʒ=s m šhp Nwn
dī-s sšbšb nik ʿm.n=f

It is his eye which fells the rebels,
 striking her spear into the swallower of Nun,
 causing the evil one to vomit forth what it had gulped down.¹⁴⁵

The eye of the sun casts light, and the verb for casting light can be the same for shooting arrows—*štl*. A pun on these two meanings occurs in a portion of section 24 of Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead:¹⁴⁶

left to right, and this reversal of the eyes shows the solar eye first, before the lunar eye (compare the “Stele of Naples,” K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* 1, part 1 [Leipzig, 1904], p. 2, l. 17-p. 3, l. 1; see O. Perdu, “Le monument de Samtoutefnakht à Naples (première partie),” *RdE* 36 [1985]: 100 n. d):

wmm.t=f pw ltn
išb.t=f pw iʿh
 the sun is his right eye,
 the moon is his left eye

On Bankes Stele 6 (J. Černý, *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection* [Oxford, 1958], no. 6), the moon hovers above the prow of the solar bark, on the right side of the stela lunette, while the right eye, depicted just behind the seated figure of Re-Horakhty, is at the stern of the bark.

¹⁴⁴ P. Boulaq 17 = S. Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1928), pp. 157-93; G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch* (Leipzig, 1909-10), vol. 2, pl. 33, l. 21 - pl. 34, l. 1; J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1999), p. 198 (=87B, ll. 59-61); Stele BM 40959 = E.A.W. Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, vol. 4 (London, 1913), pl. 50; E. Naville and H.R. Hall, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari* (London, 1913), vol. 3, pl. 4, 6. In the parallel text O. D el-M. 1224-6, the passage concerning the eye and the spear is not present. Compare also Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 2nd ed., p.78, no. 4, l. 19 (fourth hour of the *Stundenritual*).

¹⁴⁵ This last statement is reminiscent of ln. 20 of the Victory Stela of Merneptah (*KRI* IV 17.10-12):

imi sw m-dr.t Mr-n-ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-mʿc.t
dī=f bš=f ʿm=f mi dpy

Give him over to Merneptah –
 he shall cause that he vomit up all which he swallowed like a crocodile.

¹⁴⁶ Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 62.

nn shm ds.w=sn im=i
nn h3y=i r kt.wt=sn
hr-ntt wi rh.kw(i) st
rh.kw(i) rn iry
rh.kw(i) rn n m^cdd pwy im=sn n pr-Wsir
stt m ir.t=f n m3.n.tw=f

Their knives shall not have power over me;
 I shall not descend into their cauldrons,
 for I know them,
 I know the name thereof,
 I know the name of that pounder among them belonging to the
 domain of Osiris,
 who shoots with his eye, unseen.¹⁴⁷

In P. Bremner-Rhind 25, 3,¹⁴⁸ and elsewhere in the spell of which that passage is part, the eye of Re appears as the "Devouring Flame," *wnmy*.¹⁴⁹ The form of the sun of the seventh hour of the day is the ape with a bow, an image of the left eye of the sun casting fiery arrows.¹⁵⁰ For the two eyes of the sun traveling in the solar bark, the second hymn on the side of the stone box Louvre E 25485, l. 29, provides an excellent description: "After I had put them [the two eyes] in the Night Bark, I put them in the Morning Bark because of Horus-of-Manu."¹⁵¹ The avenging eye may also be envisaged as the eye of Horus,¹⁵² and Horus as the *sšd*-star shoots his fiery

¹⁴⁷ On the invisibility of the divine punishment, see Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 208, n. aa (text no. 156, l. 47).

¹⁴⁸ Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 52, ll. 1-2.

¹⁴⁹ On *wnmy.t* as "the sun-god's eye/the uraeus," see J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden, 1971), p. 183, text n. 449 (and n. 8; note also *wnmy.t* in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 50).

¹⁵⁰ See E. Brunner-Traut, "Atum als Bogenschütze," *MDAIK* 14 (1956): 20-28; K. Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1: *Die heiligen Tiere des Atum* (Hildesheim, 1978), pp. 81-91. In the tomb of Ramesses IX, on the lintel above the entrance into the third corridor (Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 61), an ape is shown in the sun disk to the left of the ram-headed form of the night sun; to the right of the ram-headed god is an udjat-eye. On the lintel of the door leading into the second corridor, the ram-headed sun is flanked by an ape on the left and a kneeling woman to the right (*ibid.* pl. 36)—the eye of the sun as a goddess.

¹⁵¹ Borghouts, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 2: *Religion*, p. 712. For a depiction of the two eyes in the bark, see Ch. Leblanc, *Ta Set Neferou, une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1989), pl. 115 (Valley of the Queens 52, the tomb of Tyti).

² On the natures of the eyes of Horus see J.G. Griffiths, "Remarks on the Mythology of the Eyes of Horus," *CdE* 33 (1958): 182-193.

arrows as lightning.¹⁵³ For the relationship between the shooting eye and the dawn, beyond the east as the place of punishing sinners and the new rising, one may cite the description of the eastern sun as *wꜥ spd*, “the sharp one.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ A. Volten, “Das Harpunierergestirn,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 354-5.

¹⁵⁴ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 160 n. 4 suggests “möglicherweise spielt die Bezeichnung des Gottes als *wꜥ spd* ‘der Eine Gerüstete’ (=Spitze, Scharfe) auf die Gestalt des bogenschiessenden Gottes an.” The rays of dawn shoot out, destroying the damned and enlightening the living.

LEFT SECTION, THIRD REGISTER (PL. 34A):

VERTICAL BANDS OF ENIGMATIC INSCRIPTION

This text differs from that in the middle register of the composition in that the inscription begins in partial cryptography, but shifts by the end into Normalschrift.

II. 1-24:

- (1) *wnn=sn m šhr pn m ḥtm.t*^a
Nti pn ḏwi=f rr^b=sn
q3w^c=sn n=f
ḥpr.w (9) ḥ3.w ir=sn n=f
mtnw m ḥpr.w=sn^d
 (12) *ḥtp nti pn*
itn=f m qrr.t^e tn
ḥpr msw.t=f im=s^f
 (17) *ir m-ḥt ḥpp nti pn ḥr nn n ntryt^g*
ḥ^c.ḥr=sn^h
ḥ3p.in sn kkw-sm3w

In this fashion are they in the Place of Destruction:

This god calls out to them,

that they should be high for him.

It is the numerous *ḥpr.w*-manifestations which they assume for him,

they being endowed with their *ḥpr.w*-manifestations.

When this god goes to rest,

his disk is in this cavern,

and his birth occurs therein.

After this great god passes by these goddesses,

they stand up;

Then the complete darkness covers them.

^a Hornung notes (p. 234 n. 39) “Lies *ḥtmy.t*, mit Umstellung, die in der Kryptographie als weiteren Mittel der Verfremdung verwendet wird.” This is not Perturbation, however; here, *ḥ* is clear, the bird is for *ḥtm*, *≡* is for *m*, and *⊃* for *t*.¹⁵⁵

^b The preposition *r* appears as *rr*; an orthography unattested elsewhere in the surviving versions of the Book of the Solar Osirian Unity. This reduplicated form of the preposition *r* appears most commonly in Late Egyptian texts,¹⁵⁶ but does

¹⁵⁵ Cf., *i.a.*, the orthography in Scene 5 of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, pl. 5C, ll. 6-7.

¹⁵⁶ Reduplicated *rr* for *r* occurs frequently already in the inscriptions in the private tombs at El Amarna; see F. Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna* (Paris, 1930), p. 3 (§2) and pp. 25-26 (§43).

occur already in texts from the late Old Kingdom at Deir el-Gebrawi.¹⁵⁷ The writing *rr* for *r* in this text is thus not necessarily an indication of the influence of Late Egyptian orthography on the cryptography of the Enigmatic Wall; in any event, this graphic peculiarity does not influence the grammar or content of the passage.

^c Originally a 3ae inf., *q3i* geminates in Middle Egyptian.¹⁵⁸ In ll. 6-7 one could read *q33=sn*, a circumstantial *sdm=f* as part of a result clause. The plural pellets following the book roll would then be otiose, perhaps somehow mistakenly derived from the word *q3w*, “Art Gebäck,” of *Wb.* V 8, 3-5. The second bird might also represent *w*, a suggestion which would explain the presence of the false plural strokes in the word. This would then be a prospective nominal *sdmw=f* form. Their bent knees may indeed show them in the process of rising up. This scene, and the content of the text, is similar to Scene 3 of the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 10A). There, mummiform deities rise up (*sn r=sn* ‘*r=sn*) from atop the backs of protective *mhn* snakes (see above, Chapter 3, pp. 121-2). The entities in the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise and those on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun are shown in the process of rising up in response to the call of the solar deity. On the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun the rising figures are male deities, whereas on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall the corresponding beings are female.


The sun god’s call that the beings be high suggests the first scene in the upper register of the Sixth Hour of the Amduat; in the address by the great god to the *ntr.w tpy.w sh.t tn*, “the gods atop this field,” we read:¹⁵⁹

q3.t n ir.w=tn

‘3.t n hpr.w=tn

Height be to your visible forms, greater size be to your manifestations.

Hornung suggests: “gemeint ist wohl das stehen bzw. Erheben aus ihrer sitzenden Stellen.”¹⁶⁰

^d Hornung’s *mnw m hpr.w.sn*, “(obwohl) sie in ihrer Erscheinungsform bleiben,” is possible. A better sense is achieved, however, by reading  as *mtnw*, with the bird below the book-roll as a following *m* (*Wb.* II 170, 11-12).¹⁶¹ This passage from the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall would then parallel the passage

¹⁵⁷ See G. Roeder, *Die Praeposition r in der Entwicklung der aegyptischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1904), p. 8.

¹⁵⁸ See Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (Malibu, 1984), p. 574 (§738).

¹⁵⁹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 100, l. 2 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 467).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 111 n. 7.

¹⁶¹ On *mtn* see also K. Jansen-Winkeln, “Zwei Bemerkungen zu Gebel es-Silsila Nr. 100,” *JEA* 75 (1989): 237-9, specifically part 1, pp. 237-8

which *Wb.* II 170, 12 cites from the introduction of the Sixth Hour of Amduat¹⁶² for the meaning “mit etw. versehen” for *mtnw m*:

rh m d.t=sn mtn m irw.w=sn
dexterous of body, provided with their forms.

This passage closely parallels the portion of the Ramesses IX treatise here under discussion:

Numerous *hprw*-manifestations are what they assume for him,
they being endowed with their *hprw*-manifestations.

Hornung reads the Amduat passage as containing *mtn* of *Wb.* II 170, 16-171, 4, “beschriften, gravieren.”¹⁶³ This is possible, and could also fit the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise:

they being represented in their *hprw*-manifestations

However, *mtn m hprw* here is more likely parallel to *hpr m irw* (*Wb.* I 180, 20-1).¹⁶⁴

^eIn the orthography of *qrr.t*, the circular sign following the two grasshopper signs perhaps does double duty—it represents *t*, as a substitution of a round bread sign for the more usual *t*-sign;¹⁶⁵ the circle also suggests the frequent use of the circular sign to determine the word “cavern,” an indication of the *qrr.t* as a burial pit.

^fHornung reads: “indem sie verwandelt sind darin in Schlangen (?)”¹⁶⁶ In line 5 of the cryptic annotation accompanying the ithyphallic figure of the Osiride king (pls. 36 and 37), there is the statement *iw hq=f r ms.wt R^c*, “he lighting up at the

¹⁶² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 98, ll. 5-6 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 461-462); this passage is only present in the tomb of Ramesses VI in the long version, and the *n* of *mtn* is missing, but is supplied from the short version (*Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 55).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 110 n. 10. But see also W.F. Edgerton, “The Nauri Decree of Seti I: A Translation and Analysis of the Legal Portion,” *JNES* 6 (1947): 224, n. 43 (reference courtesy of E.F. Wente).

¹⁶⁴ See also Ph. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons: Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un mythe égyptien* (Istanbul, 1972), p. 7 n. 23.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 38.


¹⁶⁶ Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 235.

birth of Re.”¹⁶⁷ This suggests that the birth of Re indeed appears in the concluding scene to this treatise.

One could also render ll. 12ff. of the passage as:

As this god and his disk go to rest in this cavern,
so his birth occurs within it.

In this alternative rendition the verbs *hṭp* and *hpr* are taken as two nominal forms composing a *Wechselsatz*.¹⁶⁸

§ No water appears in association with the goddesses, who, along with their serpents, stand on sand. Even above, in the scene of the solar bark, water has disappeared, and the divine vessel has halted on the sandy spine of Apep. A reading of  as *mn n* is thus preferable to Hornung’s **mw*, “water.”

^h For the *hr* sign for *hr*, compare H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London, 1933), vol. 1, p. 52, n. 1 (=Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 62, ll. 2-3), and orthographies of *shr* in the texts of the Solar Osirian Unity.

Théodule Devéria’s copy and brief study of this portion (ll. 11-34) of the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall appeared in 1897.¹⁶⁹ Although his translation differs considerably in some points from that offered here, his transliteration was close to exact. This portion of the text begins with a version of Book of the Dead Chapter 106,¹⁷⁰ Coffin Texts spell 179¹⁷¹ (pl. 34A):

¹⁶⁷ Compare the statement *hḏ t3 r msw.t=f r^c nb*, “at whose birth the land lights up each day,” on the block NR C of Amenhotep IV from Karnak (J.-L. Chappaz, “Le premier édifice d’Amenophis IV à Karnak,” *BSEG* 8 [1983]: 30-1; Chappaz’ rendering “qui illumine la terre afin de l’engendrer,” taking *msw.t* as an infinitive, and referring *f* back to *t3* [*ibid.* p. 31 n. 40], is incorrect).

¹⁶⁸ For the close association of the ideas of setting and rising (here expressed as the birth) of the sun forming bound pairs, compare Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou Simbel* vol. 1 (Cairo, 1968), pp. 136-45 (n. 57).

¹⁶⁹ Théodule Devéria, “L’écriture secrète dans les textes hiéroglyphiques des anciens Égyptiens,” in *idem*, *Mémoires et fragments* II, in G. Maspero, ed., *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1897), pp. 78-79.

¹⁷⁰ Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 242-243; See E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zurich and Munich, 1990), pp. 480-1; Ch. Kuentz, “Le Chapitre 106 du Livre des morts, à propos d’une stèle de basse époque,” *BIFAO* 30 part 3 (1931): 817-80; see also the references in M. Bellion, *Égypte ancienne, catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques et des dessins, sur papyrus, cuir ou tissu, publiés ou signalés* (Paris, 1987), p. 455.

¹⁷¹ De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, pp. 65-72; H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata* (Leuven, 1996), pp. 357-358 and 494.

- ll. 25-49) *Wsir nb T3.wy nb m3^c.t* 26) *Nfr-k3-R^c stp.n R^c pw*
 27) *m3^c hrw^a dd=f*
i T3.w^b 28) *wr imy* 29) *hr.t*
 29) *i df3w^c* 30) *imy t3*
ih 31) *di=tn t hnq.t^d n Pth*
 32) *i^c=f r3=f^e m hnd.wy*
 33) *ih t hnq.t^d n* 34) *s3 R^c R^c-ms-sw H^c-m-W3s.t Mrr-imn^f*
 35) *i^c=f r3=f^e m hnd.wy* 36) *hn^c Pth*
 37) *i p3y fdw ntr.w pw^g* 38) *hryw gs.wy pw (?)* 39) *n t(3) p.t^h*
nty mntsn 40) *smn t3 hr s3w* 41)=f
nn.t hr shnty 42)=s
mntsn 43) *dd d3 R^c* 44) *m m3^cwⁱ*
nmy^j 45).n=f hr.t m 46) *h^pw*
ih di=tn 47) *Wsir nb T3.wy nb m3^c(.t)* 48) *Nfr-k3-R^c Stp.n-R^c*
 <m> p.t 49) *hn^c ir s.t^k*

Osiris, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Right Order, Neferkare

Setepenre, justified, says:

‘Oh great bread who is in heaven,

oh provision who is in the earth—

may you give bread and beer to Ptah,

that he may dine on the two shanks;

may bread and beer belong to the Son of Re Ramesses

Khaemwaset-Mereramun,

that he may dine on the two shanks together with Ptah.

Oh these you four gods who are over these two sides of the sky,

who it is fixed the earth upon its beams,

and the nether sky upon its four supports,

and who it is cause that Re travels in a fair wind,

he having traversed heaven in peace—

may you place Osiris, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Right

Order, Neferkare Setepenre <in> heaven

together with the one who made it.’

^a For *pw m3^c-hrw*, see H.C. Jelgersma, “A Grammatical Peculiarity in the Tomb Inscriptions of the Sons of Ramses III in the Valley of the Queens in Thebes,” *JEOL* 21 (1970): 169-74 (p. 173 for the tomb of Ramesses IX).

^b Hornung reads *št3w*, but a *š* is not present (collated on several occasions in 1989 and 1990); his *št3w wr imy hr.t*, “O Geheimer, Grosser, der im Himmel ist,” could in any event be impossible. *Št3w* is a designation of the solar deity (see pp. 9-93) is attested, a reference to the Netherworldly form of the deity, and can

under no circumstances be referred to as *imy hr.t*. If one persisted in reading *štzw*, the only possible translation would be “Oh secret form of the great one who is in heaven.”¹⁷² A *š* is not present, however; the word is to be read *tš.w*.

The orthography of *t*, “bread,” as *tš* is similar to the demotic writings *tšy/tšy/ty* of the by then archaizing word.¹⁷³ The example from O. Hor 18¹⁷⁴ is in a context similar to that of the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall—a prayer for provisions for the king. Personifications of *t(š)* bread are not unknown: cf. entity no. 401 in the upper register of the Sixth Hour of the Amduat, called *hṭp hnty Dš.t*, “the one who is at rest in the forefront of the Netherworld,” who has bread and beer atop his head;¹⁷⁵ the twelve entities with bread on their heads in the 42nd scene, the upper register of the Seventh Hour, of the Book of Gates, termed *hṭp.tyw*, “those relating to *hṭp.t* provisions.”¹⁷⁶ Also related are the bread-headed entities on some late New Kingdom mythological papyri, who are often accompanied by a prayer that food be provided for the deceased.¹⁷⁷ The goddess *Tšy.t* encountered at Denderah¹⁷⁸ may be

¹⁷² Compare a portion of the text accompanying the ninth scene of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pl. 29, l. 9-pl. 30, l. 1):

Bš R^c mdw=f hr itn=f

wš=f md.wt n imy.w=f

hr štš.w n imy hr.t

The *ba* of Re speaks on behalf of his disk,

he commanding those amongst whom he is,

because of the secret form of the one who is in heaven.

¹⁷³ W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 600; M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (London, 1987), p. 182; O. Hor 18 vo. 10 (see M. Smith, “Lexicographical Notes on Demotic Texts,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 1: *Sprache* [Göttingen, 1984], p. 391, n. 33); see also H.-J. Thissen, *Die Lehre des Anscheschonqi (P. BM 10508)* (Bonn, 1984), p. 60. Compare also the use of bare *∘* for writing the article *tš* (see for example E. F. Wente, in H. Ricke, G. Hughes, and E. F. Wente, *The Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* [Chicago, 1967], p. 11, nn. *e* and *h*; the orthography of *tš* *hšs.t* in the Manshiyet es-Sadr stele of Ramesses II [K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. 2: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford, 1979), p. 361, l. 2]).

¹⁷⁴ Smith, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 1, p. 391, n. 33.

¹⁷⁵ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 100, l. 8 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 470); vol. 2, p. 111.

¹⁷⁶ *Idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 177-8.

¹⁷⁷ Papyrus of Ahaneferamun, P. Cairo 979, figs. nos. 15 (*wr t*) and 19 (*nb t*)=Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, pp. 70-1; Papyrus of Mutemwia, P. BM 10007, figs. nos. 7 (*nb hṭp*) and 19 (*nb t*)=*ibid.* pp. 75-6; Papyrus of Amunmes, P. BM 10011, fig. no. 21=*ibid.* p. 83; Papyrus of Taudjare, P. Cairo JE 34033, fig. no. 48 (*nṯr nṯry nb iš.t*)=*ibid.* p. 94; Papyrus of Paser, P. Bib. nat. 158-61, fig. no. 19 (*wr m išš.t*)=*ibid.* p. 112; Papyrus of Nany, P. MMA 30.3.32, figs. nos. 13 and 27=*ibid.* pp. 116-7; Papyrus of Padiamun, a mummiform figure with an offering table in place of a head, atop which are three loaves of bread=Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 10; *nb t* with bread and onions for his head in P. Skrine 2 = A.M. Blackman, “The Funerary Papyrus of Nespeher’an (Pap.

a personification of *t(3)*-bread, or at least a pun between the name *T3y.t*, the “goddess of weaving,” and the word *t(3)* for bread.

^c For *df3w*, see *Wb.* V 570, 16-17; P. Vernus, “Deux inscriptions de la XII^e dynastie provenant de Saqqara,” *RdE* 28 (1976): 123, text note *a*. A. Moret, “La légende d’Osiris à l’époque thébaine d’après l’hymne à Osiris du Louvre,” *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 731 n. (8), discusses the Heliopolitan and Osirian connotations possible for the term *df3w*; *df3* and *k3.w* foodstuffs are said to have been made by Osiris, and to consist of his body (*ibid.* p. 734 n. (14))—in line 4 of the text which Moret discusses [*ibid.* p. 733], Osiris is called *df(3) k3w hn.ty psd.t*, “Provision, Food, Foremost of the Ennead”).¹⁷⁹ See also E. Iversen, “The Cosmogony of the Shabaka Text,” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1990), p. 487 n. 22. The mention of foodstuffs here suggests the presence of the *ka* of the king, for “der Ka verbindet die Toten mit den materiellen Opfern.”¹⁸⁰

^d The group *t hnq.t*, supported by other versions of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead, at first appears to be a writing of *‘irtt*, “cup of milk.” The *‘*-cup in the Ramesses IX text substitutes for the cup with bread, a variant of the simple loaf of bread for *t*. The *irtt*-vase appears to substitute for the *hnq.t*-vase. The cryptic orthography of *t hnq.t* may have been chosen with the purpose of allowing the alternative reading *‘irtt*, “cup of milk.” Milk is the liquid of rejuvenation,¹⁸¹ an

Skrine, no. 2),” *JEA* 5 (1918): 33, pls. 5-6 (no. 21); a deity with bread for a head called * in P. BM 10674 = A. Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989), p. 170 fig. 57 (likely a pun on the phonetic similarity *d3.t*, “Netherworld,” and *t3*, “bread”—see p. 66 n. 139).

¹⁷⁸ For example, in É. Chassinat and F. Daumas, *Le Temple de Dendara* 8 (Cairo, 1978), vol. 1 (text), p. 47, l. 10, there is a mention of *T3y.t nb.t t*, “Tayet, mistress of bread.”

¹⁷⁹ For the living king as possessor and personification of *k3w* and *df3w*, and nourisher of Egypt, see C. Coche-Zivie, “Les colonnes du «temple de l’est» à Tanis – Épithètes royales et noms divins,” *BIFAO* 74 (1974): 110-14.

¹⁸⁰ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 102. For a living man described as *df3y*, “he of provisions,” parallel to *nb df3*, “lord/possessor of provisions,” see R. Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub*, p. 53 (note to graffito 23, l. 9).

¹⁸¹ M. Eaton-Krauss, “Eine rundplastische Darstellung Achenatons als Kind,” *ZÄS* 110 [1983]: 127-32; E. Feucht, “Verjüngung und Wiedergeburt,” *SAK* 11 [1984]: 401-417; U. Rössler-Köhler, “Der König als Kind, Königsname und Maat-Opfer,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 2: *Religion* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 929-46; J. Leclant, “Sur un contrepoids de menat au nom de Taharqa: allaitement et «apparition» royale,” in *Mélanges Mariette* (Cairo, 1961), pp. 251-84; A. Grimm, “Zur Tradition des Spruchtitels *r3 nj swd3 wdhw*,” *SAK* 10 (1983): 200-201; and F. Labrique, “Du lait pour éteindre les torches à l’aube, à Deir el Bahari,” in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* (Cologne, 1991), pp. 205-212.


appropriate nourishment for Re at the eastern horizon, the child sun emerging from the Osiride womb in the penultimate scene of the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX.¹⁸²

^e On *i'i r3*, "to dine," see P.F. Dorman, "A Note on the Royal Repast at the Jubilee of Amenhotep III," in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. I (Cairo, 1994), pp. 455-470.

^f The signs writing the name of the king are reversed to face in the same direction as the figures atop the serpents.

^g *Pw* with plural strokes in line 37 is a writing of the old plural masculine demonstrative *ipw* (*Wb.* I 506, 9-11); less likely would be to read *Wb.* I 506, 13, *pw* for *pw*—"Oh ye four—that is, the gods..."¹⁸³

^h The mention of *gs.wy* in the Ramesses IX treatise in the context of the sun's battle with Apep parallels the use of *pt.wy* in P. Bremner-Rhind 30, 16, where it is said of Apep:¹⁸⁴

nn ii=k r R^c m 

You shall not come against Re in his two heavens.

J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970), p. 51 and n. 3, discusses the *gs*, "side, half," of heaven, with otherworldly implications.¹⁸⁵

ⁱ For *m3^cw*, the "good wind," see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 273 and n. 52.¹⁸⁶ The *m3^cw*-wind here may allude to the scene of the offering of Maat to Ptah in the final scene of the composition.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² For Osiris as the womb of the newborn sun, see J. Zandee, "The Birth-Giving Creator-God in Ancient Egypt," in A.B. Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London, 1992), p. 177. For the ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene see further Chapter 6.

¹⁸³ For *pw* for *pw*, cf. *pw m3^c-hrw* for *pw m3^c-hrw* in F. Hassanein and M. Nelson, *La tombe du Prince Amon-(Her)-Khepchef* (Cairo, 1976), p. 112.

¹⁸⁴ Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 79, l. 6.

¹⁸⁵ The two halves of heaven correspond to the halves of the Netherworld, the *d3.ty*. The "upper region" (*hry.t*) and "the place of destruction" (*htmy.t*) as the positions respectively of Osiris' hand and feet in the penultimate scene of the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall (pls. 36-37 [ll. 1-2 of the enigmatic annotation]) may refer to these halves of the Netherworld, the *d3.ty*.

¹⁸⁶ D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1982) p. 110, no. 79.1114 suggests "vente arrière (?)." And note the *m3^c*, "rightly guided," journey of the anguipede in the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI, probably an allusion to the *m3^cw*-wind.

^j For *nmi*, cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* (Chicago, 1980), pl. 20, l. 6; and Wenté, *ibid.*, p. 38, and the literature cited there.

^k This concluding wish parallels the similar wish at the end of the enigmatic annotation to the scene of the ithyphallic, Osiride king in the penultimate scene on this wall (pl. 37, l. 5): “Re, may you place Horus, who has appeared in Thebes, together with you, that he may inquire after you.”

The version of Book of the Dead Chapter 106/Coffin Text Spell 179 in the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise reverses the opening addresses in Chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead:

Ramesses IX: *i T3.w wr imy hr.t*
 Oh great bread who is in heaven

The corresponding second address in chapter 106 of the book of the Dead is:

i wr(.w) hntyw pr.w hry.w ddyw t n Pth ntr ʿ3 imy s.t wr.t
 Oh great ones, foremost ones of the upper domains, oh you who give bread
 to Ptah, the great god who is in the great place

In the Ramesses IX version, the *wr.w hntyw pr.w hry.w* and the *ddyw t n Pth* have been combined; the *ddyw t* are now a single entity, the *T3 wr*, “great bread;”¹⁸⁷ the *wr.w* have become the adjective *wr*. The *pr.w hry.w* are simply *hr.t*.

The continuation of the address on the Enigmatic Wall—*i df3w imy hr.t-ntr*, “Oh provision who is in the earth” (pl. 34A, ll. 29-30)—corresponds to the first address in Chapter 106 in the version in the papyrus of Nebseny (Aa):

i df3w imy hr.t-ntr
 Oh provision who is in the necropolis

In the enigmatic treatise *hr.t-ntr* has become *t3* (on *t3* as a term for the necropolis, see below, p. 353 n. 341).

¹⁸⁷ For a pun on *m3ʿw*-wind and *m3ʿ.t*, see M. Lichtheim, “The Songs of the Harpers,” *JNES* 4 (1945): 203, n. j to no. 6.

¹⁸⁸ For “the one provided with bread” as the meaning of the name of the personification of bread, compare the parallel Coffin Text chapter 179 (de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, p. 68): *ink df3 wr hnty pr.w hry.w prrw n=f t m iwnw*, “I am the great provision, foremost one of the upper domains, for whom bread comes forth from Heliopolis.” In Book of the Dead chapter 106 *t3.w wr imy hr.t* appears parallel with *df3w imy t3*. This use of *t*, “bread,” parallel to a more general term for food provisions, suggests *t* in its general meaning “food” (see The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, p. 45, n. q [for pl. 28, l. 7]).

NAMES (PL. 34B):

The four bending figures in the middle of the lower register:

leftmost bending figure

1 *szꜣy.t*, the protective one (?)

child

2 *sd.t(y)*, he of the flame¹⁸⁹

second bending figure from the left

no name given

child

3 *sd.t(y)*, he of the flame

third bending figure from the left

4 *hꜣy.t*, the naked one

child

5 *sd.t(y)*, he of the flame

fourth bending figure from the left

6 *hꜣy.t*, the pleased one

child

7 *sd.t(y)*, he of the flame

Puguet published a copy of a portion of this section at the end of the eighteenth century, together with an explanation of the deities bent backwards atop the snakes.¹⁹⁰ These bending entities appear to be rising up from the bodies of the snakes, paralleling a scene on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 10A; see above, pp. 121-2).

The bending figures are androgynous—their names are feminine, as apparently is their hair, but they have phalli and ejaculate as well. Androgynous beings have appeared in the version of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, in the person of the lion-headed, femininely coiffed, archon-like beings in the middle register of the second side of the shrine (pl. 10B, and pl. 11). The androgynous beings on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall both spit and ejaculate (the phalli are now damaged), and these actions link their androgyny with that of the god Atum, and other primeval creator deities. The name of one of the beings—*hꜣy.t*—may correspond to a name *hꜣy.t* in the Amduat, which Hornung reads as

¹⁸⁹ Hornung reads the names of the bending figures as “*hrjt* ‘Zufriedene’ [pl. 34, B, no. 6], *hꜣjt* ‘Nackte’ [pl. 34, B, no. 4], ohne Namen und *zꜣjt* ‘Hütende’ [pl. 34, B, no. 1]” (in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 236).

¹⁹⁰ Puguet, 1802, republished by Bochalaty, “Un document de l’expédition d’Égypte: la biographie du Dr Pugnet, par Louis Reynaud,” *BIE* 32 (1949-50): 119-20, pl. 6

“Klagende,”¹⁹¹ but the lack of clear parallels leaves the names of these beings unclear.

In front of each of the four bending, androgynous deities is the figure of a child, each child labeled *sd.t* (pl. 34, figure B, nos. 2, 3, 5, and 7), for *sd.ty*, “he of the flame.” The child *sd.ty* is the youthful form of the rising sun.¹⁹² In chapter 15B of the Book of the Dead, the *pꜣ.t* and *rhꜣ.t* worship the rising sun *m irw=f n nhnw Rꜣ sd.ty pr m Hpri*, “in his visible form of the youth, Re, the child come forth as Khepri.”¹⁹³ Each bending, ejaculating figure with a flaming(?) child before it suggests the fourth tableau of the second register of Section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk¹⁹⁴ (with parallels in the tomb of Tawosret and Sethnakht¹⁹⁵ and the tomb of Ramesses IX¹⁹⁶). There the bark of the sun is stopped above the cavern (*qrr.t*) of *imn-wn.wt=f*, “hidden of his hour.” Beneath the phallus of the ithyphallic entity is a flaming vase, a child, and a figure *snfy*, who stretches out his arms. The name *snfy* is attested both for punished sinners, and the demons who punish them.¹⁹⁷ The flame in the scene from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk perhaps represents the name of the infant, which one could read as *sd.ty*, “he of the flame,” the name of the solar child in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the fiery newborn sun.¹⁹⁸ The child, the flame, and punishment are all in keeping with a representation of recreation and the eastern horizon, where the sun is reborn, and the damned receive their ultimate fiery punishment.

¹⁹¹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 49, l. 7 (no. 216; = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 289); vol. 2, p. 67.

¹⁹² See Chapter 3, p. 143.

¹⁹³ Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, pp. 38-40 (based on the Aspalta sarcophagus, text on pl. 33).

¹⁹⁴ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. A. For the phallus producing a solar child, compare the ithyphallic, scarab-bodied Ptah creating an egg (shown on the tip of the phallus)—E. Graefe, “Phallus und Ei,” in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years (Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur)* (Leuven, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 117-124. This might be a visual pun on the Hathoric womb of the sun.

¹⁹⁵ E. Lefebure, *Les hypogées royaux de Thèbes* 3 vols. (Cairo, 1886-89), pl. 67.

¹⁹⁶ Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 92.

¹⁹⁷ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 132 n. 340; Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern*, p. 47.

¹⁹⁸ *Snfy* is the name of the entity with outstretched arms (so Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 18), not the name of the child (*idem*, *Tomb of Ramesses VI* p. 339, where he reads “The Gory One” as the name of “The child under the phallus”). The text in Ramesses IX says “so is this god (*wtt=f sd.t*) engendering fire (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 64). Van Dijk, *JEOL* 26 (1979-80): 13 reads “he procreates the flame.” B.H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1968), pp. 99-104, related the flame to the *bꜣ*-soul. The seated child followed by the flame could be read *sd.ty*, and could correspond to the *hy n sd.t*, “child of flame,” of Horus on an ostrakon from the Valley of the Kings (van Dijk, *JEOL* 26 [1979-80]: 13, citing A. Erman, “Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern,” *ZÄS* 38 [1900]: 20).

The androgynous, bending figures both ejaculate and spit, dots of flame issuing from their mouths and pudenda. These spewing effluvia are a pictorial pun on the verbs *nh* and *nhh*, “spit” and “ejaculate,”¹⁹⁹ and depict the spitting and ejaculation at creation.²⁰⁰ In P. Bremner-Rhind, the creator describes the engendering of Shu and Tefnut in terms of spitting and ejaculating:

I masturbated (*d3d3*) with my hand (*mdr.t=i*), I poured out from my mouth,
I spat out Shu, I expectorated Tefnut.²⁰¹

The spittle of the figures pours down to the left of the figures’ heads; in three of the four groups it strikes the ground just to the left of the heads of the scarabs that lie horizontally beneath the bent backs of the figures. In the second group from the left, however, the spittle bends in towards the head of the scarab, an indication that the scarab results from the spittle of the bending figure. In each group the dots of ejaculate flow down to the top of the child’s head, an indication that the child results from the semen of the bending figures. The bending figures in the tomb of Ramesses IX, both spitting out and ejaculating, suggest a portion of the description of the crocodile Wenty:²⁰²

Wnty *bš=f ʿ3=f ir.t-Rʿ imy.t h.t=f*
Wenty spits out and ejaculates²⁰³ the eye of Re which is in his body

¹⁹⁹ On the similarity of these words, see Ph. Derchain, “Le démiurge et la balance,” in Ph. Derchain, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (Paris, 1969) p. 34 and n. 4.

²⁰⁰ Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts*, p. 30.

²⁰¹ Zandee, in Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, p. 171, citing Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 60, ll. 11-13 (P. Bremner-Rhind 26, 24-27, 1).




²⁰² Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 68.

²⁰³ On *ʿ3*, see W. Westendorf, “Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten,” *ZÄS* 96 (1970): 146-7; Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, pp. 99-100, n. 173; B. van de Walle, “Une base de statue-guérisseuse avec une nouvelle mention de la déesse-scorpion Ta-Bithet,” *JNES* 31 (1972): 74-5; Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 67 n. 43; *idem*, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 109 n. 96; Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 71 n. 23; R.K. Ritner, “O. Gardiner 363: A Spell Against Night Terrors,” *JARCE* 27 (1990): 33, n. 28. *ʿ3* and spittle are again closely associated in Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 71, ll. 1-4 (28, 27 - 29, 1. For some references on “creation by spittle,” see R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1993), pp. 75-8; S. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1994), pp. 76-78. For the association of the crocodile with sexual fecundity, see L. Kákossy, “Das Krokodil als Symbol der Ewigkeit und der Zeit,” *MDAIK* 20 (1965): 116-20; E.F. Wente, “Hathor at the Jubilee,” in G. Kadish, ed. *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago, 1969), p. 88 and n. 39; E. Doetsch-Amberger, *Ägyptische Sammlung* (Cologne, 1987), p. 61, item no. 130/130a, a crocodile above a copulating couple; and E. Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil, ein ägyptischer Frauensarg des Mittleren Reiches aus religionsökologischer Sicht* (Uppsala, 2001), p. 49, nn. 130-131

In the scenes in the lower register of the main portion of the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall the *hprw*-form of the sun is spat out, and the *mswt*-form is ejaculated. The fiery effluvia of the entities bring forth the sun,²⁰⁴ and the ejaculate suggests the overflow of Nun, in which the sun is born.²⁰⁵ A rock inscription in the Wadi Hammamat depicts ejaculate in the form of a flame emerging from the phallus of an ithyphallic figure of Min,²⁰⁶ a graphic combination of ejaculate and flame. In Pyramid Texts §199a, the land is said to have come forth from Atum, being namely *nšš pr m hpr*; the scene on the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX suggests that this is to be understood as “the saliva which came forth as Kheperer.”²⁰⁷

The closest parallels for the image of a figure bending over a scarab appear as vignettes to later versions of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead.²⁰⁸ The bending figures there, though they have long hair like those in the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall, are bending forward over a scarab, supporting themselves with their arms in front in a pose similar to that of the goddess Nut. The identification of the bending figures in the Book of the Dead vignettes is uncertain.

(discussing the Hymn to the Nile VII, 3). The association of the crocodile with fecundity, the being Weny, and the ‘ꜥ’-ejaculation of the eye of Re led the use of the crocodile to write ‘ꜥ’ in a text on a late statue from the Fayum (G. Daressy, “Statues de basse époque du Musée de Gizeh,” *RdT* 15 [1893]: 157, n. 1).

²⁰⁴ For spittle as fire, see de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 342; for semen as fire, see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 109 n. 96. For semen and flame as associated divine liquids, see the comments of R.W. Daniel in R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, eds., *Supplementum Magicum*, Vol. 2 (Opladen, 1992) p. 158. A red line, apparently a stream of light, descends from the head of the central, upside-down, ichneumon-headed entity in the disk atop the head of the rightmost of the three largest figures in the first scene of the second register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The ichneumon-headed entity there is named ‘ꜥ’ —  —  —  (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 13), suggesting a fiery ejaculation of light.

²⁰⁵ On the ‘ꜥ’ *Nwn*, see Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 71 n. 23. On the birth of the sun shown here as the disk entering the Nun-hand of Osiris, see pp. 391-5.

²⁰⁶ G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris, 1957), no. 116, pp. 123-24, pl. 20.


²⁰⁷ See R. Anthes, “Egyptian Theology in the Third Millennium B.C.,” *JNES* 18 (1959): 211.

²⁰⁸ H. Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet* (Leiden, 1991), p. 48 (with references); A. de Caluwe, *Un Livre des morts sur bandelettes de momie* (Bruxelles, Musées royaux d’Art et d’Histoire E. 6179) (Brussels, 1991), p. xxiii and pl. 7 B-C; R. A. Caminos, “Fragments of The Book of the Dead on Linen and Papyrus,” *JEA* 56 (1970): 125 (John Hay Library A 18901[2]1); S. Bosticco, “Due frammenti di un papiro funerario nel Museo egizio di Firenze,” *Aegyptus* 37 (1957): 71-76.

NAMES (PL. 34B, CONTINUED):

Label to the serpent grasped by a slanting, bearded figure to the right of the four
bending figures
8 *nʿw*-serpent

The depiction in the lower register of a figure slanting up to the right, holding a serpent may be an allusion to the resurrection of the *ḏ.t*-body of the deceased king.²⁰⁹ The annotation to the right of the figure's knee refers to the snake which

the entity is grasping. The group  (pl. 34B, no. 8) is to be read as *nʿ* for *nʿw*, the pustule sign representing *ʿ*,²¹⁰ the snake being the determinative.²¹¹ In the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat,²¹² *nʿw* is the name of the serpent through the tail of which the bark of the night sun is hauled.²¹³ When the sun emerges from the *nʿw* serpent, he is born as Khepri in the east.²¹⁴ The snake Neheb-kau, who can draw the dead up to heaven, can also be termed *nʿw*.²¹⁵ By seizing hold of the chthonic snake, a representation of the primeval creative forces, the deceased identifies himself with the chaotic forces which engulf the present world and can potentially bring about a repetition of creation.²¹⁶ The Osirian element of the unified Re-Osiris, who remains in the Netherworld at the rebirth of Re, was perhaps likened to the primeval form of Amun—Kematef. Just as the Kematef serpent slumbered with the Ogdoad after the completion of the preliminary stages of creation, so the mummy of Osiris remains at the root of the eastern horizon. Kematef and the Ogdoad, originators of creation, were of serpent or amphibian form, retaining elements of the chaos from which they

²⁰⁹ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 310-1, n. 47; R. Anthes, "Das Sonnenauge in den Pyramidentexten," *ZÄS* 86 (1961): 16-19; *idem*, "Der Gebrauch des Wortes *ḏt* «Schlange», «Schlangenleib» in den Pyramidentexten," *Drevnij Mir (Festschrift Struve)* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 32-49; *idem*, "...in seinem Namen und im Sonnenlicht..." *ZÄS* 90 (1963): 1-2. In de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, p. 272e, the deceased seizes hold of his *ḏ.t*-body (*šd(.n)=f ḏ.t=f*). See, with the utmost caution, G. Thausing, "Yoga im Alten Ägypten," in M. Lurker, ed., *Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion des Alten Orients* (Baden-Baden, 1971), p. 121.

²¹⁰ For the pustule as *ʿ*, see the discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 46-8.

²¹¹ Compare *Wb.* II 207 for writings of *nʿw* as *nʿ*.

²¹² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 200 l. 1 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 827).

²¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 190

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 197, ll. 6-8 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 817-818).

²¹⁵ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 98-100; in Pyramid Text Utterance 85, cited by Zandee, there is a reference to *nʿw* equated with Neheb-kau (see also Barguet, *RdE* 28 [1976]: 27).

²¹⁶ For the concept that chaos cannot prevail over creation because chaos would then lose its reference point, compare the interpretation of B2, 95-99 of the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* in R.B. Parkinson, "Literary Form and the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*," *JEA* 78 (1992): 174, n. 70, wherein falsehood cannot exist without its counterpart truth. Thus in reverse, Egyptian and Hermetic texts deny that God could or should abolish evil—see E. Iversen, *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine* (Copenhagen, 1984), p. 43.

arose. Similarly, Horakhty cannot succeed Osiris if the latter is yet upon the earth. Such an analogy may be behind scenes depicting the association of Osiris with a great serpent, beneath whom Osiris lies and on whose back he sits enthroned.²¹⁷ Such a chthonic Osiris could also appear as a serpent.²¹⁸

NAMES (PL. 34B, CONTINUED):

The four figures standing atop serpents in the left portion of the lower register:

leftmost standing figure

9 *dm3mt* = *tm3.t*, “mother” (?)

serpent on which she stands

10 *imy-t3*-serpent

second standing figure from left

11 *hnw.tyt*, “she relating to the sarcophagus” (?)

serpent on which she stands

11 *nh3-hr*-serpent

third standing figure from left

13 *tmm.y.t*, “she relating to the *tmm* shrine” (?)

serpent on which she stands

14 *dwy-hr*-serpent

fourth standing figure from left

15 *irtt* = *irt.t*, “milk” (?)

serpent on which she stands

16 *3pp*-serpent

²¹⁷ For the serpent uniting the chthonic-Osirian and celestial-solar realms, see A. Niwinski, “The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the ‘State of Amun’ in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty,” *JEOL* 30 (1987-88): 97-8. This scene may also be related to the “Schlangenstab” of Osiris, the *mdw n Wsir* (C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen sur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* [Munich and Berlin, 1976], p. 146 and n. 648, citing Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 21 and 26; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 47 no. 136 [in the upper register of the Second Hour]; the figure holding the serpent may also be related to the so-called “snake charmers” on amulets [L. Keimer, *Histoire de serpents dans l’Égypte ancienne et moderne* (Cairo, 1947), pp. 18-20]). In the lowest register of the Sixth Hour of Amduat, a serpent is referred to as the visible appearance (*irw*) of the *sšmw*-image of his gods (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 115-6 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 519]; vol. 2, pp. 122-3; Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, p. 115, n. c to col. IX, l. 21). One may also compare the pose of the serpent gatekeeper at the end of Sokar land in the Fifth Hour of the Amduat (no. 400).

²¹⁸ T. Hopfner, *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern* (Vienna, 1914), p. 139.

Hornung reads the names of the four goddesses standing on the serpents as *dmꜣtt* (pl. 34B, no. 9), *hnyꜣt* (pl. 34B, no. 11), *tmꜣmt* (pl. 34B, no. 13), and *jrtꜣt* (pl. 34B, no. 15), for the first name (*dmꜣtt*) noting “eine männliche Entsprechung *dmꜣw* im Amduat (Nr. 735).”²¹⁹ Hornung reads the name of this Amduat deity *dmꜣw* as “Zusammenbindender,” noting “gemeint ist wohl das ‘Bündeln’ von Pfeilen” which the entity in the Book of Amduat carries.²²⁰ The names of these beings should somehow relate to each other, but the parallels which would relate these names to each other and to a similar environment of text and iconography remain elusive.


Tmmꜣ.t (pl. 34B, no. 13) suggests “she relating to the *tmm* shrine” (*Wb.* V 308, 12-13), while *hnyꜣ.t* (pl. 34B, no. 11) might then be “she relating to the *hny* structure” (*Wb.* III 100, 11 [and 12 ?]). This name *hnyꜣ.t* might also be read in a different manner, taking the chest as a depiction of a sarcophagus (compare the late word *hnyꜣ.t*, “Sargkasten,” *Wb.* III 109, 10), and reading *hnyꜣ.tyt*. The goddess would then be “she related to the sarcophagus,” an allusion to the sarcophagus as the place of regeneration.²²¹ The name *irtꜣt* (pl. 34B, no. 15), if the name is indeed to be read this way,²²² looks like a writing of *irtꜣ.t*, “milk,” and the leftmost name *dmꜣtt* (pl. 34B, no. 9) might perhaps be read as *dmꜣmt*, taking the first of the two hobble-*t*’s as *m*, in a writing of *tmꜣ.t*, “mother.”²²³ The two middle deities would relate to shrines, the beings on each end—“mother” and “milk”—relating to rebirth.

The serpents on which the figures stand are each named twice. They are *imyꜣt* (pl. 34B, 10), *nhꜣꜣ-hꜣr* (pl. 34B, no. 12), *dwꜣ-hꜣr* (pl. 34B, no. 14), and *ꜣpp* (pl. 34B, no. 16). The writing of *Nhꜣꜣ-hꜣr* is a variant of the orthography in pl. 33 (see above, p. 287); the substitution of the flesh sign for the *hꜣr*-face derives from the use of both the flesh-sign and the *hꜣr*-face to write *hꜣ*,²²⁴ through application of the consonantal

²¹⁹ For the Amduat name *dmꜣw*, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 235.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 169. Another possible association of the name of the leftmost being in the bottom register of pl. 31 (pl. 34, fig. B, no. 9) is the equally obscure *tmꜣt hnyꜣt imꜣ.t* of Caverns 93, 5; for the name *Hnyꜣ.t*, note that there is a god called *Hny* in Caverns 142, 7.

²²¹ In a scene in the mythological papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh II (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 22, fifth vignette), a winged goddess, arms uplifted, kneels before a mummy on a bier, adored by a kneeling goddess at either end. Atop her head

the winged goddess wears a sarcophagus/chest sign . She too is perhaps a representation of the regenerative properties of the sarcophagus. Four shrines of the same appearance as that which the goddess wears on her head are located earlier on in the papyrus, between two groups of the *nb.w-dꜣ.t*, the “lords of the Netherworld,” suggesting that the shrines are actually part of the funerary equipment.

²²² The horizontal line below the second hobble-*t* in the goddess’ name is perhaps a representation of the *tꜣ*-sign for *t*, although a third dental at the end of the name is unexpected.

²²³ *Wb.* V 308, 2-3 (this word is attested Dyn. 22 and later); the *m* after *mꜣ* shows a metathesis attested for other *mꜣ/ꜣm* words (on which see E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 1 [Rome, 1955] p. 60, §136). For *tmꜣ.t*, see G. Vittmann, “Die Autobiographie der Tathotis,” *SAK* 22 (1995): 296 n. 5.

²²⁴ See Chapter 3, p. 62, n. 122.

principle, and similarity in sound between *hr*, “face,” and *hʿ*, “flesh.”²²⁵ In the name *ḏwy-hr*, the writing of *ḏwy* as two *ḏw*-mountains is paralleled by the writing of *ḏwy* in *nty-ḏwy*, “the one who is evil,” in the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* of the Corridor G ceiling treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 30, right-hand text, l. 3).²²⁶ The orthography of the name of Apep as the ʿ3-sign and a pustule suggests that the pustule here indeed has the value *pp*, as in pl. 33 (see above, pp. 294-5). The double writings of the names here appear to be based on the enigmatic names and *Normalschrift* transcriptions occurring in the Amduat. In the names of the serpents in the lower register of the Enigmatic Wall, however, no actual transcription appears. The names ʿ3*pp* (pl. 34B, no. 16) and *ḏwy-hr* (pl. 34B, no. 14) have each a single orthography repeated. In the name *nh3-hr*, the flesh sign of the upper writing is transcribed with the *hr*-face in the lower orthography—the only true “transcription” in the double writings of the names of the four serpents. The lower writing of *imy-t3* (pl. 34B, no. 10) differs from the upper writing of that name only in the omission of the stroke and *idb*-sign below the *t3*-sign in the lower writing.

The figures in the left portion of the bottom register appear in two groups of four, and the number four may suggest an association with the cardinal points. The four bending beings, the rightmost of the two groups of four entities, are the deities whom the annotation to the scene addresses as *i p3y fdw ntr.w pwy hryw gs.wy pw n p.t*, “Oh these you four gods who are over these two sides of the sky” (pl. 34A, ll. 37-39). The beings appear to be female, but for the ejaculating phalli, and the text of the annotation above them refers to them as male gods. The address suggests that the four beings are to be associated with the cardinal points, and the deities of the cardinal points should be female.²²⁷ The purposeful intermingling of masculine and feminine features underlines the androgyny of the four bending, ithyphallic goddesses. The four deities to the left, who rise up on the backs of serpents, may also be associated with sides of heaven. Neugebauer and Parker note that the winged serpents in the Athribis ceiling may represent the cardinal points; in number 73, Salamûni 3 A, four goddesses, “probably the cardinal points,” have snake-like legs.²²⁸ The four goddesses of the cardinal points are addressed as aspects of Hathor

²²⁵ See Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 287.

²²⁶ In the orthography of *ḏwy* in the Corridor G text accompanying the anguiped (pl. 30, l. 3), two *h3s.t*-signs substitutes for two *ḏw*-mountains.

²²⁷ On the four goddesses of the cardinal points, see Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3, pp. 256-8; Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 4; *idem*, *Elkab I: Les monuments religieux à l'entrée de l'ouady Hellal* (Brussels, 1971), pp. 55, 12*-13*; Assmann, *MDAIK* 28 (1972): 63, text note 31; Ritner, *JARCE* 27 (1990): 35-9 and the references cited there. For goddesses associated with the supports of heaven, see D. Kurth, *Den Himmel Stützen, die 'Tw3 pt' Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Brussels, 1975), pp. 90-8.

²²⁸ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, p. 100, pls. 51-2.

in the Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Medineh,²²⁹ and Hathor Quadrifrons can be Temet, the feminine principle of desire acting on Atum to stimulate creation, perhaps present in the left portion of the lower register of the Enigmatic Wall in the name of the leftmost of the four beings standing on serpents—*dmꜣtt* (pl. 34, figure B, no. 9). The fact that one of the goddesses is called “the naked one” recalls the four winged and naked female figures who appear to represent the cardinal points and the four winds on two zodiacal ceilings in the tomb of Petosiris in Dakhleh Oasis.²³⁰

The solar hymn attested in many Theban tombs and Book of the Dead manuscripts²³¹ provides a parallel to the importance of the representation of the four cardinal points in a scene of the birth and triumph of Re in the east. That text speaks of the defeat of the Rebel, and of Re sailing in a *mꜣꜥ*-wind; the Southerners and Northerners haul the *Msktt*-bark, and the Easterners and Westerners adore the victorious sun. As Assmann observes, the mention of the representatives of the four cardinal points gives the scene the quality of *Besitzergreifungsriten*.²³²

The four cardinal points depicted in the lower register of the Enigmatic Wall are said in the enigmatic annotation above (pl. 34A, ll. 43-44) to cause that Re sail in the fair *mꜣꜥ*-wind. In the context of a royal tomb, the winds of the four directions are associated with more than the *mꜣꜥ*-wind in which the solar bark sails. In the dedicatory stele which Sety I set up for Ramesses I in the latter's Abydene chapel, even the more stormy wind of the Netherworld is depicted as desirable. Sety says of his father:²³³

ti sw m nꜥr

nmi=f Dꜣ.t

sbḥ n=f Šw m s.t kk.t

kfꜣy=f ḥr=f

nh=f ḥmw=f

mhy.t m dñi.wt ḥf.t-ḥr=f

He is as a god.

When he travels the Netherworld,

the Sun shines for him in the dark place,

that he might uncover his face

and doff his dust,²³⁴

the Northwind as a stormwind before him.²³⁵

²²⁹ Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 4.

²³⁰ O. Neugebauer, R.A. Parker, and D. Pingree, “The Zodiac Ceilings of Petosiris and Petubastis,” in J. Osing, *et al.*, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla, aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry* (Mainz am Rhein, 1982), pls. 38-41, and p. 96.

²³¹ Text III 1 of Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 263-80.

²³² Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 275 n. 65; see also O. Keel, *Vögel als Boten* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1977), pp. 109-110.

²³³ Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions Vol. 1*, p. 113, ll. 14-5, line x+19 of the stele.

²³⁴ For this compare Pyramid Texts Utt. 662 (§1878b; Sethe, *Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 458) and Book of the Dead Chapter 68.

The rushing Northwind blows in the face of the deceased king, loosening the dust and wrappings of the grave from about his face.²³⁶ The term *ḥnsk.tyw*, “lock-wearers,” describing the winds, and the prominent, dangling locks of the figures on the Enigmatic Wall, may associate the four Ramesses IX deities with the cardinal points and the four winds.²³⁷ These winds spit in assisting the *ḥprw*-manifestation of the sun, and the winds themselves can be said to have been spat out.²³⁸

The scarab entering into the horizontal band of text above the lowest register closely parallels the scarab entering into a horizontal band of sand above the “smiting scene” of the bottom right portion of the Fourth Hour of the Amduat in the tomb of Ramesses III.²³⁹ The scarab in the Ramesses III version of the Amduat scene apparently corresponds to the winged disk more commonly found over the scene.²⁴⁰ Located as he is above the *nʿw*-serpent, this scarab on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall may in fact be shown as having come forth from the *nʿw*-serpent, an illustration of a statement to that effect in the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat.²⁴¹

²³⁵ See also S. Schott, *Der Denkstein Sethos' I. für die Kapelle Rameses' I. in Abydos* (Göttingen, 1964), p. 29, n. 6 to §23.

²³⁶ For the storm wind as a helper of the deceased king, see U. Verhoeven, “Unwetter,” in *LdÄ* 6, cols. 860-1 (and the references col. 861, n. 8); *idem*, “Eine Vergewaltigung? Vom Umgang mit einer Textstelle des Naos von El Arish (Tefnut-Studien I),” in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Alten Ägypten (Fs. Derchain Leuven, 1991)*, p. 329. See also A. Piankoff, “Le naos D29 du musée du Louvre,” *RdE* 1 (1933): 175.

²³⁷ See Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 44 n. 15. The association of these figures with a text referring to the provisioning of the deceased suggests that these are the four winds as the *ḥnsk.tyw*, rather than the four spirits of the east as the side-lock wearing *ḏnʿw* (Sethe, *Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 175, § 1206a-b). The tumbled hair of the four corners is probably not to be related to *nwn* (Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 207), but rather to depictions of tumbling girls (The dancing girls in Opet at Luxor temple [The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall* (Chicago, 1994), pls. 37-38]; W. Peck and J.G. Ross, *Egyptian Drawings* [New York, 1978], pl. 6, figs. 67-8). The association of the four winds with tumbling dancers is attested (D. Kurth, “Das Lied von den vier Winden und seine angebliche pantomimische Darstellung,” in B. Bryan and D. Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke* [San Antonio, 1994], pp. 135-146), and it is to this association that the Enigmatic Wall of Ramesses IX refers. The four female figures on snakes, the four bending back, and the female entity within the disk as the eye of Re, suggest the combination of concepts which went into making Hathor Quadrifrons.

²³⁸ See Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 71 n. 26 (the winds as spat out, *išš*). Like Shu, the four winds assist in supporting the sky, sun, moon, and stars—see D. Kurth, “Wind,” *LdÄ* 6, col. 1270, nn. 35-6, and the references cited there. For the association of the four winds with the god Shu, and the winds as the “four souls” of Shu, see B. van de Walle, “Survivances mythologiques dans les coiffures royales de l'époque atonienne,” *CdE* 55 (1980): 30, n. 4.

²³⁹ *PM* I:2, p. 523 (28).

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 74, ll. 6-7, no. 326 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 382).

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197, ll. 6-8 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 826-829).

The woman within the disk is the eye of Re, here as mother and daughter;²⁴² the scarabs emerge from the disk-womb on each side. In the parallel to the closing scene of this treatise on the papyrus of Heruben (pl. 41, and see the discussion below), the disk from which the scarab emerges is called the *iz.t-ḥpr*, “the mound of Kheper,” the Netherworld.²⁴³ The rightmost scarab in the Ramesses IX scene (in the bottom right of pl. 31) pushes ahead a disk, which can be both sun and netherworld, a depiction of the endless cycle of the sun.²⁴⁴

BAND OF HIEROGLYPHS ABOVE THE THIRD REGISTER (PL. 35):

Wsr nb-t3.wy Nfr-k3.w-R^c stp.n R^c pw m3^c-ḥrw dd=f
 i nn n ntr.w ipw wnn.w r gs-dpw^a n it-i Wsir^b
 min ir=tn n=i
 iry=tn n=i ir.n=tn n Wsir
 nḥm=tn (w)i m-^c wpw.tyw nyw B3b3i-Mnw
 ḥr nty ink itm m ḥpr=f^c w^cw m nwn
 iw=i m ḥy n Mḥ.t-wr.t
 ḥr nty ir Mḥ.t-wr.t wd3.t n ntr^c 3 ḥk3w^d
 ḥr nty ir ntr^c 3 ḥk3w Pd-ḥ^e pwy psd=f m dw3y.t

Osiris, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkaure-Setepenre, justified, says:
 ‘Oh you gods who exist as the protection of my father Osiris:

²⁴² L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history* (Uppsala, 1986), p. 22; see also the forthcoming publication J.C. Darnell, “For I See the Color of his Uraei”: *Gnosis and Alchemy in Ramesside Egypt, and the Amarna Origins of the Concept of the Solar Sympatheia*.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 105.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 23-5; compare particularly the relief in J. Cooney, “Egyptian Art in the Collection of Albert Gallatin,” *JNES* 12 (1953): 17 and pl. 55 (no. 89), cited by Hornung, where a scarab emerges from a beaming sun into the sign of the Netherworld. This is paralleled, with the offering of the eyes, by the scene over the entrance to the tomb of Ramesses X (I. Rosellini, *Monumenti dell’Egitto e della Nubia*, vol. III [Pisa, 1844], pl. 65); there, instead of one form of the deity (scarab) and two forms of the abode (Netherworld and sun disk), there is one disk abode, and two forms of the deity—scarab and ram-headed night sun. This parallelism also shows that the baboons in Cooney’s piece represent the king—on this see H. Te Velde, “Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtenhoek, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen, 1988), pp. 129-37; M. Dewachter, “Les cynocéphales ornant la base des deux obélisques de Louxor,” *CdE* 47, no. 93 (1972): 74; J. Assmann, “Die ‘Häresie’ des Echnaton: Aspekte der Amarna-Religion,” *Saeculum* 23 (1972): 114. The scarab usually pushes ahead of it the solar orb; the disk containing the star, emblem of the Netherworld, may also be an allusion to Re as the star of the Netherworld, *sb3 d3.t* (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 119 n. 188). Furthermore, the scarab itself is not only a solar symbol, but can represent the solarized Osiris (M.A. Stadler, “Der Skarabäus als osirianisches Symbol vornehmlich nach spätzeitlichen Quellen,” *ZÄS* 128 [2001]: 71-83).

Come to me,
 that you may do for me what you have done for Osiris.
 You should save me from the messengers of Babai-Min,
 because I am Atum as he comes forth alone from the Nun-waters,
 I being the child of Mehet-Weret;
 because as for Mehet-Weret, (she is) the Udjat-eye of the god
 great of magic;
 because as for the god great of magic, he is Pedjaha, when he
 shines in the morning.'

^a For *gs-dp.t* as "protection," see J. Wilson, review of H.G. Fischer, *Denderah in the Third Millennium B.C.*, in *AJA* 74 (1970): 209; H.G. Fischer, "Boats in Non-nautical Titles of the Old Kingdom," *GM* 126 (1992): 59-63; Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Stele London BM 1224," *SAK* 17 (1990): 219, n. 10.

^b On the orthography of *Wsir*, see Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 123, text note 5, and compare the orthographies in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 73, ll. 6 and 9; pl. 76, no. 2; and pl. 79, no. 28 (cf. also Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 [1936]: 27 and 29).

^c Although the horizontal sign beneath the *hpr*-beetle does indeed appear to be a water-*n*, *m sdm.n=f* is somewhat unexpected, and it may be better to see the water-*n* as a misinterpretation of the book roll determinative of *hpr*.

^d For the writing of *hk3*, see Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 25-26 (particularly p. 25, n. 112).

^e According to Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 124, n. d, this epithet of Ptah refers to "die innerweltliche Erscheinungsform des Gottes." The king as the creator Atum is here related to *Pd-ḥ*, an epithet of Ptah; for the equation of the creative deity with Ptah, see below (pp. 359ff.), the discussion of the final scene of the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall (pl. 39). Ptah also appears in the version of Chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead appearing in the text accompanying the lower register of the left portion of the Enigmatic Wall (pl. 34, ll. 31 and 36).

The combination of Netherworld entities in the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise finds textual parallels in a line from the Foundation Ritual of Medinet Habu and Luxor, and a portion of the Sixth Address to Re in the Great Litany. In the Foundation Ritual, in line 12 of the text from the time of Thutmose III on the bark shrine of the small temple of Medinet Habu,⁴⁵ and in line 13 of the parallel text on

⁴⁵ *PM* II, p. 468 (41).

the interior east wall (the second scene of the second register) of the hypostyle hall of Luxor Temple,²⁴⁶ the ritual asks:

ḥn wr.w ḥn sin.w

ḥn ḥr.w-m-p.t

Where are the great ones? Where are the messengers?

Where are those fallen from heaven?

Barguet observes that “le mot *wrw* renvoie vraisemblablement aux morts bienheureux.”²⁴⁷ For this reasonable suggestion there is the support of the demotic designation *rmṯ ʿ3* for the blessed dead—the blessed dead, like the solar deity whose rebirth they hope to emulate, become large, even giant beings. They are *wr* and *ʿ3*.²⁴⁸ Barguet also suggests that the *ḥr.w-m-p.t* are the *ḥm.w-wrḏ*, “par opposition aux étoiles ‘indestructibles’”.²⁴⁹ The *sin.w* are the “Eilboten” of *Wb.* IV 39, 11, and in the sixth litany to Re the *wpw.tyw*-messengers are said to be *sin.w* and *ḥ3ḥ.w*.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 318 (102) II, 2; P. Barguet, “Le rituel archaïque de fondation des temples de Medinet-Habou et de Louxor,” *RdE* 9 (1952): 6 (text), 16 (translation and commentary).

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16 n. 2.

²⁴⁸ See L. Kákosy, “Selige und Verdammte in der spätägyptischen Religion,” *ZÄS* 97 (1971): 98 and n. 19, with literature; J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London, 1976), p. 43, n. u; and G. Vittmann, “*Riesen*” und *riesenhafte Wesen in der Vorstellung der Ägypter* (Vienna, 1995), pp. 8-10, 21-3, and 48-9; see also M. Malinine, “A propos de *hrj* = <<saint>>,” *RdE* 16 (1964): 211-2. For a possible Ramesside attestation of *rmṯ ʿ3* as a designation of the blessed dead, see Wentz, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 64 n. ai = LRL 47, 9 (no. 28, P. British Museum 10375). Compare also the deceased as a *wr n n3 ḥtyw*, “greatest of the akh-spirits,” in P. BM 10507, “by virtue of the authority granted to him by Osiris” (Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, p. 115, n. b to col. X, l. 3; compare also the *ʿ3y*-condition of the deceased, *ibid.* p. 110 n. b to col. IX, l. 8). These designations suggest the deceased to be partaking of the “immensity of the deity” (see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn [Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156]* [New York, 1970], p. 26 n. n to l. 4, 4, on the giant deity). In the band of epitheta of Ramesses IX above the enigmatic treatise, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is termed *ʿ3* (Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 79), perhaps a reference to the deity’s immense size as the ithyphallic Osiris connecting the Netherworld and the sky. For Osiris as the one *ʿ3 ḥ3.t*, “immense of corpse,” see Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 33, l. 5. The *ba* and corpse together are also *ʿ3*, an indication of great size appropriate to the scene of the union of Re and Osiris (see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 37, l. 4 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 220-221]; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 55, ll. 2-3; Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 18, l. 9; and W. Barta, “Osiris als Mutterleib des unterweltlichen Sonnengottes in den Jenseitsbüchern des Neuen Reiches,” *JEOL* 29 [1985-86]: 98-105). For more on the immensity of the deity, see Chapter 6.

²⁴⁹ Barguet, *RdE* 9 (1952): 16, n. 2; but see Sethe, *Pyramidentexten*, §1760b, discussed below, Chapter 7, pp. 444-5.

²⁵⁰ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 173. In the Book of the Heavenly Cow, ll. 61-3 (E. Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh, eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen* [Freiburg and Göttingen, 1982], p. 6), Re summons the *wpw.tyw ḥ3ḥ.w sin.w*.

For Barguet, “les âmes devenues aussi immortelles sont au service du roi après la mort de ce dernier, constituent sa cour céleste, et lui servent de messagers auprès de Rê (cf. Pyr. 153, 1991).”²⁵¹ PT §491 c, in which the messengers of the deceased king are called the *wpw.tyw itm.w-wrđ*, “the unwearied messengers,”²⁵² provides a parallel to this probable association of the *ih̄r.w-wrđ*, “those who do not know weariness” (as the *ih̄r.w-m-p.t*, “the ones fallen from heaven”), and *sin.w*-messengers

In Esna text 400,²⁵³ at the time of creation (l. 2: *wn(n) nn (n) n̄r.w hr sh̄pr*) Isis holds the *msh̄.tyw*-constellation, *r tm rd̄i.t sh̄d=f r d̄3.t* (ll. 6-7), “in order to prevent him from descending inverted into the Dat;” as a result of this, the *wpw.tyw*-messengers are held off. The malevolent messengers may themselves be the upside down stars appearing in the upper left portion of the Enigmatic Wall (pl. 32), continuing the association of the *ih̄m.w-wrđ* and the *wpw.tyw*.²⁵⁴

The associations of messengers with stars and the stellar dead in the Netherworld suggest that the answer to a question which Sauneron posed,²⁵⁵ as to whether decan stars could ever fulfill the roles of divine messengers, is “yes.” In the sixth litany to Re, however, the *sin.w* are the punishing messengers “welche Bau und Körper packen:”²⁵⁶

i R̄ imy imn.t sb̄3wt(y) hn̄.ty D̄3.t
nh̄m=k w̄i m-^c wpw.tyw=k ndry.w b̄3.w h̄3.wt
sin.w h̄3h̄.w
*imy.w nm.wt=k ...*²⁵⁷

Oh Re who is in the West, discipliner before the Dat;
 may you save me from your messengers, who seize bas and corpses,
 those who rush and those who hurry,²⁵⁸

²⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 16, n. 2.

²⁵² Despite the remarks of R.O. Faulkner, “The King and the Star-Religion in the Pyramid Texts,” *JNES* 25 (1966): 157, these entities could be stars, and the designation *itm.w-wrđ* would appear to suggest this.

²⁵³ See Kurth, in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier, 1984), pp. 136-7.

²⁵⁴ They may be envisaged as becoming the *sb̄3.w šm̄zy.w*, “the malevolent stars,” on whom see Kákósy, *Oikumene* 3 (1982): 190. On inverted entry into the Netherworld, see Chapter 7.

²⁵⁵ Sauneron, “Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle de dieu Toutou-Tithoès,” *JNES* 19 (1960): 282, n. 82.

²⁵⁶ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 137 n. 396, citing M. Valloggia, *Recherches sur les “Messagers” (WPWTYW) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes* (Geneva and Paris, 1976), pp. 40ff., and O. Firchow, “Die Boten der Götter,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin, 1955), p. 90.

²⁵⁷ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Wesen*, vol. 1, pp. 172-4; for *sb̄3wt(y)*, which Hornung questioningly renders “Strafender” (*Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 83 [with n. 395 p. 137]).

those who are at your slaughtering places ...

Soon after this, in the same litany there follows (Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 175):

nn dꜣy=i m t3 ꜥtmyw

I shall not sink into the land of the destroyed.

At the moment of extreme cosmic danger, when the bark of the sun comes close to running aground on the spine of Apep, there is a danger that the king, as a star, will continue to fall in the Netherworld, out of the nether sky and into the place of total darkness and utter destruction;²⁵⁹ if the king does not turn over (*pn*), he will be taken by the dolorous *wꜣw.tyw*-messengers.²⁶⁰ The *wꜣw.tyw*, according to the sixth litany to Re, man the slaughtering places of the sun. Here in the Ramesses IX treatise, if the *nb.w-d3.t* continue to fall, they will reach the area of the Nehaher serpents, and become potential targets for “those on their mounds of sand.” The archaic Foundation Ritual suggests that the *sin.w* are netherworld denizens parallel to the *wꜣ.w* and the *ihꜣ.w-m-p.t*, the *ihꜣm.w-wꜣd*. The slaughterers who dispatch the Nehaher snakes may themselves be the messengers, the dead who at the time of the cosmic cataclysm are in danger of reverting to chaos and themselves punishing the other blessed dead.²⁶¹

The messengers of Babai-Min suggest the deity Bebon in his not infrequent undesirable character.²⁶² For the use of Babai here, and the relation of this deity to

²⁵⁸ For the rushing and hurrying slaughterers as a topos, compare The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 3 *The Calendar, the “Slaughterhouse,” and Minor Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1934), pl. 173, specifically text lines 9-11, 22, wherein overseers bark hurrying orders to butchers rushing about. The busy, frenetic atmosphere of a temple slaughter house is recalled in the Netherworld Books, lending to the horror of the butchers of the damned. For the speedy messengers, and the *wꜣw.tyw* described as *hꜣh.w* and *sin.w*, compare fn. 250 above.

²⁵⁹ For the choice of stars to indicate the stability of the Netherworld, compare Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 226-8. There Horus appears as the “pillar of heaven” and the “pillar of the Dat,” each time in the form of a “great star.”

²⁶⁰ On which see Valloggia, *Recherches sur les “Messagers,”* pp. xii-xiv, and W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t, Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation* (Leiden, 1991), pp. 220-221, and the literature cited in those works. For the *wꜣw.tyw* as messengers summoning the king to death and destruction, see T. Mrsich, “Gehört die Hausurkunde (*imyt-pr*) in den Pyramidentexten zum sakralen Recht?” *SAK* 3 (1975): 202-3 *et passim*; they may represent the dangers of the New Year as well—see Derchain, *Elkab I*, p. 59 and n. 41.

²⁶¹ The messengers of Sakhmet are of course armed with arrows (see below, pp. 365-6).

²⁶² For Babai-Min here, see Ph. Derchain, “Bébon, le dieu et les mythes,” *RdE* 9 (1952): 25 and 42; further on the antagonistic Bebon, see D. Kurth, “Bebon und Thot,” *SAK* 19 (1992): 225-30 (discussing a text on the façade of the library in the pronaos of Edfu Temple, in which Bebon is the foe of Thoth).

the figure of the king as Osiris and Re and Shu, section 9 of chapter 18 of the Book of the Dead provides a parallel:

ir d3d3.t ʿ3.t imy.t N3irf
Šw pw B3b3i pw
*Rʿ pw Wsir pw*²⁶³

As for the great council which is in Nairef:
 it is Shu, and Babai;
 Re, and Osiris.

Babai is a chthonic deity,²⁶⁴ who might be expected to hold the deceased king down from his celestial destiny.

²⁶³ Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden*, p. 131, ll. 4-6; cf. also p. 132, ll. 3-5.

²⁶⁴ Note the etymology of his name as “hole-dweller” – Borghouts, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 2: *Religion*, p. 705, n. 14. On Baba see also Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten* (Glückstadt, 1976), pp. 57-8; J. Zandee, “Sargtexte um über Wasser zu Verfügen,” *JEOL* 24 (1975-6): 22-4.

RIGHT SECTION, RECLINING OSIRIS (PL. 36):

LABEL TO THE OSIRIDE FIGURE

1) *nb-T3.wy Nfr-k3-R^c stp.n-R^c* 2) *nb-h^c.w R^c-ms-sw H^c-m-W3s.t Mrr-*imn**

The lord of the Two Lands Neferkare Setepenre, the lord of glorious appearances Ramesses Khaemwaset Mereramun.

This label identified the reclining, ithyphallic, Osiride figure who dominates the penultimate portion of the Enigmatic Wall. He is the deceased ruler Ramesses IX. The accompanying enigmatic annotation, along with the iconography of the figure and accompanying elements, allow one to interpret the figure of the Osirian Ramesses IX as an image of the unified Re-Osiris at the root of the eastern horizon.

ENIGMATIC TEXT

The penultimate scene at the right end of the book shows an ithyphallic, Osiride king, an arm raised above his head,²⁶⁵ depicted as though lying on a sandy slope. His feet are above the tail of a snake, the body of which follows the bottom right corner of the scene, its head rearing up behind and facing the back of the king's head. Above the royal, Osiride figure is a solar disk; between the disk and the slope, its hind legs touching the disk, is a scarab beetle. Close iconographic parallels to this figure occur in the Papyrus of Heruben (see pl. 41),²⁶⁶ and in a papyrus in Richmond, P. Virginia Museum 54-10 (see pl. 42).²⁶⁷ The scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX is also similar to the third depiction in the third register of the third division of the Book of Caverns,²⁶⁸ and the image of Osiris in the fifth tableau of the Book of Caverns.²⁶⁹

In front of the king are five columns of text, four and a half of which are in cryptography. For each line the transliterations, translations, and notes as given by Piankoff are reproduced (a),²⁷⁰ followed by the translations and notes of Hornung (b) (pl. 37A):²⁷¹

²⁶⁵ As will be discussed below, the figure most likely has only one hand raised, the other to be envisaged as grasping the phallus.

²⁶⁶ Piankoff, *ASAE* 49/2 (1949): 129-67.

²⁶⁷ Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, p. 148 fig. 43 = Brown, *et al.*, *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum*, pp. 42-43, no. 42.

²⁶⁸ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 20, bottom.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 26. The following discussion is based on Guilmant's excellent publication of the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, collated in the tomb. Lefebure's sketch of the scene is inaccurate; his copy of the enigmatic text (E. Lefebure, *Les hypogées royaux de Thèbes* vol. 3 [Cairo, 1889], pl. 9 A) contains several omissions.


²⁷⁰ Piankoff, *ASAE* 49/2 (1949): 129-67. R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Le temple de l'homme*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1957), pp. 246-7 and C. Sourdivé, *La main dans l'Égypte pharaonique*

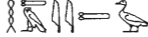
- 1-2) (a) *nti pn m šhr(w) pn ʿwj.ḫt m ḫʿjt ḫr=f, rdwj.ḫt m ḫtmjt,*

“Ce dieu ^A est ainsi: ses deux bras sont dans le geste d’exultation au-dessus de lui, ^B ses deux jambes sont dans l’endroit de destruction ^C,”

A. Pour *ntr*

B. Le Dr Drioton propose =  le signe \bigcirc = ʿ

( anneau).

C. Pour = 



(b) “So ist dieser Gott beschaffen. Seine Arme sind in Jubel¹⁰, sein Gesicht¹¹ und seine Füße in der Vernichtungsstätte.”

10. Lies *m* (der Vogel hat deutlich Eulen-Kopf!) *ḫʿjt*, mit \bigcirc für ʿ, gemeint sind die hochgereckten Arme der Osirisfigur. *ntr* erscheint auch in der Kryptographie des Höhlenbuches in der Schreibung *nti* oder nur *nt*: PIANKOFF, *Le Livre des Quererts*, pls. 69 and 73.

11. Mit dem Weg-Zeichen für *ḫr*, Heuschrecke für *r*.

- 2-3) (a) *ḫpr-ʿnh, mswt nti pn ʿz r ḫrr.t nti pn*

“le scarabée vivant, ^D naissance de ce grand dieu, est dans la Quereret de ce dieu.”

D.  =  = *ḫpr-ʿnh*

(b) “Die (Wieder)geburt dieses grossen Gottes (Re) ereignet¹² sich bei der Gruft dieses Gottes (Osiris).”

12. Gegen Piankoff nur *ḫpr* zu lesen, darüber steht deutlich das Haus-Determinativ zu *ḫtmjt*.

- 3) (a) *iw.f ḫw.f n Wsir, Wsir ḫw.f r.f.*

“Il appelle Osiris, et Osiris l’appelle.”

(b) “Er ruft dem Osiris zu, und Osiris ruft ihm zu.”

- 3-4) (a) *Wnn nti pn ḫntj dwzt m kkw smzw, iw Nhp m szwtj.f.*

(Berne, 1984), p. 408 quote Piankoff’s translation (Sourdive also quotes Piankoff’s translation of the annotation to the parallel scene on the papyrus of Heruben, and suggests that the text from the papyrus of Heruben actually accompanies the scarab in front of the ithyphallic figure in the tomb of Ramesses IX).


⁷¹ Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, pp. 226-37.

“Ce dieu est dans la Douat (plongé) dans les ténèbres épaisses, le serpent Nehep est son gardien,”

- (b) “Dieser Gott befindet sich in (*hntj*) der Dat, in der Urfinsternis (*kkw zmꜣw*). (Die Schlange) Nehep ist sein Wächter,”

- 5) (a) *inh.f irw.f m mswt r^c...*

“il entoure sa forme ^E au moment de la naissance de Râ. Donne qu’Horus, qui apparaît à Thèbes soit avec toi et qu’il te protège!”


E. Pour = , lecture du Dr Drioton.


- (b) “er umschliesst sein Auge¹³ bei der (Wieder)geburt Res. Mögest du den Horus Chaemwese mit dir sein lassen¹⁴, damit er dich schütze.”


13. Lies *inh.f jrt.f*, das Vogelzeichen zeigt noch kleine Flügel.

14. Futur. Adverbialsatz mit Prädikat *r hn^c.k*.

Hornung departs but little from the original Piankoff and Drioton edition of this text, and states “die Umschrift von Piankoff ist nur an einer Stelle zu korrigieren”. There are, however, a number of problems with the renderings and understandings of the text given by Piankoff-Drioton and Hornung. Examining the columns in order, left to right, a number of significant improvements can be made in the readings to enhance our understanding the enigmatic text:

lines 1-2) The cryptography of the beginning of line 1 is peculiar for the corpus which the present work examines only in the use of the sign of the *ti.t*-amulet  to write *ti*, a use well attested in New Kingdom monumental cryptography (well-attested in orthographies of the name of Sety I in his Great Temple at Abydos).²⁷² The plant following the *ti.t*-amulet is a phonetic complement *i*. The sign of the *ti.t*-amulet does not appear elsewhere in the extant versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

The text writes the dual for feet, and has the full form of the dual suffix pronoun (*fy*); the signs  suggest as well the dual “arms.” After *ṛ.wy*, however, the suffix pronoun *f* is written without indication of the dual. Only one arm is visible, and the pose of the Heruben figure implies that the other arm is close by the figure’s side,

²⁷² Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 311 and 419. The *ti.t*-amulet sign does not appear in the Dra Abu-n-Naga enigmatic texts. E.F. Wente suggests that the *ti.t*-sign may appear with the value *ti*, writing the second person singular Old Perfective ending, in a text accompanying the depiction of the Festival of Sokar at Medinet Habu. In *The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu vol. 4 Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1940), pl. 226, l. 23,  may write *ḏd.ti*, “may you be stable,” unless one reads *ḏd(.ti) sꜣ(.ti)*, “may you be stable and may you be protected,” assuming an omission of the endings for these two words (as apparently G.A. Gaballa and K.A. Kitchen, “The Festival of Sokar,” *Or.* 38 [1969]: 11).

the hand grasping the base of the phallus (pl. 41).²⁷³ A portion of the lower horizontal text suggests that the expected masturbation of the Min pose is in fact present in the scene (pl. 34, l. 3):

hr nty ink itm m hpr=f w^c.w m Nwn

because I am Atum as he came forth alone from the Nun-waters

Sourdive²⁷⁴ states that “contrairement à l’inscription, un seul bras est levé à la vertical”. The lack of the dual ending to the suffix pronoun suggests that the text may not really indicate the dual of the word *‘arm’*.



The dual of the word *rd*, “lower leg and foot,” does occur as a writing of the singular.²⁷⁵ Singular *‘* occurs at times when one would expect the dual orthography, *‘.wy*.²⁷⁶ *‘.wy* for singular *‘* does not appear to be otherwise directly attested. One


²⁷³ Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 2. The erect phallus of Osiris appears in scenes of the deity on the funeral bier, mourned by the sister goddesses, with Isis as a bird hovering over the phallus of the prone god (for early attestations of this motif see E. Otto, “Eine Darstellung der ‘Osiris-Mysterien’ in Theben,” in W. Helck, ed., *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August 1967* [Wiesbaden, 1968], pp. 99-105; *PM* II:2, p. 241 [101]). For the hand of the ithyphallic Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX grasping the phallus one may compare depictions of Min, whose phallus-grasping hand seldom appears in two-dimensional representations of ithyphallic deities. R. Gundlach, “Min,” in *LdÄ*, vol. 4, col. 136 is incorrect in stating without qualification “nur rundplastisch erkennbar, im Flachbild linker Arm ‘verdeckt’.” For examples of two-dimensional ithyphallic Min figures with masturbating arm visible, see Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, vol. 3, pl. 275c (Wadi Ham., Dyn. 26); *ibid.*, vol. 3, pl. 189h (Abu Simbel, great temple, sanctuary, back of left wall [*PM* VII, p. 110 (113)]); numerous examples in Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration*, pl. 2 *et passim*; a Theban graffito in A.-A. F. Sadek and M. Shimy, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine* vol. 3, fasc. 5 (Cairo, 1973), pl. 242, no. 3463b.

²⁷⁴ Sourdive, *La main dans l’Égypte pharaonique*, p. 408.

²⁷⁵ Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, pl. 4a, n. 1a; see also R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)* (Chicago, 1992), p. 118.

²⁷⁶ Late Egyptian *hr-‘* for *hr-‘.wy*, Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 73 n. k (= *LRL* 58, 11), citing J.J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship’s Logs, Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008 + 2016* [Leiden, 1961], p. 25). Not to be confused with the use of singular *‘* for dual *‘.wy* is the use of the sign 𓂏 for *‘.wy*—K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Glückstadt and Hamburg, 1935-62), vol. 2, p. 153; *idem*, *Das ägyptische Verbum in Altägyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen* (Leipzig, 1899-1902), vol. 1, §306; ; J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *L’Hommage aux dieux sous l’Ancien Empire Égyptien, d’après les Textes des Pyramides* (Paris, 1953), p. 54, n. 2; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 1, p. 124, §289; not recognized by R.O. Faulkner, *The Plural and Dual in Old Egyptian* (Brussels, 1929), or P. Lacau, *Les Noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique* (Paris, 1970), pp. 13-16. In Hatnub Gr. 17, 3 (Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub*, pl. 16) 𓂏 is the “dual arm” (followed by the dual ending), not a writing of the singular of *‘* for the dual. Other body parts are written in singular forms, but are apparently to be read as duals—for example *ḏr.t* for *ḏr.ty*, and *ir.t* for *ir.ty* (G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens de l’époque pharaonique* [Paris, 1949], p. 146, n. 27 and p. 164, n. 12; E. Edel, “Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon

should note, however, that the writing  1 ʕ.wy occurs for the word ʕ, “condition,” in T. Ashmoleon 1964.489a rt. 3.²⁷⁷ ʕ and ʕ.wy appear as orthographies of the word ʕ, “(hostile) action,” in the Brooklyn magical papyrus.²⁷⁸ ʕ “bowl” has the orthography ʕ.wy in P. Lansing 16, 4.²⁷⁹ The word ʕ.t, “limb,” is also written as  ʕ.wy in P. Berlin 3038, 163 b (and d?).²⁸⁰ One might therefore argue that ʕ could have been written as ʕ.wy, the singular of a word for a paired body part attracting a dual writing because the member occurs so often in the dual. The orthography of ʕ in the Ramesses IX enigmatic annotation to the ithyphallic Osiris provides a graphic parallel to the intended dual of *rd.wy*; the presence and absence of the dual ending on the suffix pronoun indicates which dual is genuine and which is not.



Drioton and Piankoff, followed by Hornung, read *m hʕyt*;²⁸¹ there are several basic difficulties with such an interpretation. The fact that the sign  does not appear elsewhere with the value ʕ presents a problem for the reading *hʕyt*, and Drioton’s proposed derivation of ʕ from ʕn requires the workings of acrophony, otherwise unattested for the sign.²⁸² In the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 7B), and in the Corridor G treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 23, l. 45), this sign has the value ʕn. The parallelism speaks against the arm being described as raised in

VI,” *ZÄS* 102 [1975]: 27-8; H.G. Fischer, “Notes, Mostly Textual, on Davies’ *Deir el Gabrâwi*,” *JARCE* 13 [1976]: 13).

²⁷⁷ See J. Barns, “A New Wisdom Text from a Writing-board in Oxford,” *JEA* 54 (1968): 74, and *Wb.* I 158. In the Late Ramesside Letters, ʕ for “condition” occurs more often before suffix pronouns than does ʕ.wy (so in J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* [Brussels, 1939], p. 1, ll. 7 and 9; p. 12, l. 7; p. 13, l. 11; p. 22, ll. 3 and 16); however, the orthography ʕ.wy does occur with a following suffix pronoun (*ibid.*, p. 28, l. 8).

²⁷⁸ Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*, p. 25 n. i.

²⁷⁹ R.A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), p. 426, citing editor’s note, and A.M. Blackman and T.E. Peet, “Papyrus Lansing: a Translation with Notes,” *JEA* 11 (1925): 298, n. 7.

²⁸⁰ Von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, p. 116 (and p. 114 has ʕ.wy written as  1 ʕ.wt); ʕy for ʕ, “Urkunde,” is not really attested (see T. Mrsich, *Untersuchungen zur Hausurkunde des Alten Reiches, ein Beitrag zum altägyptischen Stiftungsrecht* [Berlin, 1968], pp. 24-5 n. 149). One may also compare the demotic orthography  1 ʕ, for the singular and plural of ʕ, “arm, hand.”

²⁸¹ A writing *hʕy* is possible for the verb, and *hʕyt* would not be an inconceivable writing of the substantive *hʕwt*. E. Brunner-Traut, “Gesten,” in *LdÄ*, vol. 2, col. 581 says *hʕj* is “eine freiere Geste ‘des Festes’ ... Hochwerfen der Arme;” see also H. Müller, “Darstellungen von Gebärden auf Denkmälern des Alten Reiches,” *MDAIK* 7 (1937): 80; A. Hermann, “Jubel bei der Audienz,” *ZÄS* 90 (1963): 50-1. See also pp. 405ff.

²⁸² One might propose that the *šn*-ring could substitute for the simple ring. As there is a term *iwʕw*, “der als Belohnung verliehene Ring” (*Wb.* I 51, 9), appearing also as ʕ and ʕy (*Urk.* IV 38, 14), the *šn*-sign substituting for the sign of a metal ring *iwʕw*/ʕ could acquire the value ʕ. This unattested cryptic derivation based on a not overly common term *iwʕw* for ring is, however, unlikely.

jubilation. The arm is said to be $m \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{smallmatrix}$, whereas the feet are in $h\text{tmy}.t$, the "Place of Destruction." The descriptions of the arm and the legs are probably parallel; a proposal which suggests that the arm is described as being in a place, most likely a place antithetical to $h\text{tmy}.t$. The raised hand of the reclining figure nearly touches the bottom of a sky sign which stretches over this penultimate scene and the final offering scene to the right. The group of signs under discussion may logically be expected to describe this position of the raised hand, almost touching heaven. Such a situation is similar to the positions of the top and bottom portions of the large standing figure of the solar-Osirian king on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun.

The sign which Drioton suggested be read hr is a hollow with blue details inside. This is not a pair of falcon eyes, as Drioton and Piankoff suggested; it is rather, as Hornung recognized, the road sign $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{smallmatrix}$, in the same form in which it occurs in Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramses IX*, pl. 67 (in sr ; the sign is also blue there).²⁸³ Here the road sign represents hr (for $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{smallmatrix}$ for $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{smallmatrix}$, see above, Chapter 3, p. 67). The sign is the determinative of $hry.t$, "Upper Region." The sign of the 'n -ring occurs once in each of the other two versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. On the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun the 'n -ring writes the verb 'n , "to turn back," in the sentence $sn \text{'n}=sn <h>tw \text{'q} b\bar{s}.w$, "they turn back <af>ter the bas enter." (pl. 7B). In the Corridor G treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the sign occurs with the value 'n , writing the verb 'n , "to turn back," in the sentence $sn \text{'n}=sn m-h\bar{t} d\bar{w}i n\bar{t}i pn \text{'z} r=sn$, "they turn back after this great god calls to them" (pl. 23, ll. 44-48). In pl. 37, fig. A, l. 1, the value 'n does not work well. If one reads the 'n -sign here as a variant of a simple circular sign, the 'n -can be read as a substitution for the pupil, which itself substitutes for the eye.²⁸⁴ Through substitution for the eye the pupil can represent the sign r .²⁸⁵ If one reads the apparent $\bar{s}n$ -sign \bigcirc as a variant for a circular hieroglyph,²⁸⁶ one may read the word in question as an orthography of

²⁸³ For this form of the road sign, cf. A. Gutbub, "Remarques sur l'épigraphie ptolémaïque: Kom Ombo, spécialement sous Philométor," in *L'égyptologie en 1979, Axes prioritaires de recherches* (Paris, 1982), vol. 2, p. 91, fig. 14, no. 40.



²⁸⁴ The 'n -sign substitutes for the sign of the eye in the divine name $kmn-ir.ty$, "blind in both eyes" on the Corridor G enigmatic ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 18A, beneath rightmost domes; see pp. 171-2, n. 35). The pupil represents the eye in $ir.t$, "making," in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, p. 337a; K. Sethe, "Die aenigmatischen Inschriften," in the Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, and P. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9* (London, 1908), p. 9*, etc.






²⁸⁵ Compare Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 39; and the use of the ring as ir in pl. 18A, label beneath the rightmost dome (see pp. 171-2, n. 35).

²⁸⁶ On the statue of Thoreris dedicated by Pabasa, with a prayer for the Votaress Nitocris, Cairo 39145, a circle is written as a variant for $\bar{s}n$, "to encircle, to wind around" (M. Verner, "Statue of Tweret (Cairo Museum no. 39145) Dedicated by Pabesi and Several Remarks on the Role of the Hippopotamus Goddess," *JÄS* 96 [1969]: 57 [line 1 of the text on the base in front of the goddess' feet]). A further interchange of a circular sign and the $\bar{s}n$ -ring occurs in the writing of irw , "bodily form," as \bigcirc at Dendera (Ph.

hry.t, “upper region.”²⁸⁷ This writing of *hry.t* is similar to that in the name of the first standing, mummiform deity from the left in the upper left portion of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 7A).



Rather than reading  as *hr=f*, “over him,” following Drioton and Piankoff,²⁸⁸  represents *rd* in the writing of *rd.wy*. Thus only the feet are in the *htmy.t*.

Derchain, “La pêche de l’oeil et les mystères d’Osiris à Dendara,” *RdE* 15 [1963]: 14, n. 4; Derchain reads **šn*, and questioningly suggests *snn*), the *šn*-ring substituting for the more usual pupil in a writing such as  (Wb. I 113). In Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104, Drioton proposes to read the sign  as *hnw*, through substitution with , and a subsequent sound shift from *šn* to *hn* (Drioton notes the use of the “dotted” circle for *hn* in Ptolemaic). This is an incorrect reading, and is not a further example of a circle substituting for a *šn/cn* sign. As Drioton notes on p. 91, the  of text B corresponds to the clear , *m R^c*, of text A. Drioton’s rendering of text A as *m ʿryt n* is unconvincing (F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d’époque gréco-romaine* vol. 1 [Montpellier, 1988], p. 153 cites only this reference for #163, the pupil, as *šn*).

²⁸⁷ *D3.t hry.t* also occurs in L. Habachi, *Tavole d’offerta, are e bacili da libagione* (Turin, 1977) 94 (24) and 99 (24) (cited D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1980], p. 432, no. 77.5003).

²⁸⁸ Their translation shows they read *hr=f* and understood it as an indication of the position of the arms. *ʿ.wy=f(y) m hʿyt hr=f* suggests, however, “his arms in jubilation over/because of him” (Wb. III 41, 8). This sentence comes before the mention of the scarab, so the suffix pronoun could only refer to the Osiride figure, who would then be said to be rejoicing over himself. Egyptian would probably have ordered the sentence *ʿ.wy=f(y) hr=f m hʿyt*, “his arms over/upon him in jubilation,” in order to avoid such ambiguity. *ʿ.wy hr* would also suggest “upon, touching,” compare Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 115, text n. 245, discussing P. Leiden I 348 rt. 11, 5 (spell no. 18). There, according to Borghouts, “When the patient places his arms on his head (*ʿ.wy=ky hr=k*), he will, according to the next sentence, find that his headache has disappeared.” This placing of the arms upon the head could be a symbol of jubilation at the relief of pain, but is more likely an exhortation for the patient to feel his head—the pain and soreness should be gone. To have the arms on, touching the head can refer to a gesture of mourning and pain (compare the text on the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV [Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 65, with the figure on p. 124], where mourning entities have their arms raised above them). Note, however, Coffin Texts Spell 52 (de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 239d-f), where the placing of hands on the head does appear to be an indication of jubilation:

239d *ih sp fdw*

in ršy=i in nhy=i

e *in di=i ʿ.wy=i tp=i hr ntr pn nb ntr.w*

f *di=i im sbh=i m wry.t*

Oh, oh, oh, oh.

Shall I rejoice, or shall I mourn?

Shall I place my arms upon my head on behalf of this god, the lord of the gods;

ḥtmy.t is appropriate for the bottom of the scene, the place of the feet of Osiris and the row of bound prisoners, for *ḥtmy.t* can be said to release Osiris, but to hold his enemies.²⁸⁹ In the final scene of the lowest register in section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the feet of *Wsir ḥnty imnt*, “Osiris foremost of the West,” are shown as below the ground line, apparently within *ḥtmy.t*.²⁹⁰ One may thus read this portion of the Ramesses IX enigmatic annotation as:

nti pn m sh(r) pn
ˁ.wy=f(y) m ḥry.t
rd.wy=f(y) m ḥtmy.t

This god is in this fashion:

his arm in the height (of the Netherworld),
 his feet in the place of destruction.

This is similar to the description of the goddess “Mysterious” in section D 3 of the Book of the Earth.²⁹¹

or shall I moan and cry in the Weryet?

(For the use of *tp* here, see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 2, p. 396, §771a. D.P. Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions with in and in-lw in Old and Middle Egyptian* [Malibu, 1980], p. 19, misunderstands the portion of this section which he discusses). P. Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1986), p. 195 n. 86 notes that *ih* is “aussi bien un cri de joie qu’un cri de deuil.” Sections e and f appear to be an expansion of the question *in ršy=i in nhy=i*. Section f, referring to lamentation, corresponds to *in nhy=i*, “shall I mourn;” if both sections e and f do not refer to mourning, section e could be an enlargement on the question *in ršy=i*, “shall I rejoice.” If the placing of hands on the head here refers to rejoicing, a parallel is difficult, and one can only recall certain dance poses where arms are upraised, and the hands just touch the dancer’s head (on prehistoric figures of possible women dancers assuming this pose [such as in I. Lexová, *Ancient Egyptian Dances* (Prague, 1935) figs. 1-2], see E. Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten, nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen* [Glückstadt, 1958], pp. 11-12, and H. Wild, “Les dances sacrées de l’Égypte ancienne,” in *Les dances sacrées* [Paris, 1963], p. 40; for more definite examples, see J. Vandier, *Mo‘alla, La tombe d’Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep* [Cairo, 1950], p.113, fig. 54; J. Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne*, vol. 4, part 2: *Bas-reliefs et peintures, scènes de la vie quotidienne* [Paris, 1964], pl. 18, fig. 205 [mastaba of Kagemni]; The Sakkarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka, Part 1: Chambers A 1-10* [Chicago, 1938], pl. 87; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, pl. 36).

²⁸⁹ See Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 169-70.

²⁹⁰ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 61; the female figure lying atop the ground line in the central scene of the same register is *ḥz.t ḥtmy.t*, “the corpse of the Place of Destruction” (*ibid.* p. 60).

²⁹¹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, ll. 2-3; p. 45; Leitz, *ZÄS* 116 (1989): 55-7 (Leitz is aware of the section D 3 Book of the Earth example of *dz.t ḥr.t* and *ḥr.t*, but does not discuss the section A 4 occurrence—see below, Chapter 6, pp. 375ff.).

tp št3.t m Dw3.t hry.t

rdwy=sy m Dw3.t hry.t

the head of the mysterious one is in the Upper Netherworld,
her feet in the Lower Netherworld

For a number of parallels to this description of the position of the feet and raised arm of an entity, see the discussion in Chapter 6, pp. 375ff.²⁹²

line 5) Piankoff and Drioton read *inh=f irw=f*, “il (the snake) entoure sa (Osiris)’ forme;” a major problem with that suggested reading is that the snake does not entirely surround the figure, either in the tomb of Ramesses IX or on the papyrus of Heruben. From the use of *inh* to describe a circumvallation wall (*Wb.* I 99, 3-4), and to describe a besieging army (*Wb.* I 99, 10), one might expect the snake more fully to enclose the ithyphallic figure on the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX.²⁹³ In the third scene in the third register of the third division of the Book of Caverns, the *Nḥ3-hr* serpent does in fact surround the figure of Osiris. Its function there is, however, not described as *inh*, but as *s3q*, “to hold together.”²⁹⁴ The verb *inh* is not the word one would expect to find in the Ramesses IX enigmatic annotation, and it does not accurately describe what is clearly depicted. Likewise, Hornung’s transliteration and translation *inh=f irw=f*, “er umschliesst sein Auge,” is impossible. The eye is not depicted, and there is no parallel forthcoming for the Nehep snake surrounding the eyes of Osiris.²⁹⁵

²⁹² The head in the Upper Netherworld recalls a Ptolemaic description of the giant Amun as *wnn tp=f hr d3.t n.t W3s.t...*, “his head is under/bearing the necropolis of Thebes...” (K. Sethe and O. Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit* [Leipzig, 1957], §84h [p. 70]). Amun has his head at the top of the underworld, just below the western hills of Thebes; by describing his head as under the necropolis, this text links the necropolis with the giant Amun of the eastern horizon as the soon to be reborn sun, stressing the regenerative potential of the West.

²⁹³ The address of Re in the fourth scene of the third register in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 135, ll. 6-8) indeed describes Osiris at the end of the Netherworld, approached by Re, as enclosed by the body of a serpent:

R^c dd=f r qrr.t tn ...

i mk wi š3s=i qrr.t-k sw isṯ imy q3b

di=i n=k m wḏ imy-r3=i

srq-i tw m pr im=i

Re says to this cavern: ...

‘Oh behold I rush through your cavern, you who are in the serpent coils,
and give you the order which is in my mouth,
and cause you to breathe by means of that which comes forth from me.’

²⁹⁴ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 35, §§ 4 and 5, ll. 4-5 and 7.

²⁹⁵ Certainly only a single eye would be mentioned in Hornung’s understanding of the text. However, if this were depicted, the problem of the mention of the single eye could be explained. The Egyptians might well in this case have referred to the figure’s eyes in the singular, due to the profile depiction of the face, in which only a single eye is actually represented (in line 10 of the stele Louvre C 14 [W. Barta, *Das Selbstzeugnis eines*

The entire text is to be transliterated and translated as follows:

1-2) *nti pn m sh(r) pn*

ʕ=f m hry.t

rd.wy=fy m htmy.t^a

This god is in this fashion,
his arm in the upper region,
his feet in the place of destruction.

2-3) *hpr ms.wt nti pn ʕ r qrr.t* (*nt*—haplography ?) *nti pn b*

It is at the cavern of this god that the birth of this great god occurs.

3) *iw=f dwt=f n Wsir^c Wsir dwt=f r=f*

He calls to Osiris; and Osiris calls to him.

3-4) *wnn nti pn hnty D3.t m kkw-sm3w^d iw nhp m szwt=f^e*

It is in the complete darkness that this god, foremost of the Netherworld, exists. The Nehep snake is his protection.

5) *iw hq=f r msw.t Rʕ <Rʕ> di=k Hr hʕ m W3s.t r hnʕ=k nd.ty=f hr=kʒ*

He shines at the birth of Re. <Re>, may you place Horus, who has appeared in Thebes, together with you,²⁹⁶ that he may protect you.

^a The arm of the god is raised into the Upper Region (of the Netherworld), into close contact with the newborn sun and the world of the living, the whole figure being an image of the potential fecundity and rejuvenation of the Netherworld.²⁹⁷

^b *Nti pn*, “this god,” as Hornung recognized, is here Osiris. For this identification there are several indications: 1) the raised arm and the legs of *nti pn* are described, corresponding to those limbs as represented in the accompanying

altägyptischen Künstlers (Stele Louvre C14) (Berlin, 1970), p. 14 (fig. 1) and pl. 1, l. 10], we find, in a description of a scene of the king smiting his enemies, the statement *dgg ir.t n sn.wt-s*, “an eye staring at its fellow,” referring to the eyes of the king looking into the face of the soon to be dispatched wretch). The combination of the ithyphallic Osiris surrounded by the protective serpent, and the sun rising from the Osiride horizon hill, suggests the combination of *d.t*-eternity (Osiris and the serpent), and *nhh*-eternity (the rising sun)—see L. Kákosy, “Einige Probleme des ägyptischen Zeitbegriffes,” *Oikumene* 2 (1978): 105-106.

²⁹⁶ For *r hnʕ* see *Wb.* III 112, 1-4.

²⁹⁷ *Hry.t* as the “upper region” of the Netherworld could also contain a play on *hr.t* as the visible sky of the world (K. Sethe, *Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne* [Berlin, 1928], p. 4). There may also be an allusion here to the arms of the *m3nw*-mountain (Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 61 n. 97, and p. 232 A 1 and nn. 9-10; on “Umarmung” see *ibid.* pp. 146-7 [and especially n. 34, p. 147]).

figure of the Osiride Rameses IX. 2) *Ntl pn* is *Hnty D3.t*, who is Osiris, as discussed below, Chapter 6, pp. 421-4. 3) *Nhp* is with the *ntl pn*, again corresponding to the depiction of the Osiride king. 4) The *ntl pn* lights up at the birth of Re, an event which is depicted above the Osiride figure. In line 2 we read of the birth of *ntl pn* ʕ, “this great god,” and in line 5 we have the birth of Re. We have here the terminology of the Amduat and the Book of Gates, wherein *ntr* ʕ is Re.²⁹⁸ The Twelfth hour of the Short Amduat²⁹⁹ contains the following statements:

(272-3) *mss=tw ntr pn ʕ m hprw=f n Hpr(i) r qrr.t tn*

It is at this cavern that this great god is born, in his realization as Khepri.

(281-3) *qrr.t št3.t nt D3.t mss.t ntr pn ʕ r=s pr=f m Nwn htp=f m h.t Nw.t*

It is the secret cavern of the Netherworld, at which this great god is born, he coming forth from Nun and going to rest in the belly of Nut.

Thus in the Amduat *ntr pn* ʕ, “this great god,” is Khepri in the morning.

^c For the writing of the divine name Osiris, see above, p. 329, text n. b.

^d Although the deity does extend his extremities into areas which may be parts of the Netherworld (lines 1 and 2), line 4 states that the deity is in the *kkw-sm3w*. On the basis of the cosmography of the Nut Book, “heaven and earth are surrounded by the *dw3.t*, which in its turn is surrounded by *kkw-sm3w*.”³⁰⁰ A reading of line 4 as: “It is in the Dat, in the complete darkness that this god exists” is thus impossible. Rather than describing the deity as “in the Dat” (so Piankoff and Hornung), *hnty-d3.t* is here an epithet of the god whom the annotation describes, the ithyphallic Osiride figure. According to Hornung: “*Hnty-d3.t* ist eigentlich Beiwort des Osiris, vgl. aber zur Identifizierung Chepri-Osiris die 6. Stunde.”³⁰¹ “Foremost of the Dat” may mean more than “chief of the Dat”—see the discussion of the giant Re-Osiris as the portal of the horizon on pp. 421-4.

²⁹⁸ See the remarks of Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 5, n. 17.

²⁹⁹ *Idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 24-25 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 91-92).

³⁰⁰ A. Egberts, “The Chronology of *The Report of Wenamun*,” *JEA* 77 (1991): 63.

³⁰¹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 36. In *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 37, ll. 6-7 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 222-223): *nḥw Hpr(r) hnty-D3t*, “living one, Khepr(er), preeminent of the Dat” (*ibid.* vol. 2, pp. 55 and 57); in the upper register of the Seventh Hour of the Amduat (*ibid.*, vol. 1, 121, 2 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 538]; vol. 2, pp. 128-9) *Wsir* and *Hnty-D3.t* are parallel, and in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 204, l. 2 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 844), Osiris is clearly *Hnty-D3.t*, “foremost of the Dat.”

^e The first bird in the word *s3wty* also has the “wing” drawn in below the line of the back (faint, and not copied by Guilmant, but still visible in the tomb). In the upper register of the Fourth Hour of the Amduat, the Nehep serpent is again a protector.³⁰²

ntsn s33 nhp nhp t3

It is they who guard Nehep, the protector of the earth ³⁰³

^f The phrase *r ms.wt R^c*, “at the birth of Re,” occurs in the Twelfth Hour of Amduat.³⁰⁴

hpr Nwn Nwn.t Hhw Hhw.t r qrr.t tn r ms.wt ntr pn ʿ3

pr=f m D3.t

hpr=f m mʿndy.t

hʿ=f m ih.ty Nw.t

It is in this cavern, at the birth of this great god (Re),
when he goes forth from the Netherworld,
when he goes to rest in the bark of the day,
when he appears in glory from the thighs of Nut, that there come into
being Nun and Nunet, Hehew and Hehewt.

A portion of Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead provides a parallel for an equation of the birth (*ms.wt*) of the sun with the emergence (*pr.wt*) of the solar deity.³⁰⁵

ir pr.wt=f ms.wt=f pw³⁰⁶

As for his emergence, it is his birth.

According to Assmann, *msi* in such a context refers to a “zyklische Vereinigung mit der Mutter,” whereas *hpr* is a spontaneous development, “durch die innenwohnende göttliche Schöpferkraft,” *msw.t* refers to the birth of the solar deity as a child, and *hpr.w* to his realization as a scarab form.³⁰⁷ In verses 24-25 of the

³⁰² Hornung *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 68, l. 3 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 362).

³⁰³ In *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 85 Hornung reads “Sie sind es, die den ‘Beschützer’ (*Nhp*) hüten, der die Erde beschützt...” In Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 170 n. 13, however, Hornung cites this passage as an example of the earth quaking, as at the time of an epiphany.

³⁰⁴ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 794-795.

³⁰⁵ Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 42 (T. G. Allen’s §a S 6 [p. 28]).

³⁰⁶ See also Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 118-22 A. 5; 175 A. 5

³⁰⁷ Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 32-3; *idem*, *Sonnenhymnen*, no. 87 (TT65) p. 123, n. *b* to the translation; *idem*, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 43 n. 20; see also Rössler-Köhler, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*,

text of “the king as solar priest,” these forms of rejuvenation are paradoxically combined.³⁰⁸

iw=f rhw msw.t n.t R^c
hpr.w=f imy Nwy
 He knows the birth of Re,
 and his realization within the flood.

Similarly, in the Ramesses IX treatise, the text accompanying the Osiride king refers to Re’s rebirth as *msw.t*; it is the scarab/ *hpr.w* form in which the newborn sun is depicted.³⁰⁹

g Re is perhaps written as an haplography. For the orthography of *nd* here as *nd.ty*, with *ty* perhaps simply representing the dental, see E. F. Wente, in H. Ricke, G. Hughes, and E.F. Wente, *The Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* (Chicago, 1967), p. 22, n. b, in “protect;” according to Osing, *Die Nominalbildung*, vol. 1, p. 335; vol. 2, pp. 874-5, n. 1435, *nd.ty*, “to protect,” is a verb with a *-taj* affix.³¹⁰

The orthography of *nd.ty* here suggests the verb *nd*, “to protect.” The use of *nd-hr* in the context of the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon may also have been intended to have a secondary meaning, being an allusion to *nd-hr*, “to greet” (*Wb.* II 372, 8-23). J.G. Griffiths has in fact suggested that the verb *nd* of the formula *nd-hr*, “greet,” is the verb *nd*, “to protect.”³¹¹ For *nd-hr*, “to greet,” and the

vol. 2: *Religion*, p. 937; L. Motte, “L’hiéroglyphe, d’Esna à l’évangile de vérité,” *Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte* 3 (1986): 115.

³⁰⁸ Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 18, §3.

³⁰⁹ In the bottom register to the left, the child and scarab forms are depicted together. For a crossing over of the *msw.t* child and *hpr.w* scarab, compare the use of the squatting child king as a writing of *hprw* (Eaton-Krauss, *ZAS* 110 [1983]: 127-32; Feucht, *SAK* 11 [1984]: 401-417; Rössler-Köhler, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 2: *Religion*, pp. 929-46). Feucht, *SAK* 11 (1984): 414 cites Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 2, 22, and 65-6, for the king appearing as “child” to people, and coming forth from Re as *Hpr* (compare also Feucht, *SAK* 11 [1984]: 416, n. 75 citing M. de Rochemonteix and É. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Edfou*, vol. 1, rev. ed. S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, 4 fascicles [Cairo, 1984-7], p. 41 for Horus coming forth as a child and flying up to heaven as a beetle).

³¹⁰ Pronunciation may also have influenced this orthography. *Nd* is archaic in demotic, and does not appear in Coptic, but other words using the *nd*-sign show a not unexpected *-d > -t* shift. Compare also the final *t* in a writing of *hd*, “to damage” (*Wb.* III 212), in the second stele of Kamose—see L. Habachi, *The Second Stele of Kamose, and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital* (Glückstadt, 1972), p. 38 n. h. The word is demotic *G-III<Z*, *hty* (perhaps Coptic *ZITE* [Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 395]), suggesting that the *t* on the Kamose stele is a phonetic complement.

³¹¹ J.G. Griffiths, “The Meaning of *nd* and *nd-hr*,” *JEA* 37 (1951): 32-7. For possible confusions of the determinatives of *nd*, “to protect,” and *nd*, “to question,” compare Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 35 n. b.

significance of the formula in a solar context, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 132-3. In de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, p. 188 b and c, *nd-ḥr* and *shṭp-ḥr* are parallel; in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, p. 329 b, the dead desires that the sun god should perform the *shṭp-ḥr* of Osiris. The *nd-ḥr* occurring in the enigmatic annotation to the Osiride figure on the Enigmatic Wall of Ramesses IX is perhaps an allusion to the *nd-shrw* of Osiris by Re in the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns.³¹² Re places the king with him, that the king might enquire after him (pl. 37A, l. 5), yet it is Osiris after whom one inquires. This wish is then a reference to the god *dmḏy*, the unified Re-Osiris—the king with Re inquires after Re as Osiris, greeting himself at the moment of rebirth at the eastern horizon. One could interpret the penultimate scene on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall as a depiction of the disk of Re greeting the corpse of Osiris at the eastern horizon.³¹³

By indicating that he might protect or inquire after Osiris (pl. 37, fig. A, l. 5) the king may also place himself in the position of Horus. According to the Twelfth Hour of the “Stundenwachen” of Osiris:³¹⁴

wnw.t 12.t ny.t grḥ

wnw.t pw ny.t nd-ḥr Wsir im-s in s3=f Ḥr ḥnꜥ it=f Gb

The Twelfth Hour of the night—it is the hour in which inquiry is made after Osiris, by his son Horus and his father Geb.

In the scene accompanying the enigmatic annotation in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the disk of the sun, as it passes over the body of the ithyphallic mummy, and enters the hand of the Osiride king, “protects” and “inquires after” Osiris. This concluding line of the annotation to the ithyphallic figure is similar to the concluding line to the annotation to the lower register of the left portion of the Enigmatic Wall (pl. 35, ll. 46-49): “may you place Osiris, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Right Order, Neferkare-Setepenre <in> heaven together with the one who made it.”

In the penultimate scene in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the ithyphallic Osiris lies on the sloping base of the horizon, one of its two hills,

³¹² Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 70, l. 8.

³¹³ In the concluding text of the First Hour of the Amduat:

ii.n-i nd-i ḥr-i im-i

“Ich bin gekommen, dass ich mich beschenke mit mir.”

Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 18, l. 7 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 153-154); vol. 2, p. 33 and p. 35 n. 10; Hornung reads *nd-ḥr* here as “jemanden beschenken mit etwas,” and notes that the text refers to the “Vereinigung der frei beweglichen ‘Seele’ des Sonnengottes mit seinem Leichnam, der in der Unterwelt ruht.”

H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae* (Vienna, 1910), p. 123.

supporting himself on the horizon.³¹⁵ The feet of the god are in the Place of Destruction (*htmy.t*), an allusion to the eastern horizon as a place of fiery punishment.³¹⁶ In the left (main) portion of the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall, the sun triumphs over the serpents of chaos as it nears the eastern horizon, on which reclines the giant Osiride Re-Osiris. Images of bound enemies form the base of the wall, alluding to the time of the final victory of the sun at the end of the night as the time of the flaming destruction of the damned.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ See Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration*, pl. 33, l. 9, with the parallel in P. Magical Harris: *rmn-k hr dw py nt iqr.t*, “your shoulder upon that mountain of Igeret,” which would well describe the reclining ithyphallic Osiris; see also Ph. Derchain, “L’adoration du Soleil levant dans le temple de Psammétique I^{er} à El Kab,” *CdE* 37, no. 74 (1962): 261; and J. Zandee, “Hymnical Sayings Addressed to the Sungod by the High-Priest of Amun Nebwenenef from his tomb in Thebes,” *JEOL* 18 (1964): 253.




³¹⁶ J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques, II: «Les révélations du mystère des quatre boules»,” *BIFAO* 75 (1975): 364, n. 10, with references to the eastern horizon as a “lieu de punition et le brasero;” see also Van Dijk, *JEOL* 26 (1979-80): 16-7 (and the references p. 16 n. 49).


³¹⁷ For an association of punishment of the damned with Min, deity of the southeastern horizon, see S. Sauneron, “Villes et légendes d’Égypte (§XXX-XXXIII),” *BIFAO* 69 (1971): 53-58 (especially the scene on p. 56). The “Island of Fire” is at once the abode of the solar deity, the place of rest for the Blessed Dead, and the place of destruction for the damned (for the Island of Fire, and the later Coptic notions of the purifying and destructive workings of the River of Fire, see C.D.G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche* [Wiesbaden, 1959], pp. 97-98, particularly n. 692a). For a discussion of the significance of the giant-deity, and a comparison of the depictions and descriptions of this deity occurring in the various versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, see Chapter 6.







THE GRAFFITO (PL. 37B):

This text augments the horizontal line of text between the middle and lower registers of the left-hand portion of the wall (plate 35), ensuring the protection of the king.³¹⁸ Lefebure³¹⁹ and Guilmant³²⁰ published copies of the hieratic text; Kitchen³²¹ has offered a transcription. There is no translation or commentary published, and the text has apparently received no further attention. The graffito was collated in the tomb on several occasions during the winter of 1991-92; though obscured by a layer of dust, it was possible to verify all of the readings.

1) Wsir nswt Nfr-k3-Rc Stp-n-Rc nh wdz snb iwy hr=k ntr 3
 nd.n.tw=f 2) <n> n3 h3b.w nt B3b3i
 dl=k s3-Rc Rc-ms-sw Hc-m-W3s.t mry-imn nh wdz snb 3) m hnw=k
 h3p=k s3m.w=f
 ntf mw n hc.wt=k
 b3=k špsy
 4) msy=f n imy.w-p.t
 n imy.w-t3
 hr-nty ntf sf
 iw=f rh dw3w

line 1) .n.tw=f () is preferable to Kitchen's  (and his questioningly suggested  ?).

line 2) Kitchen transcribed ¹ 19 . What Kitchen transcribed as the first of two alephs is actually n3, the small aleph directly below the h3 is the only aleph used in writing h3b.w. The h3i-fish can have a long snout, and this appears to have joined here with the n of n3. M appears to have become n before n3 h3b.w, and has been assimilated to the n of n3.

Lefebure's  and Guilmant's  is not entirely accurate, and Kitchen's transcription  ?? is not possible. The wall shows, through a thick layer of dust, . This suggests  for ³²² .




³¹⁸ For Osiris protected from harm, see the first scene of the upper register of the Sixth Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 100, ll. 3-4 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 468-469]).

³¹⁹ Lefebure, *Les hypogées royaux de Thèbes*, vol. 1, pl. 9 B.

³²⁰ Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 77.

³²¹ K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. 6: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford, 1983), p. 460, l. 15-p. 461, l. 2.

³²² J. Wilson, "The Language of the Historical Texts Commemorating Ramses III," in U. Hölscher and J.A. Wilson, *Medinet Habu Studies 1928/29* (Chicago, 1930), p. 32;

line 4) The group  is better read as  than Kitchen's  (compare the relatively short tail on the viper-*f* in *nd.n.tw=f* at the end of the first line of the graffito).



- 1) The Osiris king Neferkare-Setepenre l.p.h. is come before you, (oh) great god.
- 2) From the *h3b.w* of Babai^a has he been protected.
May you set the son of Re Ramesses IX, beloved of Amun, 3) in your *sanctum*.^b
May you hide his forms.^c
He is the efflux of your limbs,
your august ram-form.^d
- 4) For those in heaven and for those in the earth has he been born,^e
for he is yesterday,
while he knows tomorrow.^f

^a The *h3b.w* of Babai are otherwise unattested. "Evil doers" is a possible rendering of the term *h3b.w*.³²³ The term should refer to the *wpw.tyw*-messengers of the central horizontal band of text (pl. 35). In connection with the *wpw.tyw* one finds the *h3.tyw*, armed with their knives.³²⁴ In the fifth Litany to Re is the wish:

*nhm=k N m= h3.tyw=k spd.w nm.w*³²⁵

May you protect N from your slayers, those sharp of knives.

In the lowest register of the Seventh Hour of the Book of Gates are the *iry.w h3b.w* and the *h3b.yw*, the "Sichelträger."³²⁶ Although the sickle does not appear

compare the writing  for  in H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (Vienna, 1913), p. 41, text to §b, l. 4.

³²³ On *h3b*, see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 51 n. 6, and the references cited there. For the association of the word *h3b* with Seth, see Te Velde, *Seth, god of Confusion*, p. 17 n. 6; R. Anthes, "Die Berichte des Neferhotep und des Ichernofret über das Osirisfest in Abydos," in W. Müller, ed., *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin, 1974), p. 24 (l. 28, n. 6); J.J. Clère, "Un Hymne à Abydos sur une stèle inédite d'Epoque Ramesside," *ZÄS* 84 [1959]: 92 and 98).

³²⁴ C. Evrard-Derriks and J. Quaegebeur, "La situle décorée de Nesnakhetiou au Musée Royal de Mariemont," *CdE* 54, no. 107 (1979): 42, n. c; P.W. Pestman, "Jeux de déterminatifs en démotique," *RdE* 25 (1973): 32-4; see the explanation given by Ph. Germond, "En marge des litanies de Sekhmet à Edfou: flèches et messagers," *BSEG* 2 (1979): 25, on the *wpw.tyw* and *šm3.yw* of Sakhmet; M. Chauveau, "Glorification d'une morte anonyme," *RdE* 41 (1990): 8, n. r; J.-C. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an [Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50]* (Cairo, 1972), p. 89, n. 51.

³²⁵ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 146; vol. 2, p. 132 n. 339.

prominently elsewhere in the Netherworld Books either as a weapon or as a tool of punishment, these *h3b.w* of Babai are perhaps sickle-wielding furies. Dangerous beings who reap the dead, using the symbolism of harvesting, appear as the *bw.w*, the “heapers up of corn” with pitch-forks in CT VI 84g,³²⁷ from whom the corpse of the dead should be kept safe. A similar association of the sickle with severing the heads of the damned appears to lie behind the thirteenth vignette in the mythological papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh II.³²⁸ There a woman cuts wheat with a sickle; behind her stands a lion-headed (?) female being holding a severed human head; behind these two figures are several fantastic beasts, including a crocodile-headed entity seated on the back of a hippopotamus and holding a heart. The context appears to be one of punishment, and include an association of sickle-cut wheat with a severed head.³²⁹

^b For *hnw* as *sanctum*, see R.A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* (London, 1974), vol. 2, p. 97 n. 4. This *hnw* may be the *qrr.t nti pn*, “the cavern of this god (Osiris)” (on which see above, p. 344, text note *b* to pl. 36). This occurrence of *hnw* also suggests the name of Osiris as *Hnw*, parallel to *3h.t*, in PT 585a.³³⁰ Osiris should place the king in the *hnw* and hide him; this text thus corresponds to the depiction on the Enigmatic Wall—the king lies in the hill which is the root of the horizon, and Osiris is that hill of the horizon which hides the Osirian king.

^c This reference to hiding the forms of the king could liken the king and his manifestations in the *hnw* of Osiris in the Netherworld to the images of deities in temples,³³¹ and could also refer to a properly maintained burial (the “ones who are in

³²⁶ *Idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, 47th Scene, pp. 269-271; vol. 2, pp. 189-90 (and *Wb.* III 362, 1).

³²⁷ *Wb.* I 176, 15; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 201; in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 84g, the *bw.w* are parallel to the *s33.w iry.w c.wt*, “the guards who relate to the limbs.”

³²⁸ Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 22.

³²⁹ According to a passage in the Seventh Hour of the Book of Gates “the one who offers to them (the sickle-bearing *h3by.w*) upon the earth is among the sickle bearers (*hry.w h3b.w*) in the fields of the Dat” (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 270-271; for the formula “the one who offers to them upon the earth,” see E.F. Wente, “Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?” *JNES* 41 [1982]: 167-172); this may associate the blessed dead with the reapers of the dead, but more likely it indicates that the blessed dead are properly provisioned, provided with the sickles necessary for harvesting the grain in the Netherworld.

³³⁰ Cited by Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 103.

³³¹ In *Medinet Habu* V pls. 355-356 §E, there is also a mixture of temple and horizon imagery; the mortuary temple of Ramesses III is said to be:

3h.t hcc.wy s.t 3tp n Km.t
p ntry n it ntr.w srh Hr-3h.ty
r sh3p s3m.w nw psd.t T3-S3m'

the earth" [*imy.w-t3*] are "hidden of corpses" [*št3.w h3.wt*] in Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 176; vol. 2, p. 137, n. 403).

^d This "august ram-form" is the corpse of the Osiride king, identified with the *b3*-ram form of the Solar-Osirian deity. The association of the corpse of Osiris, the *šfd.t* chest/sarcophagus, and the ram form of the sun on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 8), and the parallel of the rising ram in the tomb of Ramesses VII³³² show the king's corpse as the ram-form of the sun—a ram form of the god named in the accompanying annotation in the tomb of Ramesses VII *h3.t R*, "corpse of Re." Osiris is the corpse of the solar deity,³³³ otherwise called *hwf*, the ram-headed sun of the night.

^e The verb *msy* is here rendered as a nominal passive *šdm=f*. J. Winand has suggested that the *šdm(w)=f* passive was "perfective" in Late Egyptian, whereas the passive nominal form was *šdm.tw=f*, derived through reduction from *šdm.n.tw=f*.³³⁴ Support for the rendition of the passive *msy=f* presented here may, however, be derived from the passage P. Anastasi III 7, 2-3:³³⁵

h3y=f m p.t

ms=f m iwnw

It was from heaven that he has descended,
and it was in Heliopolis that he was born.³³⁶

The passive *ms=f* there, in a parallel construction with a nominal *h3y=f* reduced from *h3.n=f*,³³⁷ supports the rendering of *msy=f* in the Ramesses IX graffito.³³⁸ The

The Horizon of Jubilation, The Resting Place in Egypt;
the Divine Socle for the Father of the gods, The Serekh of Horakhty,
intended for hiding the images of the ennead of Upper Egypt; ...

For the naos as a place which hides (*h3p*) what it contains, cf. Chassinat and Daumas, *Le Temple de Dendara* 8, vol. 1 (text), p. 81, l. 6 (cited Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 239, no. 78.2575). For hiding as a prelude to dawn, rising, and resurrection, see R.B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator* (Wiesbaden, 1985), pp. 111-3 and 141. On this Medinet Habu text, see J. C. Darnell, "Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu," in B. Bryan and D. Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke* (San Antonio, 1994), pp. 39-55.

³³² Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 64, pl. 117; for a complete discussion see above, Chapter 3, pp. 92-4.

³³³ W. Barta, "Bemerkungen zur 'grossen Litanei' im Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen," *ZÄS* 113 (1986): 86-87.

³³⁴ Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien, 1: La morphologie verbale*, pp. 303-310, §§476-86 (his presentation of the passive *šdm(w)=f* as "perfective"), and pp. 310-321, §§487-504 (his presentation of the *šdm.tw=f* as nominal).

³³⁵ A. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brussels, 1937), p. 28, ll. 9-10.

³³⁶ Translation of E.F. Wente, "A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense," *JNES* 28 (1969): 6.

occurrence of the later *sdm.n.tw=f* nominal passive alongside the earlier nominal passive *sdm=f*³³⁹ suggests a possible difference in meaning between the two passive forms in this text.

Primarily, the *imy.w-p.t* would be the gods,³⁴⁰ and the *imy.w-t3* the dead.³⁴¹ According to the ink annotation in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the king has been born for these entities “for he is yesterday, while he knows tomorrow.” This is the king as yesterday and tomorrow, Osiris and Re, the sun of the sky and of the nether-sky.³⁴² Osiris can be called *imy-t3*,³⁴³ and the sun in the Netherworld can be referred to as *t3y*, “he of the earth,” the chthonic sun.³⁴⁴ The *imy.w-p.t* and *imy.w-t3* occur in

³³⁷ *Ibid.* n. 39. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, 1, p. 306, §481, ex. 717, cites the P. Anastasi III 7, 2-3 passage as an example of the perfective passive followed by a pronominal subject.

³³⁸ A probable example of a similar statement as a *sdm.tw=f* reduced from *sdm.n.tw=f* occurs in the speech of Seshat-Sefkhetabwy to Sethos I in a text from the great temple at Abydos (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions Vol. 1*, p. 186, l. 13):

ms.tw n=k R^c m hprw.w=f r h^c.t m-hnw=s

In order to appear in glory within it (the temple of Sety I at Abydos) has Re been born for you in his manifestations.

³³⁹ See Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System*, pp. 85-88.

³⁴⁰ Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 25, no. 77.0256; vol. 3, p. 19, no. 79.0194.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.* vol. 1, p. 26, no. 77.0270; see also Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 406, no. 78.4494 for *ntr.w nb.w p.t t3*. On *t3* as a designation of the Netherworld, see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 120, n. 192. See also the comments of J. G. Griffiths, review of Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits* vol. 2, in *JEA* 74 (1988): 277-8. In line 223 of the Metternich Stele, one finds *phr t3.wy*, “going around the earth” (the dual as a writing of the singular, unless the term is used as a netherworldly variant for *p.ty*, the two heavens); in a variant of this passage (A. Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Behague) in the Museum of the Antiquities at Leiden* [Leiden, 1952], p. 29 [M 223 = f 9]), one finds *phr d3.t*, “going around the Netherworld.” There was also a phonetic similarity between *t3* and *d3.t* (compare the hieroglyphic *t3 dsr.t*, “holy land,” corresponding to demotic *dw3.t dsr.t*, “holy Netherworld,” in G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg* [Leipzig, 1913], pp. 42-3; p. 90, no. 154; p. 63*; in P. Magical XVII, 20, there is a pun on *ty.t*, “underworld,” and *ty*, “here” [see also above, Second Shrine of Tutankhamun]). For *t3*, “earth,” as a designation of the tomb itself, see L. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (Chicago, 1968), p. 111.

³⁴² On Osiris as the sun of the under heaven, see Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, pp. 35-7. Derchain cites the opening of the Hawara stele published by Daressy, “Une stèle de Hawara,” *RdT* 36 (1914): 73-82, opening a copy of the Book of Traveling through Eternity, in which Osiris is referred to as *itn n d3.tyw*, the “sun disk of the inhabitants of the Netherworld.”

³⁴³ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 50; vol. 2, p. 112, n. 118.

³⁴⁴ See entity no. 607 in the lower register of the Eighth Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 149 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 632]; vol. 2, p. 150); the middle register of the Third Division of the Book of Gates (scene 11; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 68; vol. 2, pp. 86 and 87 n. 11; however, Hornung interprets *t3y* as a personification of the earth as the Underworld and not a chthonic form

a similar context in the tomb of Prince Amunherkhopeshef. There, the god Qebhsenewef leads Ramesses III by the hand; a vertical column of text between the two figures, spoken by Qebhsenewef, states:

in.n(=i) n=k imy.w-p.t in.n(=i) n=k imy.w-t3

As I bring to you those in heaven, so I bring to you those in the earth.³⁴⁵

The mention of those in heaven and those in the earth also relates the king as Shu to the two major components of the world (*p.t* and *t3*), his purpose being to separate the two elements and complete the cosmos—heaven and earth belong “zur oberen und unteren Begrenzung des Weltgebäudes, in dessen Mittelpunkt sich der Pharao befindet.”³⁴⁶ The pose of the image of the Osiride king, feet in the place of destruction, one arm raised to the heavens, is consistent with an interpretation the king as Shu, separating the elements of the cosmos. Both the *imy.w-p.t* and the *imy.w-t3* could be the dead in their celestial and chthonic destinies.³⁴⁷ For the living king as having authority in the Netherworld and in heaven, compare the address of the vizier Khaemtore (usurped by Pareemhab) to the living ruler Amenmesse (usurped by Sety II) on a block in the Oriental Institute Museum:³⁴⁸

tw.k ml R^c

dī=f sw m d3.t

mḥ.n=f t3.wy m stwt=f

nsw.t-bity Wsr-ḥpr.w-R^c [...]

You are like Re,

when he sets in the netherworld,

having filled the Two Lands with his rays,

(oh) king of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkheperure [...]

of the sun); Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, text 14, p. 51; pl. 30, l. 7. *T3.y*, written as though a dual, is the reading of the divine name in F. Abitz, *Statuetten in Schreinen als Grabbeigaben in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. und 19. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1979), p. 30 (303 A) = Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, p. 319, no. 79.3344 (*T3-T3*).

³⁴⁵ Hassanein and Nelson, *La tombe du Prince Amon-(Her)-Khepchef*, p. 102 (text C 11). For the *Wechselsatz* composed of two *sḏm.n=f* forms, compare the examples in Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, pp. 275-276 (§409).

³⁴⁶ W. Westendorf, “Der Eine im Himmel, der Andere in der Erde,” in *Mélanges Adolphe Guibub* (Montpellier, 1984), pp. 239-44 (quotation from p. 242).

³⁴⁷ Compare a section of the Book of Traveling Eternity (F.R. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité* [Leuven, 1994], p. 397), where it is wished for the blessed dead that he ascend (*ḥy*) to heaven unhindered, and that he descend (*shd*) to the Dat unhindered. For more on this passage, see Chapter 7, pp. 426ff.

³⁴⁸ The block is Oriental Institute Museum inventory number 10816—see Habachi, “King Amenmesse and Viziers Amenmose and Khaemtore: Their Monuments and Place in History,” *MDAIK* 34 (1978): pl. 11a.

For the combination of the concepts expressed by lines 3-4: *ntf mw n ḥᶜ.wt=k b3=k špsy msy=f n imy.w-p.t n imy.w-t3*, a portion of the bandeau text over the processional scene on the southern portion of the front interior wall in the court of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos provides a parallel:³⁴⁹

*mk pw ir nswt mw pw ntr(y)
 ti sw m imy-ḥr.t mī-wn=f tp t3
 ir=f ḥprw mr=f mitt iᶜh.t*

Now as for a king—he is divine seed;
 for he is one in the necropolis as he was upon the earth,
 manifesting himself as he wills, like the moon goddess.

This Abydene text refers to the continuing rebirth of the king, as he becomes part of the eternal Re-Osiris cycle.³⁵⁰

f The conclusion of the graffito is a paraphrase of a portion of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead.³⁵¹ According to Derchain: “Il semble du reste que l’association d’Osiris et de Râ soit ailleurs encore le symbole du moment de la résurrection.”³⁵²

³⁴⁹ W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1935), pl. 185; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. 2*, p. 532, ll. 7-8. This concept also finds expression in the phrase “König im Lichtland (wie) in der Unterwelt” (cited by Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 81 A. 4, discussing a similar passage in chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead).

³⁵⁰ For Osiris as the moon, see J.G. Griffiths, “Osiris and the Moon in Iconography,” *JEA* 62 (1976): 153-9; *idem*, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), pp. 239-40; E. Graefe, “Noch einmal Osiris-Lunus,” *JEA* 65 (1979): 171-3; for the king and the moon, see Drioton, *Egyptian Religion* 1 (1933): 44-5, and see above, chapter on Ramesses VI. Compare also the statement of awed foreigners concerning Egypt and Ramesses III (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 2: *Later Historical Records of Ramses III* [Chicago, 1932], pls. 81-82, l. 39): *nb-s p3 nty m ḥr.t qī=f mī qd=f*, “her (Egypt’s) lord is the one who is in heaven, his nature like his nature ...,” indicating their belief that (as W.F. Edgerton and J.A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III, the Texts in Medinet Habu*, volumes I and II [Chicago, 1936], p. 83, n. 39c observed), “Ramses’ nature is like that of Re” (*qī=f mī qd=f* may also mean “he is as he is,” an expression of divinity similar to the phrase *īw=i im=i*, “I am as I am,” occurring in the Book of the Heavenly Cow – Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, §184; p. 63, n. 121; and G. Fecht, in *ibid.*, p. 125, n. aa).

³⁵¹ See U. Rössler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuches* (Wiesbaden, 1979), p. 240; M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, *De Oudste Versie van Dodenboek 17a, Coffin Texts Spruch 335a* (Leiden, 1963), pp. 16, 53-5; J. G. Griffiths, “Some Egyptian Conceptual Triads,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (Budapest, 1992), pp. 227-8.

³⁵² Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, pp. 35-7, specifically p. 36; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 101-5 A. 18, pp. 109-11 (according to Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 111, Re and Osiris together is a symbol for “Zeitlosigkeit”); J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, p. 33; see also G. Englund, “Gods as a Frame of Reference. On Thinking and Concepts of Thought in Ancient Egypt,” in G. Englund, ed., *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, Cognitive*

This is appropriate for the dead king at the base of the horizon, on the edge of this world and the next. For the independent pronoun paralleling *iw* + pronoun *rh*, see Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System*, pp. 102-103.

The graffito attached to the penultimate scene of the Enigmatic Wall supports the iconographic conclusions proposed in the present study, and compliments the enigmatic annotation. The reference in the graffito to the sickle-wielding *h3b.w* of Babai elaborates upon the prayer in the vertical band of text (pl. 36) to the left of the ithyphallic figure that the king be preserved from the messengers of Babai, thereby attaching the scene of the ithyphallic Osiris even more closely to the left-hand registers of the Enigmatic Wall.

Structures and Popular Expressions (Stockholm, 1989), pp. 17-8; Van Dijk, *JEOL* 26 (1979-80): 19-21; J. Zandee, "Ein doppelt überlieferter Text eines Hymnus an die Nachtsonne aus dem Neuen Reich," *JEOL* 27 (1981-2): 8-9. Compare Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. 1*, p. 191, ll. 6-7:

ir=k nḏty ḥr Wnn-nfr

i'i=k iw.tyw=f n sf

di=k ḥpr=f dw3w sp-sn m R' r-gs ntr nb

You shall be a protector for Onnophris,
washing away his putrefaction of yesterday,
causing him to become manifest every morning as Re
in the presence of every god.

THE KING OFFERS MAAT TO MAAT AND PTAH (PL. 39):


The two brief texts accompanying the concluding scene of the Enigmatic Wall are written in *Normalschrift*, and serve to identify the figures of the king and the god Ptah. Ptah's epithets do not appear to relate specifically to the Enigmatic Wall treatise, although his epithet "creator of crafts" (*msw ḥmw.wt*) would have held a special significance for the artisans who decorated the tomb.

Text before the king:

nb-t3.wy Nfr-k3-R^c stp.n R^c
nb-ḥ^c.w R^c-ms-sw mrr-lmn Ḥ^c(-m)-W3s.t
 The lord of the Two Lands, Neferkare-Setepenre;
 the lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Mereramun Khaemwaset

Text before Ptah:

ḏ(d)-mdw (i)n Pth nb m3^c.t nsw.t-t3.wy
Nfr-ḥr msw ḥmww.t^a
ḥr(y) s.t-wr.t m ḥtp
 Words spoken by Ptah, lord of right order, king of the Two Lands,
 Perfect of face, Who created crafts,
 One presiding over the great place at rest.

^a The first two lines of the text in front of Ptah are paralleled by the name and epithets of Ptah in the temple of Seti I at Gurna; Osing reads  *ḥmww.t* in the Gurna Temple example as "Werkstätten."³⁵³ The epithet *ms(w) ḥmww.t* occurs again in epithets of Ptah at the Ramesseum, where *ḥmw.wt* is indeed determined by the *pr*-sign.³⁵⁴ Meeks lists the Gurna Temple example under *ḥmw.w*, "les arts;"³⁵⁵ a reading "arts, crafts" better suits the orthography of the epithet in the Gurna Temple, and such a reading is also appropriate for the epithet as it appears in the tomb of Ramesses IX. On the ostracon Berlin 15345 Vs., Ptah is called [*Pth n t*]3 *s.t-nfr.w qm3 ḥmw.w*, "[Ptah of t]he Valley of the Queens, who created crafts,"³⁵⁶ suggesting

³⁵³ J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna, die Reliefs und Inschriften* vol. 1 (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), p. 21 and n. 56.

³⁵⁴ J.-C. Goyon and H. El-Achirie, *Le Ramesseum VI, la salle des litanies* (Cairo, 1974), p. 28 (§R.9, second horizontal division of epitheta from the top, seventh column from the left).

³⁵⁵ Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 245, no. 77.2696.

³⁵⁶ E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der Deutschen Museen und Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden, 1956), pp. 25-26, pl. 7 (no. 10).

that the Ptah who created crafts is perhaps Ptah as the god of the workers in the royal necropoleis of Thebes.

The scene of Ramesses IX offering Maat to Ptah, before whom stands a small figure of Maat, concludes this treatise and complements the penultimate scene of the ithyphallic Osiris. Maat stands before Ptah, a parallel to other descriptions of Maat before a deity, an image of the triumph of light and order over darkness and chaos.³⁵⁷

Ptah in this final scene of the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall is the image of the solar deity,³⁵⁸ specifically Ptah represents the cult image of Re.³⁵⁹ Re appears as the disk entering the hand of the reclining Osiris, his *sh̄m*-cult image, fashioned by Ptah, and thus Re is himself called Ptah.³⁶⁰ The solar hymn in Theban Tomb 23 describes three manifestations of the solar deity:³⁶¹

p.t hr b3=k hr stz sh.w=k
d3.t hr h3.t=k hr sh3p d.t=k
t3 pn hr hn.ty=k

Heaven bears your *ba* while raising up your glow;
 the Netherworld bears your corpse while concealing your *d.t*-body;
 and this land bears your image.

The *ba* is in heaven, the corpse and *d.t* body are in the Netherworld, and the image is on earth. These manifestations of the solar deity help explain the two concluding scenes on the Enigmatic Wall. The scarab and sun disk above the reclining, ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene are the *ba* and glow of the deity in heaven; the ithyphallic Osiris is the corpse of the deity, and the Nehep snake behind the deity may allude to the *d.t*-body of the god. Ptah in the final scene receives an offering from Ramesses IX appearing in the guise of earthly ruler—Ptah is the image of the solar deity on earth.

³⁵⁷ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 177-9: "Das Erscheinen der Wahrheit vor dem Sonnengott und ihre Vereinigung mit ihm ist gleichbedeutend mit dem Sieg des Lichts." (quotation from p. 179). See also J. Assmann, *Ma'at, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1990), pp. 174-95. For Ptah and Maat, see H.D. Schneider, "Ptah in Wings," J. van Dijk, ed., *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman Te Velde*, (Groningen, 1997), pp. 296-7.

³⁵⁸ Idem, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 124, n. d. For the theology of Ptah in the Coffin Texts, see Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, pp. 137-145.

³⁵⁹ Idem, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 173; R. Anthes, "'...in seinem Namen und im Sonnenlicht...'," *ZÄS* 90 (1963): 1-10.

³⁶⁰ J. Assmann, "Zwei Sonnenhymnen der späten XVIII. Dynastie in thebanischen Gräbern der Saitenzeit," *MDAIK* 27 (1971): 16 and n. 37, pp. 25-7 (according to P. Boulaq 17, I, 7, the sun disk is the *sh̄m nfr ir.n Pth*, "perfect image which Ptah has made; idem, *Das Grab des Basa*, p. 80. For Ptah as "icon," see J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, p. 94, note to Text 16, §A, l. 5.

³⁶¹ Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 18, text no. 17, ll. 8-9; idem, *Re und Amun*, pp. 243-6.

Ptah as the image of Re is appropriate as a counterpart to the giant solar-Osiris. As that deity may be said to have his feet in the chthonic realm and his head and hands in the heavens, so may Ptah as Re take on the aspects of the giant deity. According to a hymn to Ptah in P. Berlin 3048, col. 5, l. 4:³⁶²

rd.wy=ky h.r t3 tp=k [m] t3 hr.t
m hprw=k m imy-d3.t

Your two feet are upon earth, and your head [in] the heaven,
 in your realization as the-one-who-is-in-the-Netherworld.

In the concluding scene to the treatise on the Enigmatic Wall Ptah is the counterpart to the ithyphallic Re-Osiris in the penultimate scene. The name of Ptah appears twice in the version of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead in the lower register of the left portion of the Enigmatic Wall (pl. 34, ll. 31 and 36), and the epithet of Ptah as *Pd-ḥ* occurs in the horizontal line of text above the lower register (pl. 35). In the horizontal text, *Pd-ḥ* is related to Atum the creator. As well as being the representation of the cult-image of Re, Ptah also appears as the manifestation of the creative force of the solar deity; according to the hymn of the sculptors Suti and Hor:³⁶³

Pth(.wy) tw nwb=k ḥ.w=k
 (How) Ptah-like are you,³⁶⁴ molding your limbs.

The ithyphallic Osiris is the Solar-Osirian deity at the time of the mystic union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon, the place of the regeneration of the day. Ptah, a representative of the creative aspect of the solar deity, is appropriate to the final scene of the Enigmatic Wall, a suitable counterpart to the creative solar-Osiris.

In the concluding scene the king offers Maat to Ptah, a symbol of "Gemeinschaft mit dem Sonnengott," ensuring the rising of the sun.³⁶⁵ Maat is already with Ptah, and the king presents Maat to Ptah. The god and the king may exchange Maat, as an expression of "reciprocal creation."³⁶⁶ Ptah and Maat are the guarantors of the proper provisioning of the blessed dead,³⁶⁷ ensuring that the inverted stars will be

³⁶² A. Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* vol. 1 *Rituale für den Kultus des Amon und für den Kultus der Mut* (Leipzig, 1901), pl. 39.

³⁶³ *Urk.* IV, p. 1944, l. 1.

³⁶⁴ For this statement, see Assmann, *MDAIK* 27 (1971): 16.

³⁶⁵ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 162-3, n. 13; *idem*, *Ma'at, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*, pp. 174-95. The hymn to the setting sun in the tomb of Kheruef refers to the deceased bearing Maat to the sun god, and this act is depicted accompanying the parallel text in TT 102 (see The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, p. 31, n. h to pl. 7, l. 7).

³⁶⁶ See P.J. Frandsen, "Trade and Cult," in G. Englund, ed., *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions* (Stockholm, 1989), pp. 95-108.

³⁶⁷ B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh* (Cairo, 1930), p. 192.

righted. The king holding Maat, with Maat as a representation of the semen of the god, parallels the sexual imagery of the ithyphallic Osiris.³⁶⁸ Maat is a symbol of passage through a liminal phase,³⁶⁹ here corresponding to the union of Re and Osiris, and the sun's passage from the Netherworld into the upper sky. The image of the king offering Maat to Ptah in the company of Maat is then a scene of the deceased ruler's unity with the victorious sun parallel to that of the image of the reclining, ithyphallic Osiris. In one scene, unity is achieved through the offering of Maat, in the other, unity is expressed through the mystic union of Re and Osiris.³⁷⁰

The scene of the king offering to Ptah stands back-to-back with the scene of the ithyphallic Osiride king. The figure of Ptah stands with his back to the back of the reclining, ithyphallic Osiris. Like Osiris, Ptah can represent the Netherworld;³⁷¹ Ptah is also the image of Re.³⁷² Like the Osiride king with his raised arm, Ptah can himself be seen as supporting the heavens.³⁷³ As with the Osiride king (see below,

³⁶⁸ On Maat and *mtw.t*, see N. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne, de la XIX^e Dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre* (Paris, 1986) p. 95, n. 227; D. Kurth, "'Same des Stieres' und 'Same', Zwei Bezeichnungen der Maat," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 1: *Sprache* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 273-81.

³⁶⁹ Assmann, *Ma'at, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*, p. 174; see also the identity of Maat and Tefnut (who travels to liminal areas)—Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, pp. 168-176.

³⁷⁰ This scene of the king offering Maat to Ptah accompanies a treatise, one of the major themes of which is the victory of the sun over Apep. For the association of references to the offering of Maat in association with spells for Re as he battles Apep in the Book of the Two Ways, see *ibid.*

³⁷¹ In the second eight-pillared hall in the Ramesseum, the king offers to Re, representative of the celestial gods of day, on the south wall, and to Ptah, representative of the chthonic deities of night and the underworld, on the north wall. West can correspond to North, and East can correspond to South, so Ptah here represents the deities of the Netherworld, see R. Stadelmann, "Ramesseum," *LdÄ*, vol. 5, col. 94; Goyon and El-Achirie, *Le Ramesseum VI, la salle des litanies*, pp. 2, 22-24, and 27-29; pls. 3, 8, 13-16. For the pairs of the directions, see C. Loeben, "Bemerkungen zum Horustempel des Neuen Reiches in Edfu," *BSEG* 14 (1990): 57-68.

³⁷² For example, on the head of Ramesses-Mainakht in the Roemer-Peizaeus Museum in Hildesheim (L. Habachi, "Three Objects of Unusual Form," *Studia aegyptiaca* 1 [1974]: 139-42), Ptah is *sh̄m n R̄*, "image of Re."

³⁷³ For Ptah having the epithet *hy-p.t*, "raiser of heaven," see A-P. Zivie, *La tombe de Pached à Deir El-Médineh* [N^o 3] (Cairo, 1979), p. 43 (cited Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, p. 54, no. 79.0539); Y.J.-L. Gourlay, "Trois stèles memphites au musée de Grenoble," *BIFAO* 79 (1979) 96, n. b; H. Wall-Gordon, "A New Kingdom Libation Basin Dedicated to Ptah, Second Part, The Inscriptions," *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 170 and 171, n. 2, and p. 175. Ptah as a raiser up of heaven is a counterpart to the Osiride king as Shu; for the similarity between the roles of Ptah and Shu, see J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, pp. 38-42. According to Allen (p. 42): "Shu is a physical principle, the first material 'development' of the creator. Ptah is an intellectual principle, the first instance of the creator's mind and will at work." For Ptah as the demiurge, see J. Yoyotte, "la

Chapter 6, pp. 382-383, 395-6, 405-6, and 413), this heaven-supporting Ptah has female characteristics. In a scene in the temple of Hibis, a squatting, androgynous Ptah supports the sky in the presence of his children Shu and Tefnut, manifest as birds with human heads.³⁷⁴ Though the pendulous breasts of the solar mother are not in evidence on the figure of the androgynous Ptah, the belly is the swollen womb of the creator-mother.³⁷⁵ This figure in the temple of Hibis is the pregnant Ptah, who has just given birth to the pair of Shu and Tefnut.³⁷⁶ Together, the figures

naissance du monde selon l'Égypte ancienne," in *La naissance du monde* (Paris, 1959), pp. 62-7.

³⁷⁴ Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration*, pl. 5, south reveal, register V; on the scene and the triad see L. Kákosy, "A Memphite Triad," *JEA* 66 (1980): 48-53.

³⁷⁵ See the depiction of the pregnant mother of the sun, pendulous of breasts, the solar child visible within her, in the Book of the Day (Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 149 and 187; Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, Abb. 90, p. 130; A. Piankoff, "La vierge 'znamenie' et la déesse Nout," *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 16 [1961-1962] 261-69); this example contradicts Baines' generalization (J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures, Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* [Warminster, 1985], p. 94): "Pregnant women do not have pendulous breasts". Note the erroneous identification of this scene with the creation of the sun on the potter's wheel (P.F. Dorman, "Creation on the Potter's Wheel at the Eastern Horizon of Heaven," in E. Teeter and J.A. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise, Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* [Chicago, 1999], pp. 83-99), and the proper dismissal of them by W. Waitkus, "Die Geburt des Harsomtut aus der Blüte. Zur Bedeutung und Funktion einiger Kultgegenstände des Tempels von Dendera," *SAK* 30 (2002): 382. On the motherly characteristics of Ptah, see W. Barta, "Der Epilog der Götterlehre von Memphis," *MDAIK* 28 (1972): 79-82. For androgynous (and pregnant) creator deities, see O.E. Kaper, "The Astronomical Ceiling of Deir el-Haggar," *JEA* 81 (1995): 180.

³⁷⁶ For references to "the two bird children of Re," see E. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1: *Translations, Commentary, Discussions and Sign List* (San Antonio, 1988), p. 42. Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 41, describes this as Ptah "in female or androgynous form (?)." That the Ptah figure there is indeed pregnant, or has just given birth, is supported by a cryptogram at Medinet Habu which parallels the Hibis scene. Above the doorway on the north side of the west wall in room R of the small temple at Medinet Habu is a cryptographic graffito of the epitheta of the primeval god of Djeme (W. F. Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti Facsimiles* [Chicago, 1937], pl. 6). Within this text is the group in our plate 38, figure B, which Drioton read as *nṯr ʿ3 sty m kkw*, "Grand dieu, brillant dans les ténèbres" (É. Drioton, "La cryptographie égyptienne," *CdE* 9, no. 18 [1934]: 197). The birthing goddess is not likely to represent *m* from *ms*. Drioton read the two birds and loaf *ts* which the lady holds aloft as *s3.ty*, a reasonable reading. Rather than reinterpreting the *s3.ty* as *sty*, but reading the lady as *ms*, and the *s3.ty* as the object of this birthing, the group is *nṯr ʿ3 ms s3.ty m kkw*, "the great god, who bore the twin siblings in the darkness," the god of Djeme as Atum. This bearing of the *s3.ty*, Shu and Tefnut, is the result of the masturbation by the primeval deity. So Pyramid Text Utterance 527, describing the creative masturbation of Atum, says (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, § 1248d):

ms s3.ty snn.t

Šw (pw) ḥnʿ Tfnw.t

of Osiris and Ptah in the concluding scenes of the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise are Osiris-Ptah, lord of life.³⁷⁷

The piece Louvre E 25420, wherein Ptah faces an Ibis, with an adoring baboon on either side, facing in to the middle of the group, helps explain the final scene of the Ramesses IX treatise.³⁷⁸ The facing figures of Ptah and the Ibis in the Louvre group suggest that the Ibis is a representation of the god Thoth bringing Maat to Ptah,³⁷⁹ the *shw*-image of the sun, and the baboons adoring the solar rising which the act ensures. The figure of the king in the final scene of the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall may also be a representation of the king as Thoth.³⁸⁰ The horizontal text above the Enigmatic Wall treatise (pl. 40, see below) describes the deceased Ramesses IX as having a four-fold nature, the third element of which is the god Thoth. As Thoth, the king symbolizes the union of Re and Osiris, depicted in the scene of the ithyphallic Osiris, for—according to Chapter 182 of the Book of the

and so were born the twins,

Shu and Tefenet

(translation of R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, p. 198). This statement is paralleled in the cryptic text in room R at Medinet Habu. For the *sz.ty* see also Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 104, n. 92; J. Osing, "Etymologische Notizen," in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* (Cologne, 1991), p. 248 and n. 21 (the term is a *dualis a potiori* based on the feminine *sz.t*). For the cryptogram showing the two children lifted up by the arms of the birthing figure, compare Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 20 (section A, third register, first scene): *ntr pn m shr pn wts=f msw.ty*, "this god is in this fashion, lifting up the two offspring." The figure lifting the children also recalls the image of the king as Onuris in the form of a *hh*-deity, kneeling, holding a *rnp.t*-sign in each hand, symbolizing the raising up of the sky at creation (H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende* [Vienna, 1917], pp. 4-5). On the *hh*-figure, see also E. Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Vienna, 1968), pp. 91-93.

³⁷⁷ On whom see B.J. Peterson, "Der Gott Osiris-Ptah, der Herr des Lebens," *ZÄS* 95 (1969): 135-8.

³⁷⁸ C. Desroches-Noblecourt, "Un petit 'Monument' de Théologie memphite," *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 83-5, pls. 7-10.

³⁷⁹ An interpretation supported by the existence of groups showing an ibis facing two baboons, with Maat between them (on these groups, and the doubling of Thoth, see L. Fóti, "Hermes Trismégiste et la mythologie Égyptienne," *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 [1989]: 24-5). For Thoth and Maat see C.J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth, Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 121-3; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, p. 71, n. h; E. Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat. Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1997), pp. 20-21; Assmann, *Ma'at, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*, p. 186; B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 236-7.

³⁸⁰ For the king both likened to Thoth, and assimilated to that deity, see the references in Grimal, *Les termes de propagande royale égyptienne*, pp. 430-32 (and n. 384, p. 135, Taharqa called a "second Thoth").

Dead—Thoth can actually bring Re and Osiris together.³⁸¹ Thoth, as judge and granter of *mꜣꜥ-hrw*-vindication,³⁸² is appropriate to a scene of the triumph of the sun at the eastern end of the Netherworld. The king himself, in his cultic function as solar priest, through the chanting of magically efficacious hymns to the sun, ensures the safe passage of the solar bark over Apep and his sand bank.³⁸³ Thoth can also be seen as the chief of stars,³⁸⁴ appropriate to his presence in the concluding scene of a composition showing the ultimate peril of the sun and the stellar lords of the Netherworld (pl. 32). As Thoth, the deceased king also ensures the return of the Inundation.³⁸⁵ As a representation of the Inundation waters, the king as Thoth balances the figure of the ithyphallic Re-Osiris, whose hand represents the waters of Nun through which the newborn sun must pass (see Chapter 6, pp. 391-5).

³⁸¹ The passage Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, p. 182, l. 6 quotes from the Great Litany (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 178). On Thoth and Re see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, pp. 119-21; on Thoth and the moon related to the union of Re and Osiris, see also Fóti, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 (1989): 18-9.

³⁸² See B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, p. 235.

³⁸³ See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 211-13.

³⁸⁴ Ph. Derchain, "A propos de Claudien, Eloge de Stilichon, II, 424-436," *ZÄS* 81 (1956): 4-6; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 94 and n. 7.

³⁸⁵ É. Drioton, "Le roi défunt, Thot et la crue du Nil," *Egyptian Religion* 1 (1933): 39-51. On the king and the Nile, see also Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel* vol. 1, pp. 219-20 (n. 483).

HORIZONTAL TEXT ABOVE THE TREATISE (PL. 40):

This text, in partial cryptography, records names and epitheta of Ramesses IX, and refers to the deceased ruler as having a four-fold nature:

ḥnḥ nṯr nfr bik nṯry Ḥṣ (m) W3s(.t) s3 Wsir ir ḥ.w n nb.w T3-ḏsr
snhs d3.tyw m šhr.w=f
wṣ pn ḥnṣ Ḥk3 ḥsf=f ḏw-qd m 3ḥ.w=f
Dḥwty ḥrw r-mḥ 3
Ḥpri dmd 4
Wsir nb-T3.wy Nfr-k3.w-Rṣ Stp-n-Rṣ s3-Rṣ Rṣ-ms-sw
Ḥṣ-m-W3s.t Mrr-ḥmn pw m3ṣ-ḥrw mry Pth-Skr ḥnty d3.t ṣ3

Live the good god, the divine falcon, arisen in Thebes, the son of Osiris, who performs benefactions^a for the lords of the necropolis, who awakens the Datians with his governance,

this singular one,^b together with Heka who defeats the
evil-of-character with his 3ḥ-spells,^c

Thoth—the third face^d—
and Khepri, totaling 4;

the Osiris, lord of the Two Lands, Ramesses IX, justified, beloved
of Ptah-Sokar, foremost of the Netherworld, the great.^e

^a A horizontal band of text on the opposite wall of the tomb³⁸⁶ refers to the king as one who is 3ḥ n 3ḥ n=f, “beneficial for the one who is beneficial for him.” Rather than simple “benefices,” however, the 3ḥ.w performed for the “lords of the necropolis” may be incantations,³⁸⁷ for which spells one may compare the bandeau text at the bottom of the west wall in room 18 in the Re Chapel in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. There, in a horizontal band containing the names and titles of Ramesses III, accompanying solar scenes and texts depicting the triumph of the sun over Apep and his gang, Ramesses III is one who šhr ḥft(y) m 3ḥ.w tp(y) r3=f, “who fells the enemy by means of the 3ḥ-spells at the tip of his tongue.”³⁸⁸

As the deities of the middle register in the left portion of the Ramesses IX composition send out flaming arrows against the serpents of chaos, the Osiride Ramesses IX pronounces 3ḥ.wt-incantations in defense of the solar bark. Speaking

³⁸⁶ Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 65.

³⁸⁷ On 3ḥ.w, “spells,” see Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 30-5.

³⁸⁸ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6, pl. 422 A, l. 1. For the importance of the power of the word in slaying Apep, compare Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 10: rn=k wšḥ (written 3ḥ).n=f ts pw, “Your name has cut asunder that vertebra.”

and fire are found in association: of the sun god it is said *md.wt=f m hdy.t*, “his speech is light.”³⁸⁹ Sadness in the cosmos is a result of the threatened return to chaos which Apep induces when the bark of the sun threatens to run aground on the beast.³⁹⁰ The association of deities sending out fire and flaming arrows with another being calling out *ꜥh.wt*-incantations could be a description of an occurrence such as that detailed in P. Bremner-Rhind 30, 17:

sbh=sn r=k m sdt

They cry out against you³⁹¹ with fire³⁹²

Uraei not infrequently have a glowing breath,³⁹³ certain entities have voices of fire,³⁹⁴ and the messengers of Sakhmet may cast their fiery arrows from their mouths.³⁹⁵ The gods rage against Apep elsewhere in P. Bremner-Rhind (in 25, 7 the eye rages; in 26, 10 the uraei rage; in 32, 1 the ennead rages and Amun curses).

³⁸⁹ Tomb of Ramesses VII—see A. Piankoff, “Vallée des rois à Thèbes-Ouest, la tombe N° 1 (Ramsès VII),” *ASAE* 55 (1958): 153. Note also the text accompanying the third scene in the second register of the third division of the Book of Caverns which says *iw Rꜥ mdw=f n=sn m mꜣ.wt=f*, “Re speaks to them through his light” (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 31, l. 5). For the linking of breath and light, see Ph. Derchain, “L’adoration du Soleil levant dans le temple de Psammétique I^{er} à El Kab,” *CdE* 37, no. 74 (1962): 261. In P. Harris Magical VIII, 4 a baboon has fiery lips and flaming words (C. Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom* [London, 1999], p. 44 and pl. 19; J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* [Leiden, 1978], p. 89, no. 132; Te Velde, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 131). One may also compare the statement from Hellenistic theurgic literature: “receive my words as shafts of fire ...” (G.R.S. Mead, *Thrice Greatest Hermes, Studies in Hellenistic Theosophy and Gnosis* [reprint Kila, Montana, 1994], p. 287).

³⁹⁰ For sadness at a possible return to chaos, see J. Zandee, “Sargtexte, Spruch 75, Schluss,” *ZÄS* 99 (1972): 52-53.

³⁹¹ The suffix pronoun *k* refers to Apep.

³⁹² According to Faulkner, “the meaning is that when the gods cry out against ‘Apep, fire leaps from their mouths.” W.R. Faulkner, “The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus IV,” *JEA* 24 (1938): 50.

³⁹³ For example, Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 27; on glowing breath in the Netherworld in general, see Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 137-8, and the references cited there.

³⁹⁴ So de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, p. 439a-c (spell 1110), cited by Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 140. Compare also line x+2 of stele fragment University Museum Pennsylvania, E16022A (a portion of the victory stele of Akhenaton from Buhen; see H.S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen, the Inscriptions* [London, 1976], pp. 124-9 [no. 1595], pl. 29 [bottom], 75.3):

hmhm=k mi hh nsr.t m-sꜣ hꜣs.t nb(.t)

Your war cry is like a blasting flame of fire,

(pursuing) after every foreign hill land.

³⁹⁵ P. Vernus, “Études de philologie et de linguistique (II)” *RdE* 34 (1982-3): 124 and n. 65, with references, discussing P. Leiden I 346, 1, 1-3:

The gods might well bewail the sun when it is stopped on the back of Apep,³⁹⁶ exhibiting the parallelism of screaming and sending out fire, although in that context the object of the wailing is not the recipient of the fiery blast.³⁹⁷ Screaming can

ḥꜣyt.yw tpy.w-ꜥ Šm.t pry.w m ir.t Rꜥ

wꜣ.wtyw m-ḥt-spꜣwt styw šsr.w-sn m rꜣ-sn

The slayers, the henchmen of Sekhmet, who have come forth from the eye of Re,
the messengers throughout the districts ... who shoot their arrows
with their mouth(s)/from their mouth(s)

In n. 66, Vernus notes that *šsr*, “arrow,” can be a way of referring to “parole,” for which he cites S. Sauneron, “Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoès,” *JNES* 19 (1960): 282, n. 82. Compare also R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Providence and London, 1979), p. 64 and pl. 25, l. 12, a cry of distress aimed at *bnnw*-targets. On messengers and their arrows, see also V. Rondot, “Le naos de Domitien, Toutou et les sept flèches,” *BIFAO* 90 (1990): 303-37, pls. 17-23. For lightening as fiery arrows, see A. Volten, “Das Harpunierergestirn,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 346-66, especially pp. 354-5. In Esna 400, 5, entities shoot light rays as arrows <*m*> *rꜣ-sn* (D. Kurth, in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, p. 141, n. 41). For the Greek concept of light as arrows, see J. Diggle, *Euripedes’ Phaethon* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 135-146.

³⁹⁶ Compare P. Cologne 9, II 2 (Kurth, in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri*, pl. 2, pp. 22 and 33-4) where, at the time of the sun running aground on the spine of Apep:

im i'nw m p.t rsy.t

nḥy i'nw m p.t mḥ.t

Heulen und Jammern gibt es im südlichen Himmel,
Klagen und Jammern im nördlichen Himmel.

The extreme nature of the screaming is pointed out by a text on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre, wherein a *ḥfty*-enemy rises up out of the water, grasps the left shoulder of the solar deity, and halts the bark; then (C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre* [Copenhagen, 1937], p. 31 [text V c, 56-8]): *nṯr.w ḥr rmy r ꜣ wr m qꜣ ḥrw-sn r qꜣ n p.t*, “the gods are weeping profusely with loud voices to the height of heaven” (note, in connection with Sander-Hansen’s rendering of the text, that the *ḥfty n qꜣḥ* may not be a miswriting of *ḥfty pn*, but may be a use of euphemistic *ḥfty* to avoid the *qꜣḥ* of the solar deity being the direct object of a verb of violence; for this use of *ḥfty*, see Posener, *ZÄS* 96 [1969]: 30-5; E. Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh, eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen*, p. 51, n. 4; J.F. Quack, “Sur l’emploi de *ḥft* ‘ennemi’ en démotique,” *RdE* 40 [1989]: 197-8). In K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, §1120a (Utt. 509—*mdw p.t sdꜣ tꜣ*, “heaven speaks, the earth shudders”), §1150a (Utt. 511—*nḥm n-f p.t sdꜣ in-f tꜣ*, “heaven cries out to him, the earth shudders for him”), and §1771b (Utt. 627—*p.t nḥm-s tꜣ nmnm=f*, “heaven cries out, the earth quakes”), the sky itself screams at the time of the divine epiphany. But compare the *ḥꜣ.wt hmḥmy ḥ.t Rꜥ*, “the corpses of the shouters behind Re,” of the third tableau of the second register of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 49).

³⁹⁷ Screaming could be a sign of the cosmic catastrophe, but it would not be a sign of its repair. Thus in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, p. 379b, the *bgꜣ*-cry of the Unwearying Stars (*iḥm.w-wrḏ*) is heard in heaven. J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 172, text n. 415, suggests that this may be a pun on *bgꜣ*, “to cry” and *bgꜣ*, “to become weary.” The crying would, like weariness, be an undesirable result

imply a lack of Maat,³⁹⁸ and would be in keeping with the image of universal chaos when the bark of Re grounds on the spine of Apep. Darkness is one of the dread results of the cosmic crisis, and in darkness the Netherworld beings make themselves known to the sun by screams and shouts.³⁹⁹ Speaking to the sun god can also be beneficial,⁴⁰⁰ and herald the rebirth of the god.⁴⁰¹ What the king Ramesses

of the cataclysm, a symptom of disorder, not a means of restoring order. Screaming mournfully is associated with fire in the lower register of the Fifth Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 452-455), but it is a fiery lake of mourning entities, whom Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 141, characterized as “punished sinners.” Here mourning and fire characterize the realm of the dead, not the potential vengeance of the righteously indignant blessed dead. Mourning for the sun could also herald the coming vengeance against Apep—cf. the remarks on Hebrew *hōy* “in the Mourning-Vengeance Pattern” in W. Janzen, *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle* (Berlin, 1972), pp. 27-34.

³⁹⁸ J. Assmann, “State and Religion in the New Kingdom,” *YES* 3 (New Haven, 1989), p. 72 and n. 66; P.J. Frandsen, “On the avoidance of certain forms of loud voices and access to the sacred,” in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years (Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur)* (Leuven, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 975-1000; but note that the mournful *hwt* (see W. Ward, “The Semitic Root *hwy* in Ugaritic and Derived Stems in Egyptian,” *JNES* 28 [1969]: 265-7), a shout of lament, follows the sun after he has performed *wd-mdw* for the Datians, surely an establishment of order (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 25, ll. 6-7 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 183-184]; compare also *ibid.*, p. 26, ll. 6-7 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 187]). Similarly ambivalent, the thunder of storm signals the revivification of the sun in the chamber of Sokar in the Fifth Hour of the Amduat, and netherworldly powers which take control of the wayward Pistis Sophia in I ch. 42, 17 (C. Schmidt and V. Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia* [Leiden, 1978], p. 69) surround her *εγογυ νεε νογμοογ*, “roaring like water.” The negative aspects of noise must also be understood in conjunction with the numerous positive effects of noise—see Chapter 4, pp. 183-5.

³⁹⁹ Second Hour of Amduat—Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 25, ll. 5-7 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 183-184]:

in hrw=sn sšm sw r=sn

in hwt=sn sbb sw

m-ht wd=f n=sn mdw.w

It is their voice which leads him (*ntr pn ʿ3*) to them,

it is their scream which accompanies him,

after he gives orders to them.

According to Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 45: “In der Finsternis kann der Sonnengott die Wesen zunächst nicht sehen und muss sich daher von ihren Stimmen zu ihnen leiten lassen.” In the Nut Book, the human-headed birds in the complete darkness call out in crying voices (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 50, sect. Ee).

⁴⁰⁰ For helpful speaking to the solar deity, see Chapter 4, pp. 183-5. There, in the high portion, l. 31 of section 2 of the upper register:

mdw=sn n irw R^c pr hrw=f

When they speak to the forms of Re, his realizations come forth.

IX cries out are *ꜥḥ.w*-spells (pl. 40),⁴⁰² both the sound of the scream and what one screams could combine to aid the solar cycle. Screaming for the sun may also foreshadow the coming glory of the triumphant sun, the *mysterium tremendum* of the unified Re-Osiris.⁴⁰³

The deities upon their slaughtering places of sand send out flaming arrows (pl. 31 [depictions of the flaming arrows], and pl. 33), and leap up towards the solar deity (pl. 33), while the Osiride king Ramesses IX calls out *ꜥḥ.w*-spells (pl. 40). In chapter 80 of the Book of the Dead, the concepts of grieving and rising up for the sun are combined.⁴⁰⁴

ḥꜥ n=i ikby.wt=sn

Their mourners rise for me

^b This *wꜥ* is the creator Re-Atum, the *deus unus*.⁴⁰⁵

^c One may address the sun as “great of magic,” a name which “caractérise parfois la puissance du dieu solaire.”⁴⁰⁶ In the demotic papyrus Louvre E 3229 col. 6, l. 23, Re-Shu is termed *kꜣ ḥꜣkꜥ*, “bull (lord) of magic.”⁴⁰⁷ In the Litany of Re, the solar deity separates heaven and earth by means of his *ꜥḥ*-spells.⁴⁰⁸ Heka could be both the *ba* and *ka* of Re.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰¹ Grimal, *Les termes de propagande royale égyptienne*, p. 95, §II 5:1 (citing Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* Vol. 2, p. 354, l. 5: *nb.wy nhm m p.t hrw n ms.t=f*, “the Two Lords shout in heaven on the day of his birth”).

⁴⁰² See also the possible *shn.w*-incantations in the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* in Corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI (see Chapter 4, pp. 253-5).

⁴⁰³ For screaming as an indication of the *mysterium tremendum* and *fascinans* of the deity, see Zandee, *ZÄS* 99 (1972): 55. For beneficial screaming for the Osirian part of the unified Re-Osiris, see C.J. Bleeker, “Isis And Nephthys as Wailing Women,” *Numen* 5 (1958): 1-17.

⁴⁰⁴ Naville, *Das aegyptische Totenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 176.


⁴⁰⁵ See Iversen, *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine*, p. 48.

⁴⁰⁶ A. Gasse, “La litanie des douze noms de Rê-Horakhty,” *BIFAO* 84 (1984): 220, n. 46, citing Assmann, *Re und Amun*, p. 210. On Heka, see H. Te Velde, “The god Heka in Egyptian Theology,” *JEOL* 21 (1970): 175-86; É. Liptay, “Heka as Hypostasis of the Sungod in the 21st Dynasty,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (Budapest, 1992), pp. 389-91.

⁴⁰⁷ J. Johnson, “Louvre E 3229: A Demotic Magical Text,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 73, l. 23 of col. 6; H.-J. Thissen, “Nubien in demotischen magischen Texten,” in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* (Cologne, 1991), p. 375 notes that Re-Shu as *kꜣ ḥꜣkꜥ* is otherwise unattested; the designation is, however, as a variant of *nb ḥkꜣ*, in keeping with the sun as “great of magic.”

⁴⁰⁸ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 75; vol. 2, p. 71.

⁴⁰⁹ See Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 23-5.

^d The word *hrw* is an orthography of *hr/20*, **ḥazyaw*.⁴¹⁰ Meeks notes de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, p. 62e for the orthography , “qui tend à montrer que le sing. doit se transcrire *hrw* et non *hr*.”⁴¹¹ Qualifying Thoth in the Enigmatic Wall texts as the third of the four powers may be an early allusion to Thoth’s epithet “Trismegistos.”⁴¹²

^e This epithet ʕ3, “the great,” of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is a references to the description and depiction of the ithyphallic Osiride king as the giant god, connecting the depths of the Underworld with the heights of heaven (see the extended discussion in Chapter 6). The four-fold nature of the deceased is a reference to the deceased king as the ram-form of the solar deity, a reference to the deity with four ram’s heads who appears at the entrance to the tomb of Ramesses IX.⁴¹³

Re as Heka suggests the Re-Shu of P. Louvre E 3229 col. 6, l. 23, as discussed above. Heka sails in the bark of Re, ensuring the daily rising of the sun by means of his magic, assisting the solar deity to sail on the sandy spine of Apep when the waters run dry in the Seventh Hour of the Amduat.⁴¹⁴ The hymn to Osiris in the tomb of Imiseba, which could serve as a description of the ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene of this treatise, emphasizes the four-fold *ba*’s of the sun, the Mendesian ram-form of the supreme deity. This band of text above the Enigmatic Wall also emphasizes the four *bas* of the deceased king as the Solar-Osiris.

The version of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity on the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX contains numerous references to other religious texts. To list but a few: The entities on the mounds, the designation *imn-ḥꜥ.wt*, “hidden of members,” and the use of the verb *nḥp*, all find a parallel in the Book of the Creation

⁴¹⁰ Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 286.

⁴¹¹ Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 254, no. 78.2750, citing FECT I, 92, n. 5 = de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, p. 62e. But note Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 2, pp. 498-9 (n. 179), who interprets this as an example of a plural ending -*ww* (see also W. Schenkel, *Aus der Arbeit an einer Konkordanz zu den Altägyptischen Sargtexten* [Wiesbaden, 1983], pp. 183-84).

⁴¹² For which see the references given by G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes, a Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 26 n. 78; and R.K. Ritner, review of Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, in *Cauda Pavonis (Studies in Hermeticism)*, new series vol. 8 no. 1, Spring 1989), 14 n. 4.

⁴¹³ Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 27; see also T. Bács, “Amun-Re-Harakhti in the Late Ramesside Royal Tombs,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (Budapest, 1992), pp. 51-2. For this four-headed ram, see also p. 410, n. 132.

⁴¹⁴ See Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 18-25, 31 (citing Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 118 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 524-525]; vol. 2, p. 125).

of the Solar Disk (*cf.* the third register of §A, text 24).⁴¹⁵ The groups containing the child *sd.ty* and the scarab are similar to depictions in the fourth tableau of the second register of §A in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The construction *is* with *sdm.n=f* following *m-ht* after a non-initial verb form occurs in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk and in the Book of Caverns. The *nb.w-d3.t* in the vicinity of the bark on the back of Apep find textual parallels in a number of texts, including chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead, while the standing figure facing them suggests Horus-Herkhenedef in the Seventh Hour of Amduat. The *hry.w-šsr.w=sn* may derive from beings in the Tenth Hour of Amduat, and a portion of the lower register parallels the Sixth Hour of Amduat (to which the use of the verb *mḥn* may also refer). The entities leaping atop their mounds and assisting in the destruction of the minions of Apep may also allude to the final scene of the middle register in the Seventh Hour of the Amduat. The Amduat provides possible parallels for two of the names of the four beings rising atop serpents in the lower register. A variant of the first half of Chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead appears in the texts accompanying the lower register.

The version of Chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead on the Enigmatic Wall is located beneath a horizontal line of text which prays for the protection of the king from the baleful messengers of Babai (plate 35). For this association of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead with texts referring to the protection of the deceased from noxious messengers, a portion of Coffin Text Spell 256 is instructive:⁴¹⁶

rdy n=i nsy.t hr s.wt Hr
šsr=f n=i h3w.tyw
ir=f n=i 3b.wt wdn.w

There has been given to me kingship upon the seats of Horus,
 that he might shoot for me the *h3w.tyw*-demons,
 and that he might prepare for me holocausts and offerings

⁴¹⁵ Depending on the preferred interpretation of *nhp* here, there could also be a reference to the 89th scene of the Book of Gates (12th Division), a text similar to P. Bremner-Rhind. Most likely the entities performing *nhp* here are similar to the *nhy.w* of P. Louvre N 3219, P BM 10252, and P. Metropolitan Museum 35.9.21.

⁴¹⁶ De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, pp. 365e-366b.

Horus destroys the enemies and prepares the provisions of Osiris; provisions and safety are linked. For the position of this version of Chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead, in the lowest register of this enigmatic treatise, several mythological papyri provide parallels: In the papyrus of Bakenmut, a serpent similar to that at the beginning of the upper register of the Eleventh Hour of the Book of Amduat is called, among other things, *nb ḥtp m ḥr.t-nṯr*, “possessor of offerings in the necropolis,” and the ship of the sun is towed above this serpent.⁴¹⁷ In the papyrus of Padiamun,⁴¹⁸ in a scene composed of two registers, the bottom register shows a falcon head descending from the sky sign, shedding light on a mummy. In the scene in the papyrus of Padiamun, a vulture appears above the head of the mummy, and a cobra above the feet. In front of each of these two figures is a cup atop which a loaf of bread is perched. In the accompanying text, the deceased prays that his mummy may be made erect and be provided with food.⁴¹⁹

Following the Ramesses IX version of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead is an address to the four gods represented, alluding to the cardinal points, and the winds thereof. This association is strengthened when the four are seen in relation to the provisioning of the deceased, a function of the four winds in spell 162 of the Coffin Texts.⁴²⁰ A pairing of doubled entities in the upper register of Book of the Day provides a parallel for the reference to provisioning (chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead), and to deities of the sides of heaven: a pair of entities *šhm p.ty*, “Power of the Two Heavens,” follows a pair of beings *wr-ḥr.t*, “Great of Provisions.”⁴²¹ The winds and the vertebrae of Apep are associated in the Book of the Two Ways, all swallowed by the victorious deity.⁴²²

The reference to the god Ptah in chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead is appropriate to the presence of the god Ptah, as a counterpart to the ithyphallic Osiris, in the concluding scene of the Enigmatic Wall. The reference in chapter 106 to food—bread and beer—being given to Ptah, in the vicinity of a scene of the king

⁴¹⁷ Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 20.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 10.

⁴¹⁹ *Dfz* can encompass more than the foodstuffs which the mummy will require; according to Iversen, *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine*, p. 50, *dfz* is “clearly used to signify spiritual as well as corporal nourishment.”

⁴²⁰ De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, pp. 389-405.

⁴²¹ Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 7; Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 189, upper right.

⁴²² De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, pp. 252ff (= CT spell 1029); see L. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* (Berkeley and London, 1972), p. 11. For the association of the north wind with Osiris and the Inundation (recalling the raised Nun-hand of the ithyphallic Osiris on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall), see A. Moret, “La légende d’Osiris à l’époque thébaine d’après l’hymne à Osiris du Louvre,” *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 734 n. (17).

offering Maat to Ptah and Maat recalls a portion of the great Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut:⁴²³

sꜥꜣ.n=i mꜣꜥ.t mr.t.n=f
iw rh.n=i ꜥnh=f im=s
t=i pw sꜥm=i m iꜣd.t=s

Because I know that he (Amun) lives on it have I magnified Maat whom he loves.

It is my bread/food, and I swallow its flavor.

Maat is the *t*-food of Hatshepsut. The placement of a scene of Maat standing with Ptah, as the king offers to them Maat, in the vicinity of a version of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead, may allude to this concept of Maat as *t*-food.⁴²⁴

The names of the serpents *pth* and *šsr* (p. 303-5 above) parallel *pꜣ* and *šsr* in PT 1545 (ch. 580), and the orthography of the name of Apep parallels cryptogram 56 in the Book of the Day and the Night. The reference to messengers finds parallels in the version of this treatise on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, portions of the Foundation Ritual of Medinet Habu and Luxor, and the Sixth Address of the Great Litany of Re. The ithyphallic figure—the parallel of the central, standing Solar-Osiris on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun and the snake-legged, disk-headed deity in the Corridor G composition of Ramesses VI—incorporates elements of the conclusion of the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat. The ithyphallic Osiride figure, together with some of the figures of the lower register, also ties in to scenes in later mythological papyri.

The paraphrase of a portion of Chapter 17 at the close of the graffito in the penultimate scene (pl. 37B, l. 4) is the most direct of several allusions to that text in this treatise. In §b S1 of Chapter 17 the deceased is protected from the slaughterers, as on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall the king is rescued from the messengers (pl. 35, l. 3) and *hꜣb.w* (pl. 37B, l. 2) of Babai; in §b S5 of chapter 17 Khepri sails in his bark by the places of execution, as on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall Re nears the “slaughtering places of sand.” In §a S4 of chapter 17 the god is on the battlefield, and Osiris acclaims Re, as the soul of Re with which Re copulates; here on the Enigmatic Wall the left eye of the great god shoots at Apep, and the disk and scarab of the soon to be reborn sun enter the hand of Osiris, as Re and Osiris merge at the root of the eastern horizon. In §a P2 of chapter 17⁴²⁵ the viands of Onnophris are mentioned, and the first vignette shows bread and beer in the western necropolis; the






⁴²³ A. Gardiner, “Davies’s Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription,” *JEA* 32 (1946): pl. 6, col. 9.

⁴²⁴ The top register of the Seventh Hour of Gates also provides an example of *t*-food being equated with Maat (Hornung, *Pfortenbuch*, p. vol. 2, pp. 176ff.; reference courtesy of Ms. Colleen Manassa).

⁴²⁵ Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 61-62; pp. 67b-70a; pp. 37-39; p. 29 (the division of T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 30; p. 31; p. 28; p. 26 respectively).

brief version of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead in the lower register of the left portion of the Enigmatic Wall (pl. 34A, ll. 25-49) seeks to ensure the provisioning of the deceased ruler.⁴²⁶

The explanations for the iconography of the scenes which make up this treatise are consistent with the translations derived from the accompanying texts, including those written in cryptography. The texts and scenes of this composition complement one another, suggesting that the interpretation of the enigmatic texts offered here is correct. The texts and iconographic details of the treatise agree and emphasize the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon, the result of the victory of Re over Apep at the time of the near cosmic disaster. This unity of purpose supports the rendition of the enigmatic texts of the composition offered here.

The cryptography shows the usual signs occurring in the corpus, with values derived primarily through various substitutions. A few obscure signs do crop up, however, within the texts of the Enigmatic Wall: the sign  for  (pl. 33, l. 1) through conscious exploitation of an hieratic confusion;  for *hfty* (pl. 33, l. 6), a rare use occurring again in the Book of Caverns;  for *mt* in *mtnw* (pl. 35, l. 10);  for *t* (pl. 37 A, l. 1), common in writing the name of Sety I at Abydos, and occurring elsewhere, but unique in the corpus studied here. The occurrence of cryptography in the texts of the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall is a bit more sporadic than in the two other, earlier versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity; the cryptography of the Enigmatic Wall is also somewhat more intermingled with other orthographies, the boundaries between cryptography and *Normalschrift* being much less distinct than in the other versions of the composition.

⁴²⁶ The giant deity in the penultimate scene on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall is paralleled by the giant deity with the two uroboroi on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun. Though this concept is not textually attested on the enigmatic panels, chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead is found on the same shrine, on the interior rear panel (this portion of the chapter is Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 106).

CHAPTER 6

THE GIANT DEITY

For each of the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, an image of the giant unified Re-Osiris at the eastern horizon is the largest single figure. On the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun the image of the solar Osiris dominates the central portion of the first side of the shrine (pl. 6A). In the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the unified Re-Osiris appears as the snake-legged giant of the *Schutzbild* (pl. 29), and on the dropped portion of the ceiling as the ram-headed figure whose arms are the goddesses Isis and Nephthys (pl. 27, bottom register). In the Ramesses IX recension this image of the solar giant is the focus of the treatise. Both the main, left portion of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall treatise (pls. 31-32), and the concluding scene (pl. 39), face in towards the large ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene of the enigmatic wall (pl. 36). Taken together these giants are the most visible artifacts of the common template on which these three treatises are based.

Each figure differs from the others, and emphasizes a particular aspect of the unified Re-Osiris. The giant on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun is Osiride in appearance, and labeled as Re. The text accompanying the rightmost snake-legged figure in *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 30) describes that deity—as well as the ram-headed figure on the dropped portion of the ceiling—in terms which leave no doubt that they refer to the Osirian solar deity of the Netherworld. The figure on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX is also Osiride in appearance, and labeled as the deceased king; the iconography of the solar disk rising on his breast, and the scarab and disk entering into his raised hand, shows him to be Re and Osiris at the time of their mystic union. According to the enigmatic text accompanying the Ramesses IX figure, he is an omnipresent, universal deity, an important aspect of Re-Osiris filling the eastern horizon. The proximity of texts referring to noxious messengers near the giant figures on the shrine of Tutankhamun and in the tomb of Ramesses IX strengthen the association of these figures, and the identification of each as an image of Re-Osiris. The giant in the tomb of Ramesses VI, a snake-legged disk quite different from the Osiride giants of the two other versions of the composition, emphasizes the solar aspect of the unified deity. Like the giant in the tomb of Ramesses IX, he is shown at the root of the eastern horizon. The texts accompanying these figures have been examined in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 above, along with certain aspects of the iconography of the individual figures. In order to minimize repetition, and to show better the common features of these images, much of the interpretation of the images of the giant deity is found in this Chapter.

A large Osiride figure dominates the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun. Two uroboroi, the upper one labeled “Mehen,” encircle the head and feet of this giant figure. As discussed above in Chapter 3, an enigmatic label to the figure reads (pl. 6A):

dw3 wnwn R'itn pw wnwn

Adoration of the circling one—the circling one is Re/the sun disk.

The head of the entity is in the area of the *hry.t*,¹ his feet in the area of the *htmy.t*.² This parallels the specifications of the positions of the arms and feet of the similar figure in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl 37A):³

nti pn m sh(r) pn

ʕf m hry.t


rd.wy=fy m htmy.t

This god is in this fashion,

his arm in the upper region,

his feet in the place of destruction.

This description of the position of the feet and raised arm of an entity is parallel to the first tableau in Section A of the Book of the Earth. There, behind the smaller mummiform figures flanking the larger, plumed deity, is a defective formula:⁴

right: *ntr pn m shr pn tp=f rd.wy*  *ʕq*

left: *ntr pn m shr pn tp=f*  *rd.wy=fy*  *ʕq...*

“This god is in this fashion: his head in the upper region and his feet in the lower regions.”

There is a similar description of the goddess “Geheimnisvolle” in the third tableau in Section D of the Book of the Earth.⁵ Of her it is said:




¹ Compare the text in the upper right enigmatic annotation (pl. 5B), referring to *qrr.(w)t=sn imy.wt hry.t*, “their cavern(s) which are in *hry.t*.”

² Compare the text in the lower right enigmatic annotation (pl. 5C): *qr(r).wt=sn imy.wt htmy.t*, “their caverns which are in the Place of Destruction;” and that in the lower left: *qrr.t imy.t htmy.t*, “the cavern which is in the Place of Destruction.”

³ F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX* (Cairo, 1907), pl. 77.

⁴ A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (Cairo, 1953), pp. 12-13; E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher* (Zürich, 1972), pp. 434-5. For the *m hrt* of the right formula, Piankoff suggests understanding *<d3.t> hr.t*. For *hr.t* in the left formula he questioningly proposes *<m d3.t> hr.t*. Piankoff reads the right formula as “ce dieu est ainsi: sa tête, ses deux jambes dans ... inférieure, entrer...;” the head and feet of the deity link the highest and deepest areas of creation. Hornung does not translate the formula on the right, but renders that on the left as “So ist dieser Gott beschaffen. Sein Kopf ist oben, seine beiden Füße (sind) unten ... (Rest unklar).”

⁵ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, ll. 2-3 and p. 45; A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York, 1954), pl. 133; C. Leitz, “Die obere und die untere Dat,” *ZÄS* 116 (1989) 55-7 (Leitz is aware of the D3 Book of the Earth

tp št3.t m d3.t hry.t ()
 rdwy=sy () m d3.t hry.t ()

The head of the mysterious one is in the Upper Netherworld,
 Her feet in the Lower Netherworld⁶

In the Book of the Day and the Night, the supreme deity occupies a position in both levels of the Dat, for he concerns himself with all of the affairs of the *imn.tyw imy.w d3.t hry.t hry.t*, “the westerners who are in the upper and lower Netherworld.”⁷

In the Book of the Earth, the Lower Netherworld (*d3.t hry.t*) is parallel to the Place of Destruction (*htmy.t*),⁸ as in the tomb of Ramesses IX *htmy.t* corresponds to

example of *d3.t hry.t* and *hry.t*, but does not appear to know the A 4 occurrence, or the others discussed here).

- ⁶ The upper and lower divisions of the Netherworld are probably behind the *d3.ty*, “the two Netherworlds, the two halves of the Netherworld” mentioned at the end of the Third Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division,” *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 37, 6-7; Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, p. 356; *idem*, “Dat,” *LdÄ*, vol. 1, cl. 995 n. 15). The text there refers to the serpent guardian of the following gate, rearing up on his tail, stretching from the very top to the very bottom of the Book of Caverns, a pose appropriate to one who “unites the two Dats” as one uniting the upper Dat and the lower Dat. In Coffin Texts Spell 317 (A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 4 [Chicago, 1951], p. 114c) the deceased, as the Inundation, is a possessor of offerings in the *d3.t hry.t*. Another example of the *d3.t hry.t* may be found in the 1st Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts. 1^{er} tableau,” *BIFAO* 41 [1942]: pl. 8, ll. 2-3):

i hf3.w nn n hf3(.w) hry.w d3.t hry.t Wsir

Oh snakes, these snakes of the depths of the lower Dat of Osiris...

So Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942): 10 (and again in pl. 8, l. 5). One might read this as “the Dat which contains Osiris” (so Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, p. 321), yet this text is found in the fifth and lowest register of the First Division, a location which suggests the appropriateness of understanding *d3.t hr.t*, “lower Dat.”

- ⁷ A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (Cairo, 1942), p. 25, the twelfth hour of the day.
- ⁸ To demonstrate this parallelism, one may examine the locations of several similarly depicted mummies. The female mummies (*s'hyt*) in the second register of section A (A 11) are in the *d3.t hry.t* (compare the text to A 4); the same sort of mummies in the third register are in the *htmy.t* (in scene two of the third register [A 10] the arms rising from the ground line are the *wy htmy.w hnty htmy.t*, “the destroying arms resident in the place of destruction”). Note that at the foot of the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV, the arms of scene A 10, rising from the *htmy.t*, appear to rise from the floor of the sarcophagus chamber; the floor of the sarcophagus hall as *htmy.t* is also reflected in the rows of bound prisoners along the bases of the walls in the sarcophagus hall of Ramesses VI (Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 117, 118, 128, 129). At the bottom of the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the area of the *htmy.t* in which the Osiride king's feet are placed, there are also rows of bound prisoners.

(*d3.t*) *hry.t*.⁹ The feet of the giant deity in the tomb of Ramesses IX (see pl. 37A, l. 1) are in *htmy.t*, the “Place of Destruction,” his arms in some place which should correspond to (*d3.t*) *hry.t*. With $\bigcirc = \bigcirc = r$, we have *m hry.t*, essentially the same writing as in section A4 of the Book of the Earth. The signs 𓆎 , $\text{𓆏} < \text{𓆐}$, and 𓆑 appear have their common values, so the reading of \bigcirc only is in dispute. If the sign is to be read neither as *ʿn* nor as *šn*, a substitution due to similarity of shape may

suggest itself. Reading the sign \bigcirc as a variant for a circle,¹⁰ the word may be read as *hry.t*, “upper region.”¹¹

As Hornung suggests, *htmy.t* in the tomb of Ramesses IX could be understood as a synonym for the Underworld; this would be the eastern horizon as the place of destruction and punishment of evil. The *hry.t* could then be reinterpreted as the height of the world of day. The description of the Osiride king in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX as having his hand in the height/heaven and his feet in the place of destruction at the eastern end of the Netherworld explains a description of Ramesses II in the stelae of his First Hittite Marriage:¹²

...*tp=f m p.t m šhrw n ntr ds=f*

...his head in heaven in the manner of god himself.

This is the king as the enormous eastern deity, the sun at the eastern horizon of heaven, the creator god at the re-creation of the day.¹³ In a hymn in the contemporary tomb of Imiseba (TT 65, reign of Ramesses IX), the supreme divinity is described as:¹⁴

⁹ Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 77. The hand of Osiris in the Ramesses IX treatise is an image of Nun (see below, pp. 391-7). For the arms of Nun emerging from *htmy.t*, as in the tomb of Ramesses IX, compare the Book of the Earth (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 25, pl. 12 [text 25]), where the arms of Nun *mn m htmyt*, and when *Re* speaks to Nun he speaks *r htmy.t*.

¹⁰ See the Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

¹¹ *D3.t hry.t* also occurs in L. Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta, are e bacili da libagione* (Turin, 1977), 94 (24) and 99 (24) (cited D. Meeke, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1980], p. 432, no. 77.5003).

¹² K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions Vol. 2: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford, 1979), p. 240, ll. 9-12 (ref. courtesy of E.F. Wente).

¹³ G. Vittmann, “*Riesen*” und *riesenhafte Wesen in der Vorstellung der Ägypter* (Vienna, 1995), pp. 12-26. For other examples of Ramesses II as the creator god (one from the Hittite Marriage texts), see L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des Göttlichen Wortes im Alten Testament und im antiken Orient* (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 96-97.

¹⁴ J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), no. 88, pp. 124-5; *idem*, *MDAIK* 28 (1973): 116; *idem*, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 2nd ed., (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1999), p. 318; see also *idem*, “Primat und Transzendenz. Struktur und Genese der ägyptischen Vorstellung eines ‘Höchsten Wesens,’” in W. Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion* (Wiesbaden, 1979), pp. 7-42 (Assmann notes

tp=k hr.t rd.wy=ky d3.t
 your head is heaven, your feet are the Netherworld

This passage finds an echo in an address to a deity in a Coptic magical text:¹⁵

ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΧΩΘ ΖΗ ΤΠΕ
 ΕΡΕ ΡΑΤΩ ΖΗ ΠΝΟΥΝ
 the one whose head is in heaven,
 whose feet are in the abysmal waters¹⁶

With *hry.t* the sky of day and *htmy.t* the lower world in its entirety, the annotation to the figure of the giant deity on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX¹⁷ is a description of the unified Re-Osiris as the highest deity of the cosmos.¹⁸ In a description similar to that in the tomb of Ramesses IX, P. Leiden I 348 vs. 12, 3 states that the giant deity, there Pre, stands:

rd.wy=fy hr s3tw qni Nwn dr.t=f hr s3t
 his two feet upon the foundation which Nun embraces, his hand
 upon the roof-beam¹⁹

In a Louvre hymn to Osiris the deity has his feet upon his enemies, appropriate to having them in the Place of Destruction (*htmy.t*), while his crown “has pierced heaven (*hr.t*) and fraternized with the stars.”²⁰ The Solar-Osirian nature is further expressed on the shrine through the use of excerpts from the Book of the Dead. To the right of the head of the giant deity is a portion of Chapter 17 of the Book of the

the survival of a such a “Weltgott-Prädikation” in Greek magical papyri); J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*, vol. 1 (Louvain, 1992), pp. 365-71.

¹⁵ W.H. Worrell, “Coptic Magical and Medical Texts,” *Or.* 4 (1935): 185, ll. 12-13.

¹⁶ The concept of the elements of the body of a deity being “in heaven” occurs earlier in Egyptian religious texts than the concept of those elements “as heaven,” the latter notion first finding expression during the Twentieth Dynasty (so Assmann, in W. Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, p. 15).

¹⁷ Pl. 36, and pl. 37 fig. A.

¹⁸ For references to the deity having his head in heaven and his feet on or in the earth, see B.H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus*, vol. 4 (Leiden, 1982), p. 509 n. 3224; J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden, 1971), p. 147, text n. 351.

¹⁹ Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, pl. 14, l. 3; p. 29; p. 147, text n. 351.

²⁰ Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 737, ll. 10 and 13, p. 738 n. (41), and p. 739 nn. (48-9). For an additional discussion of high plumes of a deity protruding into—piercing—the sky sign in Egyptian art, see D. Budde, “‘Die den Himmel durchsticht und sich mit den Sternen vereint.’ Zur Bedeutung und Funktion der Doppelfederkrone in der Götterikonographie,” *SAK* 30 (2002): 57-102.

Dead, beginning with *ink R^c m h^c.w=f*, “I am Re in his glorious appearances” (pl. 2). To the right of the feet of the great god is a portion of Chapter 1 of the Book of the Dead, addressed to Osiris as “Bull of the West” (pl. 2). The head of the giant deity, the disk of the sun, is in heaven, the body, Osiris, is in the Netherworld.

Egyptian texts are ambiguous regarding the location of the Netherworld and its relation to the sky of this world. In the Pyramid Texts the Dat appears to lie beneath the earth, whereas in the Book of Nut the Dat-netherworld is within the body of the goddess Nut.²¹ The Dat may also appear in contrast to another portion of the Netherworld, as in Coffin Texts Spell 1068:²²

dw3 tw imy.w 'Imht szh tw imy.w d3.t
may those who are in Imhet praise you, may those who are in the
Dat glorify you

These are perhaps the two ways of the Netherworld, Imhet the path on water, and Dat that on land.²³ Imhet is, however, a portion of the realm of Sokar in the Amduat, and must be an arid area indeed, a black sea of sand.²⁴ According to Hermesen, Imhet in Spell 1068 is “unterweltlich,” the Dat “oberweltlich.”²⁵ Considering the stellar associations of the Dat, and the fact that it is upon the cosmic water that the bark of the sun sails,²⁶ Imhet should be the way of the lower earth, and Dat the watery path of the lower sky. This division of the Netherworld into terrestrial and cosmic paths explains the division of the lower cosmos into the Upper and the Lower Dat, respectively the stellar, watery firmament of the nethersky, and the dark, sand-filled realm of Sokar, illuminated fitfully by the leaping flames of serpent tongues.²⁷ The enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX shows the stellar lords of the Netherworld in the upper register, the level of the hand of Osiris, which is said to be in *hry.t*, the upper Dat.²⁸ As the waters of the upper and lower sky are a continuous and contiguous route for the sun, the Nut Book may say that the sun travels in the body of Nut both by day and by night, and the Ramesses IX

²¹ J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 3-7; *idem*, “The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts,” in W.K. Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 21-25.

²² A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 7 (Chicago, 1961), pp. 329b-330a.

²³ L. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* (Berkeley and London, 1972), pp. 61-62.

²⁴ E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1963), vol. 2, p. 82, text n. 11.

²⁵ E. Hermesen, *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits, das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch und seine Topographie* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1991), p. 167 n. 23, 168 and n. 25 (note also p. 113).

²⁶ Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, pp. 4-6.

²⁷ According to Hermesen, *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits*, p. 113, the upper Dat is the sky of day, whereas the under Dat is the underworld.

See Chapter 5, pp. 276ff. and pl. 31.

treatise may depict the stellar denizens of the nether sky on the same level as the birthing sun disk entering the hand of Osiris.²⁹

The scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX, as described in the enigmatic annotation, thus expresses the concept of the "immensity of the deity."³⁰ In the band of epitheta of Ramesses IX above this treatise, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is referred to as ʿ3, "the great," perhaps also to be understood as "the giant," the Ptah of P. Berlin 3048, col. 5, l. 4.³¹ This vision of the enormous god of the eastern horizon is the same concept of the supreme deity which inspired the central figure on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun.

The *Mḥn* uroboroi at the top and bottom of the figure represent the upper and lower realms of the solar deity, the watery firmament of the upper and lower skies, and the chthonic underworld.³² The two Mehen serpents coiled about the head and feet of the deity on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 6A) are perhaps indications that the deity is completely surrounded by the serpents. The depiction of Re in the vignette on the coffin Cairo CG 28083 may serve as an illustration of such a concept—the "roads of Mehen" in Spell 758 of the Coffin Texts appear as a much coiled serpent which surrounds the seated figure of Re.³³ Another, parallel depiction occurs on the same coffin—a headless, mummiform body stands atop two double-headed serpents in a boat, with another double-headed serpent stretched out

²⁹ The end of the Dat and the beginning of the upper sky are actually below the horizon of earth and visible firmament (*ibid.*, p. 6), further basis for the association of the stellar lords of the nether sky and the newborn sun of the next day. Allen, *Genesis*, pp. 7 and 66 n. 39; *idem*, in W.K. Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 23-24 and n. 156, interprets the term "lower Dat" to be an indication that the Dat lies beneath the earth. This is a misinterpretation of the term, for it ignores the existence of the upper Dat.

³⁰ S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn [Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156]* (New York, 1970), p. 26 n. n (to l. 4, 4) on the giant deity. Note the description of the sun god as *wr.ti wr.ti* in Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, no. 156, p. 203, l. 7, probably a reference to the awesome size of the deity.

³¹ A. Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* vol. 1 *Rituale für den Kultus des Amon und für den Kultus der Mut* (Leipzig, 1901), pl. 39, l. 4: *rd.wy=ky hr t3 tp=k [m] t3 hr.t m ḥprw=k m imy-d3.t*, "Your two feet are upon earth, and your head [in] the heaven, in your realization as the-one-who-is-in-the-Netherworld."

³² See L. Kákosy, "Uroboros," in *LdÄ*, vol. 6, cols. 886-93, and the literature cited there; *idem*, "Osiris-Aion," *Oriens Antiquus* 3 (1964): 19, n. 26; R.K. Ritner, "A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection," *JNES* 43 (1984): 219-20. Compare Egypt as a ring in J.J. Clère, "Fragments d'une Nouvelle Représentation Égyptienne du Monde," *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 30-46 and pl. 5; and see L. Kákosy, "Selige und Verdammte in der spätägyptischen Religion," *ZÄS* 97 (1971): 101; C. Sourdiva, *La main dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Berne, 1984), p. 260. See also L. Motte, "Orphica Aegyptiaca I," *Langues Orientales Anciennes Philologie et Linguistique* 2 (1989): 266-67.

³³ P.A. Piccione, "Mehen, Mysteries, and Resurrection from the Coiled Serpent," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 44-5 (and fig. 1). E. Hornung, "Verfall und Regeneration der Schöpfung," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 46 (1977) p. 435, n. 37, suggests only the five-headed serpent in the Sixth Hour of the Amduat as "ein ikonographischer Vorläufer" of the uroboros.

at the neck; atop the uppermost serpent is a scarab supporting a sun disk. This depiction is accompanied by Spell 1098 of the Coffin Texts, which refers to the Mehen serpent on the head of the deity.³⁴ The uroboros at the feet of the giant deity finds iconographic parallels in the uroboroi sometimes found on the footboards of 21st Dynasty coffins.³⁵ In the depiction on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, the upper snake encircles the heavens, the lower the Netherworld. Here Re is located in the body of Osiris. This is the *h3.t imy R^c*, “the corpse in which is Re,” of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.³⁶ The serpents also represent the boundary of the *kkw-sm3w*, the unbroken darkness bounded by the dragon in the *Pistis Sophia*.³⁷ With his feet and head in these areas of darkness, and the ram-headed *b3*-bird of the sun in his midsection, the figure finds a textual parallel in a portion of the introductory text to the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns:

i Wsir ntr ʿ3 nty tp=f m kkw ph.wy=f(y) m kkw
iw h3.t=f d3.n=s d3.t b3=f w3š hr tw.w(t)=f
 Oh Osiris, great deity, whose head is in the darkness and whose hinder
 parts are in darkness, his corpse having traversed the
 Netherworld, his *ba* exalted upon his images.³⁸

³⁴ A. Piankoff and H. Jacquet-Gordon, *The Wandering of the Soul* (Princeton, 1974), pl. 5. In this portion of the Book of the Two Ways, there is another double-headed serpent with scarab and disk above the one perched atop the neck of the headless, mummiform figure (Hermesen, *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits*, pp. 200-203). These serpents, separated by an area of sand, may represent upper and lower Mehen serpents corresponding to the upper and lower Dat, parallel to those at the head and feet of the giant deity on the Tutankhamun shrine.

³⁵ A. Niwinski, “Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen religiösen Ikonographie der 21. Dynastie (3). Mummy in the Coffin as the Central Element of Iconographic Reflection of the Theology of the 21st Dynasty in Thebes,” *GM* 109 (1989): 55-6.

³⁶ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 9 (the second scene of the first register on the right wall); text III (pl. 2, ll. 3-4) says:

dī=f h4.wt m h3.t 3h.ty
ʿq=f m itn
h3y=f h3.t št3
 He casting light in the corpse of the one of the horizon,
 entering as the disk,
 illumining the mysterious corpse.

³⁷ See J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), p. 326; on pp. 333-35 Zandee is at pains to avoid Egyptian connections when discussing the eschatological use of the words *ΔΡΑΚΩΝ* and *ΖΦΩ* in Coptic texts, and his conclusions unnecessarily avoid parallels and explanations from the ancient Egyptian religious literature.

³⁸ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 102, ll. 2-3. According to R.T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1959), p. 80 and p. 272 n. 22, the two snakes “must be the two serpentine circles of the Coffin Text, delimiters of space when it is imagined as extending upwards,” referring to Coffin Texts II (correcting the I, 161ff. reference in his note 20, p. 272) 161 *d* (Chapter 136): *mī nn sp-sn.nw dbn sp-sn.nw hnm sp-sn.nw*, which

The appearance of this image is similar to that of the name of Ramesses III as it appears in the sarcophagus hall of his tomb, where the ruler's nomen and epithet *ḥq3-iwnw* are surrounded by two overlapping uroboroi, this group in turn orbited by 12 disks and 12 stars.³⁹ There the doubled uroboros encloses the name of the king, as the uroboroi on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun enclose the actual image of the Solar-Osirian ruler. The uroboroi are surrounded by the stars and disks of the hours, and do themselves represent the unending round of time.⁴⁰

The figure of the ram-headed *ba* of the sun in the belly of the giant suggests again the description of the goddess in the third scene of the first register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, discussed above:⁴¹

tp št3.t m Dw3.t ḥry.t
rdwy=sy m Dw3.t ḥry.t
b3.wy p=f ḥ3.t=s

the head of the mysterious one is in the Upper Dat,
 her feet in the Lower Dat,
 the double-*ba* traversing her corpse

The ram-headed *ba*-bird within the disk in the belly of the giant standing figure is an image of the *b3 špss imy itn=f*, "the august *Ba* who is in his solar disk."⁴² As *št3.t*, the mysterious feminine being, the goddess in section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk is a representation of the corpse of Osiris, the *ḥ3.t-št3.t*, the feminine member of the unified Re-Osiris.⁴³ The sun inhabiting a disk within

he reads as "like those two serpentine circles," "lit. 'two crawling ones.'" Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, p. 257, reads I 161 *d* as referring to the previously mentioned "Voyageurs (?)," suggesting "(ceux qui vont) comme ceci, circulant et sillonnant" (R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 1 [Warminster, 1973], p. 116 questioningly offered "also the circumference of ..."). Rundle Clark's suggestion is an imaginative interpretation of the Coffin Text passage, but that passage is of such uncertain meaning that it can at present offer no certain help in interpreting the figure in question on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun.

³⁹ See E. Hornung, "Auf den Spuren der Sonne: Gang durch ein ägyptisches Königsgrab," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 50 (1981): 466 (*contra* n. 35 the doubling of the uroboros does not appear first in the scene in the tomb of Ramesses III) and fig. 16, p. 467.

⁴⁰ On the uroboros and time, see E. Hornung, "Bedeutung und Wirklichkeit des Bildes im alten Ägypten," in *Kunst und Realität* (Basel, 1973), pp. 36-8.

⁴¹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, ll. 2-3.

⁴² Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, pp. 340-341 (text 242, from TT 359), and n. g (p. 341, citing iconographic parallels to this statement, including the image on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun).

⁴³ W. Westendorf, "Horizont und Sonnenscheibe," *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974): 389-98; J. Assmann, "Horizont," *LdÄ*, vol. 3, cols. 3-7; *idem*, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 325-26, especially n. 56 (p. 325). See further the discussion of the ithyphallic Osiris at the end of the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise, pp. 398ff. below.

the belly of Osiris parallels depictions of the solar child within the disk/womb of the pregnant goddess.⁴⁴ This is the Solar-Osiris as the creator deity:

ts m'cy=f hn' d.t=f r shpr swḥ.t=f m-hnw=f štzw
 who binds his seed with his body in order to create his seed within his
 mysterious self⁴⁵

The “mysterious self” is the *štz(.t)*, the Osirian corpse in the Netherworld, in which Re is rejuvenated during the night and through which the sun is born in the east.

The imagery of the enormous eastern figure of Re-Osiris, head in heaven and feet in hell, with two encircling uroboroi who are equated with the eye of the sun, occurs again in a portion of a hymn in Theban Tomb 84:⁴⁶

ity=k p.t ḥq3.n=k t3.wy
šn.n=k st m-hnw' wy=ky
 You seize heaven, having taken control of the Two Lands;
 within your arms have you enclosed them.

The omnipresent deity controls and protects heaven and earth in his enchanting, encircling embrace.⁴⁷ At the same time that his head reaches into the firmament, his feet stretch down through the earth and into the Dat. His arms are the rays of the sun, which can be represented as serpents.⁴⁸ On the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun they take the form of encircling uroboroi; in the Corridor G ceiling composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI,⁴⁹ they are great serpent legs connecting the disk in heaven with the bowels of the earth.

In his study of the giant figure on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Piankoff, compared the images of “Him Who Hides the Hours” in the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX. Citing a passage from the Creation of the Solar Disk which describes the hours entering the earth and traveling in the direction of “Him Who Hides his Hours,”⁵⁰ Piankoff concluded that the figure represented a being similar to

⁴⁴ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 149 and 187; A. Piankoff, “La déesse Chenit,” *Egyptian Religion* 2 (1934): 100-105; H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst* 4th ed., E. Brunner-Traut, ed. (Wiesbaden, 1963), Abb. 90, p. 130.

⁴⁵ P. Leiden I 350, II 27—Gardiner, “Hymns to Amon from a Leiden Papyrus,” *ZÄS* 42 (1905): 25.

⁴⁶ Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 140 (text no. 101), ll. 11-12; *idem*, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 302 n. 8 and p. 303.

⁴⁷ For the magic of encircling in Egypt, see conveniently Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 57-67.

⁴⁸ The sun as “many-armed” (an epithet in P. Boulaq 17, VI 7) parallels the sun as *š3 i'rr.wt*, “numerous of uraei,” both expressions of the light power of the sun (see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 205 and 302-3 [and n. 12 p. 303]).

⁴⁹ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 182.

⁵⁰ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 3, ll. 1-2.

Aken in the Sixth Hour of the book of Gates, into whom the hours travel and from whom they must be drawn forth. Of the central figure on the shrine Piankoff states: “Le dieu Aken, ainsi que *Celui qui cache ses heures*, symbolisent tous les deux l’arrêt dans le fonctionnement de la machine cosmique, l’arrêt du temps à un moment donné de la nuit.”⁵¹ Since an epithet “He Who Hides the Hours” does not accompany the figure of the giant deity on the Tutankhamun shrine, the arrest of time is most likely not an aspect of the nature of the giant deity on the first side of the shrine. The location of the ram-headed soul of the sun in a disk within the belly of Osiris is a symbol of the regeneration of the sun in the belly of Nut,⁵² and alludes to the regeneration of Osiris through his union with Re. According to the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, certain Netherworld denizens are summoned:⁵³

šsp=sn Hr d3.ty

pr=f m št3.t=f imy(.t) d3.t

that they might receive the Datian Horus,

when he comes forth from his mystery which is in the Dat.

This št3.t-mystery is the corpse of Osiris, which is both in the horizon and is the horizon, from which the newborn sun rises.⁵⁴

⁵¹ A. Piankoff, “Une Représentation rare sur l’une des chapelles de Toutânkhamon,” *JEA* 35 (1949): 116.

⁵² On the regeneration of the sun within a disk, see W. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), p. 63, according to whom “die Regeneration des Sonnengottes in der Sonnenscheibe und seine Wiedergeburt aus der Scheibe finden sich nur im Erdbuch dargestellt.” Compare also the figure of Nut in the cover to the Ptolemaic period coffin of Horendotis in the British Museum (EA 6678). There, in the belly of the goddess, are scenes of the birth of the sun and the Egg of Sokar from the Fifth Hour of the Amduat (for a convenient image, see the color plate facing p. 417 in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, I. Shaw, ed. (Oxford, 2000).

⁵³ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 17, l. 2.

⁵⁴ Št3 is a term for “corpse”—see J. Assmann, *Re und Amun, die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1983), p. 196; E. Hornung, *Zwei ramesseidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), p. 123 n. 20; compare also št3 as a reference to “Bestatten,” in E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches*, vol. 2 (Geneva, 1976), p. 137 n. (403), citing also nn. (44) and (119). For št3w = h3.t and h3w = iw3f, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 84ff; L. Lesko, “The Shortest Book of Amduat?” in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), p. 137, n. 17. In Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 2, ll. 3-4, the corpse is the h3.t št3.t, “the mysterious corpse,” in Hornung, *Zwei ramesseidische Königsgräber*, pp. 64-5, pl. 117, the corpse of Osiris is called h3.t 3.t imy.t 3h.t h3.t n3r št3.t, “the great corpse which is in the Netherworld, the mysterious corpse of the deity.” See also Chapter 5, pp. 291-5 above. In the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat, the corpse of Osiris at the eastern horizon, actually forming the horizon, is called sšmw-iw3f (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 205 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 849]; vol. 2, p. 193), sšmw n Wsir (*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 203, l. 11 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 842]; vol. 2, p. 192); the arms there associated with the reclining Osiris are the sšmw št3 n Šw (*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 197 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p.

The ram-headed bird within the disk in the belly of the Osiride figure is Re emerging from Osiris; the opposite is expressed later in the Creation of the Solar Disk, where there is mentioned the two sanctuaries of:⁵⁵

itn msw=f št3w=f

the solar disk who gives birth to his mystery

This text accompanies a scene of the disk from which emerges the head of Hathor. Here the disk is the womb from which the new sun is born, and the *št3w* is the Re-Osiris of the eastern horizon, to which Hathor shall give birth.⁵⁶

In three horizontal lines in front of the mid-section of the giant deity on the Tutankhamun shrine is the text of Chapter 27 of the Book of the Dead, a spell for warding off those who would seize the heart of the deceased. Behind the row of adoring deities standing behind the giant is Chapter 29 of the Book of the Dead, a spell for warding off the *wpw.ty n ntr nb*, the “messenger of any god.” To the left of the feet of the Solar-Osiris is Chapter 26 of the Book of the Dead, a spell for giving back to the deceased his heart, along with other physical functions. By their position and contents, these excerpts from the Book of the Dead parallel the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, where hieroglyphic and hieratic texts warding off malevolent messengers appear in front of the mid-section of the reclining, ithyphallic Re-Osiris in the penultimate scene of that treatise (pls. 36-37). The annotation and iconography together support the identification of the giant with the ram-headed *ba*-bird in his belly as an image of the unified Re-Osiris, occupying all of space at the eastern horizon, with the sun of the coming day reborn within the horizon-corpse of the Osiride element of the unified deity.

The snake-legged being in the *Schutzbild* of the Corridor G enigmatic composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI emphasizes the fiery, punishing aspect of the giant Re-Osiris. Westendorf⁵⁷ discusses the *Schlangenhalspanthers* as carriers

818]; vol. 2, p. 188); here, *št3* corresponds to *iwf* and *Wsir*, both representing the corpse of the sun. The mystery is feminine, *št3.t*, because it refers to the corpse, *h3.t*, of Osiris, a feminine element. This body of Osiris envisaged as a separate female being, compare the giantess *št3.t* in section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk—Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, ll. 2-3.

⁵⁵ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 29, l. 9.

⁵⁶ L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history* (Uppsala, 1986), pp. 20-25 concerning Re and Hathor; S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (Berlin, 1963), pp. 113-116; E.F. Wente, “Hathor at the Jubilee,” in G. Kadish, ed. *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago, 1969), pp. 90-91; B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* [Wiesbaden, 1975], pp. 134-35, and Ph. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifronts: Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un mythe égyptien* [Istanbul, 1972], pp. 36-44). See also J.C. Darnell, “For I See the Color of his Uraei”: *Gnosis and Alchemy in Ramesside Egypt, and the Amarna Origins of the Concept of the Solar Sympatheia*, forthcoming.

⁵⁷ “Uräus und Sonnenscheibe,” *SAK* 6 (1978): 201-25 (quote = p. 222; the figure from the *Schutzbild* is cited on p. 222, and is the subject of fig. 22 [p. 223]).

of the solar disk, and relates these to later Ptolemaic examples of the winged sun disk from which “hängen die Uräen bis auf den Erdboden herab.” He discusses the serpent-legged solar deity of the Corridor G enigmatic treatise as an example of the concept of the uraei of the sun god as “tragende Stützen.”⁵⁸ Pharaonic period parallels for this figure are found in the upper register of the Tenth Hour of the Amduat and in the papyrus of Dirpu.⁵⁹ The name of the entity in the Amduat is *mʿnn.wy*, “Doppeltgewundener.”⁶⁰ As Hornung notes, the left eye of the sun is said in the accompanying text to emerge from this “double entwined one.”⁶¹ In the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI the eye of the sun has become the disk head of the solar deity, and the snakes are indeed supports and links with the earth, having become the lower legs and feet of the god. The legs of the sun here depict the designation of the sun as *phrr*, “runner,”⁶² and the twice attested designation of Amun-Re at Khonsu Temple as *rnṗ (n) rd.wy=f(y) r ḥḥ.w*, “whose legs are more vigorous than (those of) millions.”⁶³ These are designations of the sun as one who

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 222. As a small supplement to Westendorf’s study, perhaps showing an understanding of the uraei hanging to either side of the celestial orb as being both supports and connections with the earth, compare Apuleius, “The Golden Ass,” liber XI, iii (Apuleius, *The Golden Ass, being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius*, trans. W. Adlington, revised S. Gascke [London, 1977], p. 542): On the forehead of the goddess Isis, Lucius sees a

plana rotunditas in modum speculi vol immo argumentum lunae candidum lumen emicabat, dextra laeraque sulcis insurgentium viperarum cohibita, spicis etiam Cerialibus desuper porrectis.

Serpents, as though rising from the earth, support the lunar disk on either side. For this image, compare an illustration on the mummy mask of a woman, now in the Medelhavsmuseet—the uraei of the winged sun disk drop down to the earth, and rear up to either side, enclosing the standing figure of Osiris (L. Kákosy, “Eine Frauenmaske im Medelhavsmuseet,” *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 15 [1980]: 20, fig. 4).

⁵⁹ Amduat = Westendorf, *SAK* 6 [1978]: 220, Abb. 16 (= Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, fig. 85 [opposite p. 299]; Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 708, no. 696); Dirpu = Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 164 citing A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri* (New York, 1957), pl. 6, scene 7.

⁶⁰ So Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 164; the figure in the papyrus of Dirpu is without accompanying annotation.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 169, l. 4 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 706). Compare also the entities in A. Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989), p. 187 fig. 63 (=P. Turin 7, bib. p. 367), which Niwinski (*ibid.*, p. 187) interprets as a hybrid of the entities Amduat nos. 730 and 755; *ibid.* pl. 48a (=P. Berlin P. 3152).

⁶² E. Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1: *Translations, Commentary, Discussions and Sign List* (San Antonio, 1988), p. 129 and n. 770.

⁶³ The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1: *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court* (Chicago, 1979), pl. 70, l. 8; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 2: *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall* (Chicago, 1981), pl. 161E, l. 2.

travels the sky not in his bark, but as the great cosmic racer running his celestial course on giant, untiring legs.

Stricker⁶⁴ and Hornung related the snake legs of the *Schutzbild* deity to the iconography of the entity Abrasax/Abraxas on magical gems from the Graeco-Roman period.⁶⁵ This important observation deserves to be pressed further, for Abrasax remains somewhat misunderstood.⁶⁶ This “anguipede alectorocéphale” is known by a number of names, but most commonly the name Abrasax, which numerologically corresponds to the number 365; according to Delatte and Derchain, “ces noms ont une valeur astrologique et plus particulièrement solaire.”⁶⁷

Abrasax most often has serpents which form his legs and bend up in place of feet; there are, however, examples of Abrasax with human legs and snakes for feet, parallel to the depiction on the *Schutzbild*.⁶⁸ He usually has two human arms, one bearing a shield, itself perhaps an allusion to the disk of the sun.⁶⁹ There is in fact a variant form of Abrasax, as a lion-headed anguipede, and he can hold an orb in place of the shield,⁷⁰ which suggests that the shield was indeed a solar emblem. Delatte and Derchain are uncertain of the deity's origin, and conclude that “l'association dans ce personnage énigmatique de deux natures opposées, l'une céleste, celle du coq, l'autre tellurienne, celle du serpent, est peu explicable.”⁷¹ In

⁶⁴ B. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1968), pp. 120-1.

⁶⁵ E. Hornung, “Zum Schutzbild im Grabe Ramses' VI.,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen, 1988), p. 50.

⁶⁶ Often, his representation in earlier Egyptian material goes unrecognized—compare the disk-bodied Abrasaxoidal deity depicted on a magical text from Deir el-Medina, published by Koenig (“Le contre-envoûtement de Ta-idi-Imen. Pap. Deir el-Médineh 44,” *BIFAO* 99 [1999]: p. 280), that he identifies as a “bonhomme- tétard” (p. 279).

⁶⁷ A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), pp. 23-4; see also the references given by R.D. Kotansky, *Texts and Studies in the Graeco-Egyptian Magic Lamellae, and Introduction, Corpus, and Commentary on the Phylacteries and Amulets Principally Engraved Onto Gold and Silver Tablets* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 120-1; and W. M. Brashear, “Ein neues Zaubersenble in München,” *SAK* 19 (1992): 103-4.

⁶⁸ Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, no. 34A (pp. 37-8), nos. 37-8 (p. 39)

⁶⁹ C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 123, n. 3; in Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, no. 34B (pp. 37-8), Abrasax has human feet, and no arms. Abrasax is the deity represented as a rooster on a solar disk in a bronze from Karnak (see Abd El Mohsen El Khachab, in M. Azim, “La fouille de la cour du VIII^e Pylône,” *Karnak* 6 [1980]: 117-18).

⁷⁰ Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 129 and n. 27.

⁷¹ Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, p. 24; they are not entirely averse to the hypothesis of Abrasax/Abraxas' origin in the Manichean Adamas (A.A. Barb, “Abraxas-Studien,” in *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna* [Brussels, 1957], 67-86). The statement by Barb (A.A. Barb, “Mystery, Myth, and Magic,” in J.R. Harris, ed., *The Legacy of Egypt* [Oxford, 1971], p. 162), that the cock- and lion-headed anguipedes were “without sufficient reason formerly taken to represent the ‘god’ Abraxas,” ignores

Egypt, however, the serpent uraeus is a solar symbol, often hanging pendant from the disk of the sun; in the iconography of Abrasax the disk or other solar icon (lion head, etc.) is replaced by the "Hellenistic" rooster,⁷² but the Egyptian solar uraeus remains.

Abrasax is the sun as an avenger.⁷³ As a symbol of the violent power of the sun, the association—in the Ramesses VI *Schutzbild* and the later Abrasax figures—of a serpent and a purely solar element is perfectly explicable in the light of Egyptian iconography, particularly as represented in the thus-far unique *Schutzbild*. Bonner compared Greek representations of snake-legged giants, and stated that he had "seen no Egyptian work of dynastic times representing a human head, arms, and torso combined with two serpent coils instead of legs."⁷⁴ While the figure in the *Schutzbild* does not fill all of Bonner's criteria (*i.e.* the human head and arms), it does provide an Egyptian parallel for Abrasax, far older than the snake-legged giants to which Bonner was forced to have recourse. Similarly, in the light of Egyptian religion, Bonner's difficulty with snakes having a protective function must vanish.⁷⁵

Bonner's association of Abrasax with the Greek giants is not entirely misleading, however. Abrasax is indeed a giant, and may represent the giant deity who encompasses all of creation. The snake-legged disk, reaching down below the surface of the earth from his celestial heights, is another form of the giant deity at the eastern horizon, the unified Re-Osiris. The snake-legged solar disk is an expression of the omnipresent, giant deity as the great flame stretching across the firmament.⁷⁶ The *Schutzbild* reveals that his arms are Isis and Nephthys. As uraei,

the frequent labeling of such beings as Abrasax/Abraxas; his own identification of the entity as Adam does not appear to be supported by a single label.

⁷² Though the bird is known in Egypt by the time of the New Kingdom (see H. Carter, "An Ostrakon Depicting a Red Jungle-Fowl (The Earliest Known Drawing of the Domestic Cock)," *JEA* 9 [1923]: 1-4, and the references cited there), the solar imagery of the rooster is not fully developed until the Graeco-Roman period.

⁷³ Cf. W. Brashear and A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *Magica Varia* (Brussels, 1991), p. 57.

⁷⁴ Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 124; for him (p. 128) "a monster with snake legs suggests only the earth-born giants." Stricker similarly terms the anguipedes "Giganten" (*De Geboorte van Horus*, vol. 2, p. 120, fig. 22).

⁷⁵ Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, p. 125.

⁷⁶ As expressed in Pyramid Text utterance 261 (PT §§ 324 a-c):

s3 ib šw 3wy 3w.t 3sb i3hw

RN pī nsr m tp t3w r dr p.t r dr t3

a son of the heart of Shu, extensively extended, fierce of brilliance,
this RN is a flame at the head of the wind, from the limit of heaven to the
limit of earth.

See J. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (Malibu, 1984), p. 487 (§695), and p. 537, n. 438. On the cosmic flame, see Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 184, text n. 455 and the references cited there. This enormous, fiery aspect of deity, and its potentially wrathful manifestation, shows the significance of the "stellar wonder" which Thutmose III relates in his Gebel Barkal stela (*Urk.* IV, p. 1238, l. 4-p. 1239, l. 11)—the cosmic epiphany of Thutmose III as the omnipresent

his legs can also be seen as manifestations of these goddesses (see pp. 244-6 above). These goddesses can represent the mountains of the horizons, encompassing all of creation.⁷⁷ Both the *Schutzbild* anguipede and the goddess-armed deity in the solar bark on the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling (pl. 27) are representations of the giant god at the eastern horizon, Re and Osiris at the time of their union. As he appears on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, his omnipresence is emphasized, his head in the Mehen-surrounded firmament, his feet in the similarly entwined underworld. On the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX the ithyphallic giant emphasizes the fecundity of the creative powers resulting from the union of Re and Osiris. The *Schutzbild* anguipede stresses the punishing powers of the deity at the eastern horizon, the area of the final punishment of the damned. Combining the far-off disk of the sun, and the serpentine legs of his fiery power reaching to the earth and below, the *Schutzbild* image also symbolizes the concept of the solar deity as one who is both far and near at the same time.⁷⁸ Like the giant Re-Osiris at the eastern horizon, Abrasax depicts the magical solar deity with his head in heaven and his feet in hell.⁷⁹ Like Re-Osiris, Abrasax is the sun of morning, day, and night.⁸⁰

Abrasax is usually helpful, and he often bears an epithet designating him as a destroyer of giants; he can, however, be dangerous, and have his power turned back on himself.⁸¹ The *hpr-hprw*, "coming into being of the realization," "manifesting of manifestations," which is said to occur "in this cavern" in line 2 of the right-hand

flame, there to the woe of his Nubian foes. This imagery is also the source for the description of Sety I as "a blasting flame, trampling the mountains" on his Amarah West and Sai stelae (K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions Vol. 1: Historical and Biographical* [Oxford, 1975], p. 103, l. 10)—at the edge of the world the pharaoh manifests himself as the blasting cosmic flame, on the piedmont of the horizon. A further example of the warring pharaoh as the omnipresent giant deity of the eastern horizon is in a description of Thutmose III from Buhen Temple:

šn.n=f s.t m-hnw ʿ.wy=f(y)

ḥʿ hm=f hr wp.t-t3 r šhr.t Mntw-Styw

He enclosed them [the entire cosmos] within his arms,

his majesty standing at the edge of the world in order to overthrow the Asiatic barbarians.

(west face of pillar 16—R.A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* [London, 1974], vol. 1, pls. 60 and 62, p. 51). For *wp.t t3* as the extreme north, as here, cf. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 92, no. 78.0936. The solar imagery of the enclosing arms (for *šni m-hnw ʿ.wy*, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 302 n. 8) is perhaps picked up by *wp.t*, which can refer to the horns of the heavenly cow, upon which the young sun perches (Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, p. 66, no. 79.0646); for the image of the sun god perched between the horns of the cosmic cow goddess, see E. Feucht, "Verjüngung und Wiedergeburt," *SAK* 11 (1984): 401-417.

⁷⁷ See Clère, *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 30, n. 1 and p. 31, fig. 1.

⁷⁸ Cf. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 355, n. *t* to text 253 (from TT 373).

⁷⁹ Cf. Brashear and Bülow-Jacobsen, *Magica Varia*, pp. 28-33.

⁸⁰ Cf. R. Merkelbach and M. Totti, *Abrasax, ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts, Band 1: Gebete* (Opladen, 1990), pp. 158-61.

⁸¹ Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, p. 36.

annotation to the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI (p. 238-9) is a precaution which the sun god takes when he encounters Apep, and the *nty-dwy* against whom the serpent-limbed sun shoots in line 3 of the *Schutzbild* is Apep. As Abrasax/Abraxas destroys the chthonic giants, so the anguipede of the Corridor G *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI is the destroyer of the great serpent Apep. As a solar deity, Abrasax is a cosmic ruler,⁸² as is the unified Re-Osiris.

Osiris is in the horizon and *is* the horizon.⁸³ On the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, Osiris reclines in the "Forehall" of the Netherworld, in the slope which rises up to the eastern horizon, and which is in the fact the root and base of the eastern horizon. One hill of the horizon is shown, the rightmost. In a representation of the two hills of the horizon, the leftmost hill can represent the western horizon, while the rightmost hill can represent the eastern horizon.⁸⁴ The figure of Osiris is whole, the head is joined to the body, an aspect of the eastern horizon.⁸⁵ In the scene of the sun between Isis and Nephthys above the entrance to the tomb of Merneptah (KV 8), the text behind Nephthys on the right side of the scene, the eastern hill,⁸⁶ is spoken by "Osiris, the lord of the west."⁸⁷ There, as in the tomb of Ramesses IX, Osiris is associated with the eastern horizon, the place of repose for the mummy of Osiris in the concluding scene in the Amduat, emphasizing the cyclical nature of the course of the sun.⁸⁸ The passages, cited by Barta,⁸⁹ Pyr. 636 a-c and 1887a-b (damaged), could serve as descriptions of the

⁸² Brashear and Bülow-Jacobsen, *Magica Varia*, p. 53.

⁸³ W. Barta, "Zum Wesen des Gottes Osiris nach Zeugnissen der älteren Totenliteratur," *ZÄS* 117 (1990): 89-93. This concept may explain the end of column 7 on pl. 56 of Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944); the gap indicated on the plate does not exist, and the conclusion of the column appears to read *ḥ.t-k nsw.t* Ramesses VI *pw m3'-hrw*, "your horizon is king Ramesses VI, justified" (on *pw m3'-hrw*, see H.C. Jelgersma, "A Grammatical Peculiarity in the Tomb Inscriptions of the Sons of Ramses III in the Valley of the Queens in Thebes," *JEOL* 21 [1970]: 169-74).

⁸⁴ Assmann, *LdÄ*, vol. 3, cols. 6-7, n. 26.

⁸⁵ Westendorf, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974): 397-8 n. 11.

⁸⁶ For the association of Nephthys with the east and Isis with the west, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 341 n. 19 (see also pp. 197-8 and 352 n. 63). See also Chapter 2, n. 123. On the sarcophagus of Djedhor, son of Nesqashewty (Cairo 26030), the Apis bull carrying the mummy on the foot of the coffin is flanked by the two goddesses –Nephthys to the right, labeled "east;" Isis to the left, labeled "west."

⁸⁷ *PM* I: 2, p. 507; color illustration in E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige* (Zurich and Munich, 1983), p. 115 (no. 86).

⁸⁸ This association of opposite directions is also possible for mixing the normal south/east, and west/north associations of the south-north and east-west axes (on which see C. Loeben, "Bemerkungen zum Horustempel des Neuen Reiches in Edfu," *BSEG* 14 [1990]: 67). For an example, see Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 2nd ed., p. 88, no. 11, ll. 9-10 of the hymn, where Re is "oberägyptischer König der westlichen Götter, unterägyptischer König der östlichen Götter."

⁸⁹ Barta, *ZÄS* 117 (1990): 89-93.

concluding scene in the Ramesses IX treatise, when they describe Osiris in his name of “Horizon from which Re goes forth/ascends” (see p. 401 ff.).

There are several possible explanations for the elevated arm of the ithyphallic Osiride figure in the tomb of Ramesses IX. The most important image which the giant deity’s raised arm conveys is that of the hand of Osiris as Nun, the waters out of which Re is reborn each morning.⁹⁰ The figure of the enormous unified Re-Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX emphasizes the liminal, watery realm of rebirth which the giant deity inhabits. The raised hand of the Osiride figure represents the waters through which the sun will be reborn. The depiction in the tomb of Ramesses IV of the scarab and disk at the fingertips of Osiris’ raised hand is an iconographic allusion to scenes of the turning over of celestial bodies as depicted in the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun and on the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI. More specifically, the scene on the enigmatic wall could well serve as the illustration to P. Carlsberg I C I 43:⁹¹

[w^cb=f (m-)hⁿw] ˁ.wy it=f Wsir w^cb=f (m-)hⁿw ȝr.t pȝy=f it Wsir ȝ hr ir=f s
pȝ mw nty iw=f h^c (m-)hⁿw=f pȝy

[He is purified in the] arms of his father, Osiris. He is purified in the hand of his father, Osiris—that is to say, he is accustomed to do it. It is the water from which he rises.

This is repeated again in C II, 7:⁹²

sw ȝh=f hr ˁ.wy it=f Wsir m tȝ-wr iw=f nfr (m-)hⁿw ȝr.t pȝy=f it Wsir n
pr-imnty ȝ wn-nȝw lr=f n pr-imnty pȝ mw nty pȝ R^c h^c (m-)hⁿw=f pȝy

He was luminous in the arms of his father Osiris, in tȝ-wr—he was beautiful in the hand of his father, Osiris, in the underworld—that is to say, it was in the underworld that he was. That is the water from which Re rises.

In reference to the setting of the sun, F III, 43 repeats this idea:⁹³

⁹⁰ For the identity of Re and Nun and the sun as a “Nunian” manifestation, compare W.J. Murnane, “Observations on Pre-Amarna Theology during the Earliest Reign of Amenhotep IV,” in E. Teeter and J.A. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), p. 310; for Nun in general see S. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1994), pp. 23-31; M. Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean* (Copenhagen, 2002).

⁹¹ O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1, ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmographischer Text* (Copenhagen, 1940), pp. 22 and 24-6, p. 4*, pl. 1; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* vol. 1, p. 49

⁹² Lange and Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No 1*, pp. 23-4, p. 5*, pl. 2; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 50.

⁹³ Lange and Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No 1*, p. 37, p. 14*, pl. 3; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 63.

ꜣ[h=f] ꜥn=f m-hnw ꜥ.wy it=f Wsir iw=f nfr iw=f tsr (m-)hnw dr.t pꜣy=f it Wsir
pꜣ mw pꜣy

[He] becomes luminous, he becomes beautiful in the arms of his father, Osiris. He is beautiful, he is resplendent in the hand of his father, Osiris; it is the water.⁹⁴

In these passages, the arms and hands of Osiris carry the sun at both horizons, and are equated with the waters of Nun in which the sun is purified.⁹⁵ As a pure and washed (w^cb) celestial body, the sun is clear and bright. The hand of Osiris symbolizes the purifying waters,⁹⁶ and points forward to the brilliance, which the rising newborn sun will attain. The sun joins the corpse of Osiris in an aquatic setting, and in the Nun-hand of Osiris, a portion of the corpse itself is the watery element.⁹⁷ Osiris and Nun may be identified,⁹⁸ and the identification of the arms

⁹⁴ See also Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 63; for some other references to the hand of Osiris, see H. Altenmüller, "Hand," *LdÄ*, vol. 2, col. 940 and n. 61 in col. 943.

⁹⁵ According to Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 63, these texts (I 43, II 7, III 43) occur "in association with the personification of the sun as it prepares to leave the Duat." For the equation of the concepts of embracing (m-hnw ꜥ.wy) and lifting up the sun, see Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 43 (and n. 4, pp. 43-4). For w^cb and solar/stellar clarity, see J.C. Darnell, "For I See the Color of his Uraei": *Gnosis and Alchemy in Ramesside Egypt, and the Amarna Origins of the Concept of the Solar Sympatheia*, forthcoming. The hand as Nun is appropriate also to this scene as an image of the union of Re and Osiris, which, according to the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, occurred in the primal ny.w-waters (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 22, l. 9; see W. Barta, "Osiris als Mutterleib des unterweltlichen Sonnengottes in den Jenseitsbüchern des Neuen Reiches," *JEOL* 29 [1985-86]: 99).

⁹⁶ The association of the hands of the god Osiris with the purifying Nun-waters through which the sun rises may be one of the bases on which is founded the late desire that Osiris offer cool water to the blessed deceased (on which see D. Delia, "The Refreshing Water of Osiris," *JARCE* 29 [1992]: 181-190).

⁹⁷ Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, p. 46 n. 11 characterize the union of sun and corpse in the Sixth Hour of the Amduat as occurring "in a humid atmosphere recalling Nun and pregnancy."

⁹⁸ In Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 49, in ll. 43-4. For Osiris and water see i.e. K. Sethe and O. Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1957), p. 82, l. 10 (Bab el Amra, Karnak; 3rd scene from the top, N end of W interior = P. Clère, *La porte d'Éueregète à Karnak* [Cairo, 1961], pl. 45), the king says to Osiris: hrp=i n=k Ḥꜥp wtt m rdw=k, "I dedicate to you the inundation, engendered from your efflux;" see J.G. Griffiths, *Phutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Swansea, 1970) pp. 436-437; J. Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford, 1956), p. 21 n. 16; H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1956), pp. 408-409; Assmann, *Re und Amun*, p. 263 n. 275; for Osiris and Hapi see also the references cited by D. Kurth in "Nilgott," in *LdÄ*, vol. 4, p. 486, nn. 67-68; for Osiris and Nun, see A. Moret, "La légende d'Osiris à l'époque thébaine d'après l'hymne à Osiris du Louvre," *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 734 n. (16). In the demotic Book of Breathing P. Louvre E 10605 l. 19 writes Wsir instead of the mw of P. Berlin 8351 l. 9 (M. Smith, "An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 9 (P) + P. Louvre E

and hands of Osiris with the waters of Nun⁹⁹ suggests the designation of the sun god as *imy drw nhh*, the solar deity at the “Todesschwelle.”¹⁰⁰ In the introductory text to Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns, *zh.ty* stretches forth his hand and receive the morning:¹⁰¹

zh.ty di=k ʿ=k
šsp=k dw3w
hnm=k nsw.t Ramesses VI
 Akhty, you put out your arm,
 that you receive the morning,
 and that you unite with the king Ramesses VI.

This is the solar horizon-dweller embodying Osiris, reaching out to himself—*dmdy*, “the unified one,”¹⁰² Re-Osiris. As the Osiride element reaches up to the sun, so the solar element stretches out to unite with the Osiride king. In a passage from Medinet Habu, the king is himself the unified Re-Osiris, present now in both the upper and lower worlds, and present at the beginning of time as the undivided creator:¹⁰³

nsw.t imy zh.t imy d3.t
nhh imy Nwn
 the king who is in the horizon and who is in the Netherworld;
 the aged one who is in Nun

In the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat, the arms of Shu receive the disk of the sun at the end of the Netherworld;¹⁰⁴ the emerging sun is later referred to as *3gb-wr*, the

10605) (Part 2),” *Enchoria* 16 (1988): 75 (the substitution may not simply be “in error,” especially since the scribe of the ostrakon was probably responsible for its “translation” into Demotic [idem., “O. Hess = O. Naville = O. BM 50601: An Elusive Text Relocated,” in E. Teeter and J.A. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), p. 403]. On Osiris and the Inundation, L. Žabkar, “A Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator at Philae,” *ZÄS* 108 (1981): 144, n. 21.

⁹⁹ For Osiris’ arms and the Inundation, see section *n* of Chapter 145 of the Book of the Dead, the 13th portal; see also Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 734 n. (17).

¹⁰⁰ See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 87-8, text note 11.

¹⁰¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944), pl. 56, 5 (73a). In *ibid.* pl. 52, l. 3, Osiris extends his hands towards *Re*. For *Re* and Osiris as stretching out their hands towards each other, see Barta, *JEOL* 29 (1985-86): 103 and n. 79.

¹⁰² W. Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher für den verstorbenen König* (Munich, 1985), pp. 35-39.

¹⁰³ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6: *The Temple Proper Part 2, The Re Chapel, The Royal Mortuary Complex, and Adjacent Rooms, with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall* (Chicago, 1963), pl. 424, B4 (corresponding to a passage in the Book of the Dead of Nedjemet).

¹⁰⁴ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 197 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 818-819).

primordial Inundation waters¹⁰⁵—the sun entering the arms of Shu is the swimming soul of Re.¹⁰⁶ In the tomb of Ramesses IX the Osirian king is the eastern horizon, bridging the Netherworld and the upper world of the living; he is a giant figure representing the horizon and Nun, the borders respectively of this world and the next in the realm of eternity (*ḏrw nḥḥ*).¹⁰⁷ The one hand masturbates, and is a feminine element, a vaginal substitute for the self creating deity;¹⁰⁸ the other hand

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 205, l. 4 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 849); vol. 2, p. 193.

¹⁰⁶ For the image of the corpse of the Osirian Shu in the hill of the horizon, compare the scene in the fourth register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, where each Aker front has an image of the “corpse of Shu” on its breast (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 26, pl. 12, l. 4 [text 26]).

¹⁰⁷ This interpretation of the reclining Osiride king in the tomb of Ramesses IX is a representation of the concepts expressed in a hymn in the contemporary tomb of Imiseba (TT 65 [discussed briefly above, in relation to *ḥtmyt* and *ḥryt*]; Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, no. 88, pp. 124-5):

nwy b3=k ḏfd=k i3d

ir.ty=ky itn iʿḥ

tp=k ḥr.t rd.wy=ky d3.t

the flood is your *ba*, and your pupil is the dew,

your two eyes are the sun and the moon,

your head is heaven, your feet are the Netherworld.

The deity is the sun and moon, the flood through which they pass, and the upper and lower worlds. The pupil as the dew is probably a reference to the girl in the eye, the goddess of the eye of Re, as moisture, Tefnut. For this notion, one may compare the idea that Hathor came into being from a teardrop out of the solar eye, for which see W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mrt, Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation* (Leiden, 1991), p. 228 n. 14. This association of the goddess of the eye of the sun with moisture further recalls the image of Isis as a rain cloud, in L. Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae* (Hanover and London, 1988), pp. 42-3, 149, an image which suggests Isis in the form of the returning, moisture laden solar eye (not suggested by Žabkar in his excellent commentary). The image of Isis as the returning rain cloud may also allude to Isis mourning Osiris, recalling the name of the portal of the seventh door of the Netherworld as “Storm Cloud Veiling the Weary One, mourner whose desire it is to conceal the body”—T.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day, Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms* (Chicago, 1974), p. 130; see also A. Piankoff, “Le naos D 29 du musée du Louvre,” *RdE* 1 (1933): 175. The word *i3d*, “dew,” (ΕΙΩΤΕ) may be intended to allude to *ldyt*, “vulva” (ΟΟΤΕ). For a pun involving *t3 it.t*, “vulva,” in relation to the creator Ptah, see W. Erichsen and S. Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift (Pap. demot. Berlin 13603)* (Mainz, 1954), 4, 2 (pp. 316 and 382, and p. 331). For Isis as the dew, see Merkelbach and Totti, *Abrasax, ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts, Band 1: Gebete*, pp. 160-61 (§234).

¹⁰⁸ See A. Gardiner, *JÄS* 42 (1905): 36; J. Zandee, “The Birth-Giving Creator-God in Ancient Egypt,” in A.B. Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London, 1992), pp. 170-71. On the masturbation of Atum, see also J. Baines, “*Bnbn*: Mythological and Linguistic Notes,” *Or.* 39 (1970): 389-97; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, pp. 72-75.

receives the disk of the sun, and represents the male element Nun.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, Nun can represent the overflowing ejaculate, the result of the other hand's masturbation.¹¹⁰ In view of these aspects of the image, the reclining Osiride king represents the eastern horizon as the vulva of the sky goddess.¹¹¹ For this reason, the union of Re and Osiris in the east can be seen as copulation, as in section S 4 of Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead:¹¹²

ptr r=f sw Wsir pw
ky dd
 hknw-R^c rn=f
 b3 pw n R^c
 nk=f im=f ds=f

Who is he? He is Osiris.

Alternatively:

Acclaimer of Re is his name;
 he is the *ba* of Re,
 with whom he himself copulates.

¹⁰⁹ For water as a male element at the time of creation, see Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie*, col. 4, l. 3 (p. 316), and the commentary pp. 364 ([*p3 mw nty iw hwt p3y*]). Compare the goddesses Iusaas and Nebet-Hetepet. The first is the masturbating hand of Atum, the other a personification of the vagina, and both can be termed the hand of the god (J. Vandier, "Iousaas et (Hathor)-Nébet-Hétépet," *RdE* 16 [1964]: 55-146, *RdE* 17 [1965]: 89-176, and *RdE* 18 [1966]: 67-142; Ph. Derchain, "Le démiurge et la balance," in Ph. Derchain, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* [Paris, 1969], p. 33; *idem*, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, pp. 50-53; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history*, pp. 28-9). Note that in the example F 99 from Philae which Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 52, discusses, Nebet-Hetepet is found with Khepri, with marginal inscriptions mentioning Horakhty emerging from Nun.

¹¹⁰ See above, in the discussion of the ejaculation and spitting of the four winds (Chapter 5, pp. 327-9). On the imagery of the fist and masturbation see D. Kurth, "Zum Pfortenbuch, 12. Stunde, 90. Szene," *GM* 105 (1988): 49-54.

¹¹¹ Westendorf, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974): 391; in Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie*, col. 4, l. 4 (pp. 316-17), the hill is a feminine element (*t3 q1 nty iw s.hmt*). Also note that *sh.t* is a term for the excitation, the *h3d* of Atum (see Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 47 and n. 12). The raised hand of the deity, in a Shu-like pose, can also be seen as opening the vulva of the east at the time of the birth of the sun (see S. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna* [Cairo, 1982], p. 164; M. Malaise, "Bes et les Croyances solaires," in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 2 [Jerusalem, 1990], pp. 715-7). For the body of Osiris as a womb, see Zandee, in A.B. Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, p. 177.

¹¹² U. Rössler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuchs* (Wiesbaden, 1979), pp. 214, 241 (citing the Coffin Text parallels; the *b3...nk=f* of the Book of the Dead is not in CT utterance 335a [see M.S.H.G. Heerma van Vos, *De Oudste Versie van Dodenboek 17a, Coffin Texts Spruch 335a* (Leiden, 1963), p. 18]); see P. Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1986), p. 233 n. 14; L. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, pp. 95 and 103; Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 731-2 n. (11).

Along with the explicit statement that he is the “*ba* of Re with whom he (Re) himself copulates,” the name ‘Acclaimer of Re’ also carries sexual connotations.¹¹³

The *hry.t* into which the hand of Osiris reaches could also be equated with Nut, from whose thighs the newly born sun emerges.¹¹⁴ The hand which receives the sun also lifts it up into the sky.¹¹⁵ The sun as coming from the hand of the horizon is depicted in the third scene of the second register of the third division of the Book of Caverns. There, as though emerging from the paws of Aker, are deities labeled *dwꜣ.ty*, *itm*, and *ifny*; each deity receives the annotation *pr-f m-ꜥ ʔkr*, “he coming forth from the hand of Aker.”¹¹⁶

¹¹³ On *hknw-Rꜥ*, see Rössler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuchs*, p. 214 n. 6 (citing the parallel in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 105 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 146]), and p. 241; Heerma van Vos, *De Oudste Versie van Dodenboek 17a*, pp. 57-8. On the sexual connotations of *hꜥ ib*, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 325, n. 56 and p. 326. For further considerations on embracing as a means of effecting the union of Re and Osiris, see C. Desroches-Noblecourt, “Poissons, tabous et transformations du mort, nouvelles considérations sur les pèlerinages aux villes saintes,” *Kēmi* 13 (1954): 33-42.

¹¹⁴ Compare Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 221 n. 158.

¹¹⁵ Compare the arms of Tatenen in the Litany of Re (E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 2 [Geneva, 1975-76], p. 147 n. 518), which receive and lift up the sun. On the lid of the outer sarcophagus of Merneptah (J. Assmann, “Die Inschrift auf dem äusseren Sarkophagendeckel des Merenptah,” *MDAIK* 28 [1972]: 47-73), in ll. 3 and 12, Neith is said to lift up the king as the sun. Assmann, *ibid.* p. 62, text note 26, notes this is usually a function of male deities, adding “die androgyne Neith vermag auch diese Funktion zu erfüllen.” Through the lifting deity’s hands as Nut, he becomes a female element, so the fact that Neith lifts up the sun god here may have less to do with Neith’s assumed androgyny than with the fact that she is female.

¹¹⁶ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): p. 22. Osiris has Re in his watery hand at the time of the union of the gods Re and Osiris, at the horizon, at the time of Re’s rebirth and rising. This is an explanation for the description of *Re* (*Urk.* IV, p. 2095, ll. 18-19): *pry m mw stꜣ sw m nnw rnn sw*, “come forth from the waters, he who draws himself from the watery abyss which nurses him.” The reclining pose of the ithyphallic figure may also suggest the waters of Nun, both by recalling the languid state in which the creator existed before the desire to create entered his mind, and his weariness following the initial phase of creation (Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, pp. 18 and 49; K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs* [Berlin, 1929], pp. 44-5). A similar association of the languid, watery state of the creator god, in a context of creation, appears in The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall* (Chicago, 1994), pl. 63, and the author’s commentary on pp. 25-26, where a priest shouts to the Amun bark leaving Luxor Temple:

bgꜣꜣ.wy smn bꜣgꜣ

How weary is the cackling goose!

The statement is clearly punning, and the imagery is appropriate to the riverine procession back to Karnak. The *smn* is Amun (*Wb.* IV 136, 3; J. Vandier, “L’oie d’Amon, à propos d’une récente acquisition du Musée du Louvre,” *Monuments et mémoires, Fondation Eugène Piot* 57 [1971]: 5-41; W. Guglielmi and J. Dittmar, “Anrufungen der persönlichen Frömmigkeit auf Gans- und Widder-Darstellungen des

The combination of the waters of Nun and the place of fiery punishments occurs also in Chapter 146 of the Book of the Dead:¹¹⁷

ii. n=i min <m> p3 sb3 n sd.t

in H'pi ms kkw ir n=i w3.t

Through the portal of flame have I come today.

It is the Inundation, child of the darkness,¹¹⁸ that has made a way for me.

The concept of the rebirth of the sun out of the place of ultimate, fiery destruction, associated with the upside-down lords of the Netherworld, appears again in a scene in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns. The legs of Osiris are shown as emerging from the *hmy.t*, “the place of destruction,” as his enemies descend head first into the place of destruction. This is the edge of the Netherworld with Osiris emerging from the hell into which the damned fall. In the tomb of Ramesses IX it is not the damned who are falling, however, but the blessed dead who are in danger of falling at the moment of the cosmic crisis. The scene might be read as Osiris *imy q3y.wt* or *n q3*, citing an epithet of the god recorded in the hymn of O. Hess (= O. BM 50601),¹¹⁹ “Osiris who is in the high land,” with the one-sided stairway as the determinative of *q3*.¹²⁰

The hand of the Osiride figure is that of Akhty (see above, p. 393) extended towards the rising sun. According to P. Carlsberg I, the hand of Osiris is the watery realm through which the sun rises. The raised fingers of the Osiride figure are the waters through which the sun rises, the portal connecting the lower and upper worlds. This imagery of the disk at the tips of the Osirian fingers entering the world of the living is that of a passage on a statue of the Third Intermediate Period from North Karnak. On the right side of the block statue of Djedthothiu fankh (T 35), the son of the man depicted, one Harsiesis, addresses his father in the Netherworld. The

Amun,” in I. Gamer-Wallert and W. Helck, eds. *Gegengabe, Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* [Tübingen, 1992], pp. 119-42; C. Graindorge, “La quête de la lumière au mois de Khoiak: une histoire d’oies,” *JEA* 82 [1996]: 87-89). On *b3g3* “weariness,” and its relation to *ngg*, the cry of the *smn*-goose, see Chapter 7, p. 443, n. 84. Finally, the image of the goose alludes to the general image of the creator as a bird/egg (Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, pp. 233-241).

¹¹⁷ E.A.W. Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum* (London, 1912), pl. 52, ll. 9-10 = section w S 14 of T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 136.

¹¹⁸ For the Inundation so designated compare Hapi as *kkwy m hrw*, “one (yet) dark in the day,” (D. Van der Plas, *L’Hymne à la Crue du Nil*, vol. 1 [Leiden, 1986], p. 21).

¹¹⁹ M. Smith, “A New Version of a Well-known Egyptian Hymn,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 123, l. 6 and p. 131, n. c to l. 6.

¹²⁰ Compare also Osiris termed *hnty h'cy.t wr.t*, “Prééminent sur la Grande Butte” (C. De Wit, “Inscriptions dédicatoires du temple d’Edfou,” *CdE* 36, no. 71 [1961]: 64, citing *E* IV 4, 6). For the Osirian deceased king as the horizon, compare the epithet of the living king *dw n nwb*, “mountain of gold,” a reference to the glowing eastern horizon, personified by the king (C. Coche-Zivie, “Les colonnes du «temple de l’est» à Tanis – Épithètes royales et noms divins,” *BIFAO* 74 [1974]: 107-9).

son describes what the father was wont to do in the temple, already at that time assimilated into the entourage of Re (horizontal ll. 2-3):¹²¹

wn=k [ʿ.wy] p.t m3=k imy=s
pr itn hr dbʿ=k

you opening [the doors] of heaven, and seeing the one who is in it,
 the disk coming forth beneath your finger(s).

The opening of the shrine and removal of the divine image for Re was performed by the deceased father when on earth, a foreshadowing of his later Osirian service for the solar deity. The hand of the ithyphallic Osiris lifts up heaven and opens the portals of the firmament, lifting up the image of the sun into the world of the new day.

The elbow of the ithyphallic god, very slightly bent back, points behind him. This fact, along with the erect phallus, suggests the pose of the god Min. An epithet of Min is *f3i* ʿ, and this epithet is also born by Osiris in Theban Tomb 65 (Tomb of Imiseba, reign of Ramesses IX—see plate 38A):¹²²

1) *ḏd mdw in Wsir hnty-imnt.t nfr-hr q3 3tf*

2) *nb ʿb.wy dm-hnw.ty wsr-ib iṭ sbi*

3) *wty tpy n Gb hry-tp m h.t Nw.t*

hpr ʿnh 4) wtt mṭ3

f3i ʿ iwh nhḥ

5) *B3 št3w hry-ib Ddt ʿpwy hry ntr.w sʿh*

6) *šps imy iwnw sr n Hw.t-Brbr ʿš3 k3.w*

7) *nb qbḥw sšm htp.w n 3ḥ.yw smsw wʿ*


8) *n imn-rn=f b3 pn r mh 4 m štt dmdy n Ddw*

- 1) Words spoken by Osiris, foremost of the West, perfect of face,^a high of Atef-crown;^b
- 2) lord of the two horns, sharp of tips,^c strong of heart,^d who seizes the rebel;^e
- 3) first begotten of Geb, chief in the womb of Nut,
 living Kheperer, 4) engendering of phallus,
 upraised of arm, bearer of the flail;
- 5) mysterious ram-form, residing in Mendes, winged-one,^f chief of gods,
 august dignitary
- 6) who is in Heliopolis, the Official of the Mansion of the Benben,^g
 plentiful of provisions;

¹²¹ C. Robichon, P. Barguet, and J. Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV (1949-1951)* (Cairo, 1954), figure 143 (opposite p. 148), and pl. 126.

¹²² The handcopy (pl. 38, figure A) and the following transliteration and translation are based on Metropolitan Museum of Art photograph T 1712. A portion of the text in lines 3-5 appears in the *Wb. Belegstellen*, vol. 1, offset p. 77 (to *Wb.* I 572, 12) but omitting the man-holding-basket determinative of *f3i*.

- 7) lord of cool waters, who conducts offerings to the *akh*'s, eldest, sole one
 8) of Hidden-of-Name,^h this fourth ram-form in the sanctuary (of Sokar),
 the combined form (of Re and Osiris) in Mendes.

^a On *nfr-hr*, see , *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 172-4; Ph. Germond, "A propos de l'expression *nfr hr* , 'beau visage': une lecture au second degré ?," *BSEG* 4 (1980): 39-43; L. Žabkar, "A Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator at Philae," *ZÄS* 108 (1981): 145; Ph. Derchain, "Un projet d'empereur," in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* (Cologne, 1991), p. 118 (suggesting that *nfr hr shb mndty* corresponds to καλὸς Ἀντίνοος); F. Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou* (Leuven, 1992), p. 198, n. 897.¹²³ On the association of *nfr hr* with the wearing of high double plumes, see Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel* vol. 1, p. 157 (n. 113).¹²⁴

^b For the god and the Atef crown, compare a portion of another hymn from the same tomb:¹²⁵

nfr-hr shm m 3tf=f

Beautiful of face, powerful in his Atef crown

^c The combination of horns (*ḥb.wy*) and the *3tf*-crown is especially well attested in hymns addressed to Osiris.¹²⁶ A passage in P. BM 10299, 1, attests the Atef-wearing Osiris at the cusp of the eastern horizon, united with the newborn sun, as in the tomb of Ramesses IX. In P. BM 10299, 1, Osiris is addressed as *ntr wr hkr.w <m> 3tf m h.t Nw.t*, "the great god, adorned <with> the Atef crown in the belly of Nut."¹²⁷ The Atef crown is appropriate to the giant deity, jutting into the firmament.¹²⁸

^d On *wsr-ib*, see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen* p. 220.

¹²³ For the proper grammatical explanation of *nfr-hr*, see K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Exozentrische Komposita als Relativphrasen im älteren Ägyptisch, zum Verständnis der Konstruktion *nfr hr* 'mit schönem Gesicht,'" *ZÄS* 121 (1994): 51-75.

¹²⁴ The epithet *nfr-hr* may be related to the designation *nfr-htp*—see W. Spiegelberg, "Der Gott Nephotes (*Nfr-htp*) und der κυβερνήτης des Nils," *ZÄS* 62 (1927): 36. On *Nfr-htp*, a common epithet of Khonsu, see C. Vandersleyen, "Aménophis III incarnant le dieu Neferhotep," *OLP* 6-7 (1975-76): 537; J.-Cl. Goyon and C. Traunecker, "Une stèle tardive dédiée au dieu Neferhotep (CS X 1004)," *Karnak* 7 (1978-1981): 299-302.

¹²⁵ Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, pp. 123 and 124, n. e; *idem*, *Liturgische Lieder*, 172-3.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 207, n. u.

¹²⁷ R.A. Caminos, "A Prayer to Osiris," *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 21 (and fig. 1, l. 1 there) and pl. 4, l. 1.

¹²⁸ On the double feathers and the immense deity, see Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*, vol. 1, pp. 367-71.

^e The Atef crown of Osiris is often associated with power over the foes of Re and Osiris—compare the stela British Museum no. 236 [1367], ll. 8-13.¹²⁹

^f ꜥꜣwy is the solar deity as a ram-headed, winged scarab (here only, according to *Wb.* I 180, 3).

^g *Wb.* IV 188, 4-5; 189, 3. On the form of Re in the Benben Mansion, see Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 301, n. a; on the orthography of *bmbn* as *brbr*, see J. Baines, “*Bmbn*: Mythological and Linguistic Notes,” *Or.* 39 (1970): 389-404. The forms of Osiris detailed here, mysterious ram, a Netherworldly form, and a solar, Heliopolitan form, are foreshadowed already in the Middle Kingdom—compare stela British Museum no. 236 [1367], ll. 8-9,¹³⁰ wherein Re is said to rise in order to behold Osiris’ perfection upon earth (a visible, solar manifestation), as Re sets in order to behold him “in the manifestations of the Netherworld.”

^h The deity *imn-rn=f* is Amun, a *ba* of the solar deity.¹³¹

This hymn from the tomb of Imiseba is a paean to the great deity in his form of the Ram of Mendes, the four-fold *ba*.¹³² The doctrine of the Mendesian ram fits

¹²⁹ H.R. Hall, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, vol. 3 (London, 1912), pl. 28.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ See Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 124, n. k.; for Amun as a *ba* of the sun, see *ibid.*, p. 120, n. c; *idem*, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 2nd ed., p. 259, no. 111, n. to ll. 6-7; Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, §§ 231-5, pp. 109-11. Thus Amun at the Opet temple at Karnak can be termed a *ba* of Osiris; the Osiris of the Opet temple is a solar deity, the unified Re-Osiris. J.G. Griffiths, review of C. De Wit, *Les inscriptions du Temple d'Opet à Karnak*, vol. 3, in *JEA* 57 (1971): 229, when he concludes that Amun as the *ba* of Osiris in the Opet temple shows that “the supremacy of Osiris has involved the reduction of the greatest god of Thebes to the status of an Osirian manifestation,” ignores the nature of the supreme deity Osiris as a solar deity, and Amun’s much earlier status as a *ba* of the solar deity.

¹³² On whom see Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte* (Brussels, 1965), p. 35; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 78-81; *idem*, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 207 (n. t to text 156); *idem*, *Re und Amun*, p. 263 (this passage by Assmann closely paraphrased by H. Sternberg-el-Hotabi, “Die Götterdarstellungen der Metternichstelle,” *GM* 97 [1987]: 36); L. Kákosy, “Prophecies of Ram gods,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19 (1966): 351 n. 70; *idem*, “Probleme der ägyptischen Kosmogonien der Ptolemäer und Römerzeit,” *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. 2 (Montpellier, 1986), p. 432 and p. 434, n. 35; J.F. Borghouts, “The Ram as a Protector and Prophet,” *RdE* 32 (1980): 33-46. The tombs of Ramesses IX, Ramesses X, and Ramesses XI present this Osirian All-Lord as having four ram heads (see respectively, Guilman, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 27; H. Jenni, *Das Grab Ramses' X. (KV 18)* [Basel, 2000], pp. 54-61 and pl. 5; R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, vol. 3 [Berlin, 1849-59], pl. 239a). On the four ram-headed Amun-Re-Horakhty shown at the entrances to the tombs of Ramesses IX and XI, see also

well the imagery of the union of Re and Osiris at dawn, and specifically the imagery of the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX: Osiris is water, the hand of Osiris is Nun into which the solar disk enters; Geb is the earth, represented on the enigmatic wall by the horizon hill on which Osiris, the successor of Geb, reclines; Shu is the air, the space in which Re-Osiris supports the sky and makes the Netherworld deep; and Khepri is the light, the rising disk of the sun. In the Ramesses IX treatise, a comparison of the dead king with Geb is possible—the deceased king, like Geb, does join (*hnm*) sexually with his mother Nut. In the hieratic inscription accompanying the penultimate scene on the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX, the king is referred to as *b3*, in *b3=k špsy*, “your august *ba*” (pl. 37B, l. 4).

The epithets of Osiris in the Imiseba hymn stress the procreative powers of Osiris, and describe him as Min, “upraised of arm, bearer of the flail.”¹³³ This is perhaps the intent in the representation of Osiris as Min in the tomb of Ramesses IX,¹³⁴ and in the parallel scene on the papyrus of Heruben (see pl. 41).¹³⁵ Like Min, he grasps his erect phallus (although this is not explicitly shown, but rather implied on the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX), his other arm thrown back in an approximation of the gesture of Min (the raised arm of the Ramesses IX figure is but slightly bent at the elbow). Osiris Min appears in this pose in the Hibis Temple¹³⁶—Min, lord of Coptos, lies on his back within a Min shrine, phallus erect and presumably grasped by one hand, the visible arm thrown back with the flail.

T.A. Bács, “Amun-Re-Harakhti in the Late Ramesside Royal Tombs,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (Budapest, 1992), pp. 43–53. For the four-headed Min, often with four ram heads, symbolizing universal overlordship, see J. Quaegebeur, “Les quatre dieux Min,” in E. Graefe and U. Verhoeven, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten (Fs. Derchain)* (Leuven, 1991), pp. 253–68. Note also the horizontal text above the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 40; see further above, Chapter 5, pp. 364ff.), which describes the four-fold nature of the deceased king.

¹³³ For Osiris-Min, see the references cited by Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 87, n. 305. On the deceased as Min-*nḥḥ*, see W. Westendorf, “Die Lehre von den zwei Ewigkeiten und ihre Nutzenwendung durch den Toten, Dargestellt anhand des 17. Kapitels des Totenbuches,” in W. Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien, Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel* (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 183–206. For the pose of Min, see O. Keel, *Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im Alten Testament* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1974), pp. 158–60.

¹³⁴ A connection between the hymn in the tomb of Imiseba and the depiction of the Osiride king in the tomb of Ramesses IX is probable; the chief draughtsman Amenhotep worked in both the tomb of Ramesses IX and the tomb of Imiseba, and Bács in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, p. 53, has suggested that he provides the connection between another scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX and hymns in the tomb of Imiseba.

¹³⁵ A. Piankoff, “Les deux papyrus ‘mythologiques’ de Her-Ouben au Musée du Caire,” *ASAE* 49/2 (1949): 129–67.

¹³⁶ N. de G. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration* (New York, 1953), pl. 20 (N. wall, Rm. H 2, bottom register).

Bastet, who stands before the shrine, addresses the deity as Osiris.¹³⁷ Min is appropriate to the scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX. The reclining deity is the eastern horizon, and Min is attested as the eastern support of heaven, and as the morning sun itself.¹³⁸ In Pyramid Texts Utterance 673 (§1993b-c), the deceased king at the eastern horizon of heaven is likened to a number of deities; among others, he is Min.¹³⁹

i.wd=k mdw n hnmm.t Mnw is imy pr=f

You shall issue commands to the sun-folk as¹⁴⁰ Min who is in his domain.

Osiris as Min is the Osirian element of the unified Re-Osiris, extending his rule out of the Netherworld and into the horizon.

In Pyramid Texts Utterance 318 (PT 636 a-c)¹⁴¹ the deceased king embraces Horus as the horizon from which Horus emerges:

a) *h3 Wsir N Hrw nw m-hnw ʿ.wy=k(y)*

b) *ind=f tw*

c) *ʒh n=f ʿn hr=k m rn=k n ʒh.t prr.t Rʿ im=s (T)/=k (P and M)*

a) Oh Osiris N, this is Horus in your arms,

b) he protecting you.

c) It is beneficial for him again with you in your name of horizon out of which Re proceeds.

This royal Osirian horizon could be envisioned as having his left arm raised, as depicted in the tomb of Ramesses IX; according to PT §1532c (Utt. 578), couriers and others rush about.¹⁴²

siw=sn tw n Rʿ m dsr rmn isb.ty

¹³⁷ For Serapis-Min, see the Achmim stele of the time of Hadrian published by A. Scharff, "Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Achmim," *ZÄS* 62 (1927): 89; A. Bernard, *Pan du désert* (Leiden, 1977), pp. 169 and 176-7.

¹³⁸ J. Spiegel, "Re und Osiris," in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel* (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 129-81; W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (Berlin, 1966), pp. 46-7, p. 71 and n. 16. For Min associated with Harpocrates as the morning sun, see F. Daumas, "Sur une terre cuite de style hellénistique provenant du Fayoum," in *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski* (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 59-65.

¹³⁹ Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 481.

¹⁴⁰ For this use of *is* for "as," see R. Anthes, "Das Verhältnis des Königs zu Re in den Pyramidentexten," *ZÄS* 111 (1984): 2-3. Anthes reads *Rʿ is* as "'als Re,' 'weil er Re ist,'" as opposed to *mi(r) Rʿ*, "'wie Re,' 'im Einklang mit Re,'" and *m Rʿ*, "'als Re,'" mythologically "'in Re'" (*ibid.* p. 3).

¹⁴¹ K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Leipzig, 1908-1922), vol. 1, p. 345; see Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 32 (§ 54A).

¹⁴² Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 326.

in order that they might announce you to Re as one whose left arm is raised¹⁴³

The raised arm and hand of the Osiride king are an image of the hand of Osiris carrying the sun—like the hand of Osiris they are the watery Nun into which the sun sets and through which it rises. The penultimate scene in the Ramesses IX treatise parallels two depictions of the prone Osiris lifting up and righting the sun in the Scene 5 of the Second Side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (see pp. 129-30 above). The association of the embrace and the transmission of the light power foreshadows the significance of the embrace in the Coptic gnostic treatise *The Ogdoad Reveals the Ennead*.¹⁴⁴

The enigmatic text accompanying and describing the ithyphallic Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX describes the position of the raised arm as *m ḥry.t*, “in the upper region;” the text does not read *m ḥꜣy.t*, “in jubilation,” as Piankoff and Drioton suggested (see pp. 338-9). The raised arm of the deity in that penultimate scene on the enigmatic wall does, however, iconographically suggest jubilation.¹⁴⁵ In section S 4 of Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, to which this treatise makes several allusions, Osiris is called the acclaimer of Re, and the soul of Re, with which Re copulates (see above, p. 396).¹⁴⁶ In the introduction to the Fifth Division of the

¹⁴³ Later in this utterance, §1535a, of the king is said: *nḥꜣḥꜣ m ʿ=k mks=k ḥꜣ ʿ=k*, “the flail in your hand, the Mekes-sceptre behind your hand,” a further reference to the Min-like pose of the king.

¹⁴⁴ See G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes, A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 146.

¹⁴⁵ Compare Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 4, p. 7, l. 14 and p. 9, l. 12: *m ḥꜣy r ḥr.t / ḥry*, “in rejoicing to heaven;” E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 1 (Geneva, 1979), p. 130.

¹⁴⁶ Osiris as the acclaimer of Re explains the 69th address to Re in the Great Litany (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 78):

ḥknw n=k Rʿ qꜣ šḥm
lʿnʿ ḥtn Wḥnty
Ḥpꜣy mꜣʿ irw.w
ṯwt is (ḥꜣ.t) lʿnʿ dꜣ.ty

Hail to you, oh Re, high of might;
 jubilating baboon, one of Wetjenet,
 Khepri, correct of forms;

for you are (the corpse of) the netherworldly baboon.

See also *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 274; vol. 2, p. 120 nn. 190-1. The sun is a baboon adoring himself at dawn, the time of the union of Re and Osiris, with Osiris, king of the Netherworld, adoring the sun as it rises amongst and as one of the baboon-shaped souls of the east. For the king as a baboon adoring the sun, with the baboon-shaped souls of the east, and presenting Maat, see H. Te Velde, “Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen, 1988), pp. 129-37; Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 28-9, text notes 8-10; E. Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat. Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient*

Book of Caverns, the arms of Osiris are stretched toward the disk of the sun as it enters the liminal area between the Netherworld and the eastern horizon.¹⁴⁷

iw itn=i q.n=f kkw
št3.w m hy hnw
iw itn=i q.n=f kkw
hnty.w imn.t m h^{cc}.wt
iw itn=i q.n=f kkw
Wsir di.n=f^c.wy=f(y) r=i

My disk has entered the darkness,
 the mysterious ones in acclamation and rejoicing;
 my disk has entered the darkness,
 those in the west in jubilation;
 my disk has entered the darkness,
 Osiris having stretched out his arms to me.

Throwing up the arms is the gesture of *h^{cc}*-jubilation.¹⁴⁸ The raised arm of the Osiride figure is an iconographic allusion both to the jubilation which the sun's

Egypt (Chicago, 1997), pp. 20-1 with nn. 18-19 (for her n. 18: with Te Velde, *contra* Teeter, the king was conceived as being with the baboons – compare scenes such as The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6: *The Temple Proper Part 2*, pls. 421 and 430; the king as a baboon adoring the sun is the origin of the depiction of a baboon within a cartouche on an ostrakon in L. Keimer, “Sur un certain nombre d’ostraca figurés, de plaquettes sculptées, etc., provenant de la nécropole thébaine encore inédits,” *Études d’Égyptologie* 3 [Cairo, 1941], pp. 21-22, fig. 11, pl. 17 [no. 57]). Re as the Netherworldly baboon is behind the writing of Re in the prenomen of Amenhotep III—*Nb-m3^c.t-R^c*—as a seated baboon with a lunar crescent and disk atop his head on the scarab V82-1 in B. Williams, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, K, S, A and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan* (Chicago, 1992), p. 116, fig. 15j. This passage from the Litany of Re explains in turn a section of the texts on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre, in which Osiris is said to travel as an ape in the bark with Re, at the border of the upper and lower skies, at *rwd pwy n hbs bg*, “that incline of covering the weary one” (C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre* [Copenhagen, 1937], pp. 38-9). The imagery in the text on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre is that of the root of the hill of the eastern horizon, where the corpse of the Solar Osiris is left in the Netherworld, as the sun rises, with the Osirian element of the unified *ba* in the form of a baboon of the far southeast, adoring the rising Re element.

¹⁴⁷ Following the version in the Osireion—see H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London, 1933), vol. 2, pl. 36, ll. 4-6; the Ramesses VI version = Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 52, ll. 1-3.

¹⁴⁸ According to E. Brunner-Traut, “Gesten,” in *LdÄ*, vol. 2, col. 581, *hⁱ* is “eine freiere Geste ‘des Festes’ ... Hochwerfen der Arme;” see also B. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1994), pp. 58-61.

entry into the horizon causes amongst the horizon dwellers,¹⁴⁹ and to the sun's own *h^c m ʒh.t*, "rejoicing in the horizon" (an epithet of the Aton) as an outward, even sexual, expression of *ʒw.t-ib-joy*.¹⁵⁰ In the lower middle register of the First Hour of the Amduat, *Hpr* occupies a bark; on either side of the solar scarab kneels an adoring Osiris figure.¹⁵¹ According to Assmann, the jubilation expressed in *h^c m ʒh.t* is "der Jubel des mit seiner Stadt vereinigten Gottes;" whether the deity rejoices over a city, the horizon, or a vessel, "eine Göttin gemeint ist deren Vereintsein mit dem Sonnengott seinen Jubel bewirkt."¹⁵² The two Osirises in the Amduat scene represent the two mountains of the horizon. Osiris as the horizon can be a female counterpart to the sun.¹⁵³ Through his union with these elements, the solar deity

¹⁴⁹ Jubilation within an horizon is specifically associated with the entry of the solar god into that horizon, in rising in the east (*Wb.* III 40, 8). So in the Festival Song of Thoth, the god assumes the form of an Ibis, flies skyward, and finds Re "rising in jubilation (*h^c*) within the bark of Millions" (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 4, p. 28, l. 16). Jubilation in the horizon also coincides with the sun's entry into the mountains of the west (so in Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 69, text no. 52, ll. 27, 48-9, and p. 71, n. h; p. 108, text no. 74, l. 17).

¹⁵⁰ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 325-6, especially n. 56 (p. 325).

¹⁵¹ See Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 26.

¹⁵² Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 325 n. 56 and p. 326; for the sun rejoicing at union with his temple, and the designation of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu as *ʒh.t h^c.wy*, see J. C. Darnell, "Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu," in B. Bryan and D. Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology* (San Antonio, 1994), pp. 39-42.

¹⁵³ Westendorf, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974): 389-98; Assmann, *LdÄ*, vol. 3, cols. 3-7; Isis and Nephthys as the horizon adore the sun (Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, p. 89 and n. 11, pl. 38; A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo* [Cairo, 1973], pp. 271-2; in Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, pp. 115 and 198, they are shown with the hills of the horizon; see also J. Quaegebeur, "Le nom propre Tsonesontis," *CdE* 46, no. 91 [1971]: 168-70, on the two sisters as the pylons of a temple, etc.). Compare Thoth in the Book of the Dead Chapter 134 as the Inundation coming forth from the two female rocks (C. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou-Simbel* [Cairo, 1968], vol. 1, p. 219 n. 480; for Thoth and the Inundation, see D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, Divinité égyptienne à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.)* [Paris, 1964], pp. 294-6). Westendorf, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974): 394, likens the emergence of the sun between the hills of the eastern horizon to the birth of the solar disk from between the thighs of Nut. The primeval hill is also feminine (Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie*, col. 4, l. 4 [p. 316]—*t3 qy nty iw shm.t t3y* "the primeval hill, which is a woman). The important female elements of the great unified god at the eastern horizon is shown in a depiction of the "great god, lord of heaven" in the mythological papyrus of Taseshedkhonsu (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 14, scene 5); he has a hippopotamus head on the body of a lioness. Both the *h3.t*-corpse and the *q.t*-body (possibly depicted in the right portion of the lower register in the left, main portion of the wall) are feminine elements (W. Westendorf, "Zweiheit, Dreiheit und Einheit in der altägyptischen Theologie," *ZÄS* 100 [1974]: 137). The *ʒh.t* in the form of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys can embrace the solar deity (compare the concluding scene of the Litany of Re). So in the tomb of Ramesses IX, Osiris is the horizon in which Re rises, and the watery hand which embraces him. Compare Nun as Hapi, a male, and the land as

rejoices. Osiris-Re rejoices, and Osiris raises his arm in jubilation as the sun enters in glory into the upper world.

The raised arm also suggests the gesture of vindication, appropriate for Osiris as one *m3^c-hrw*, “true of voice.”¹⁵⁴ In the Imiseba hymn discussed above, a text which could well be used as a description of the ithyphallic deity on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall, the epithet *f3i-^c* is associated with others such as *nb ʿb.wy dm hnw.ty*, which, through their bellicose nature, are suggestive of the notion of justification as a triumph over enemies.¹⁵⁵ *M3^c-hrw*-justification is also appropriate to Re following his victory over Apep (*Wb.* II 16, 11). A portion of Pyramid Texts Utterance 265 refers to the *m3^c-hrw* state of the king in a context identical to that depicted in the Ramesses IX treatise (PT §§353a-355c);¹⁵⁶ in Pyramid Text 265, Re is vindicated in aquatic surroundings, in the presence of lock-wearing beings:¹⁵⁷

d3 RN d3wt ir gs i3b.ty n p.t
 ir bw pw mssw ntr.w im
ms[.t]i RN im mswt=f hn^c=sn
 Hr is 3h.t(y) is
m3^c-hrw RN pn
hn n RN pn
hn n k3 n RN pn
nis=sn n RN pn
 in.n=sn n RN pn fdw ipw sw3 hr hnsk.tyw
 ʿh^cy.w hr d^cm.w=sn m gs i3b.ty n p.t

That RN shall make a crossing to the eastern side of the sky,
 to that place where the gods are born,
 and that RN shall have his birth there together with them,
 as Horus, as him of the horizon.

This RN is vindicated.

Jubilation be to RN, jubilation be to the *ka* of this RN.

They summon this RN,

 having fetched for this RN these four who pass by the lock-wearers,

female, both as components of the hermaphroditic Pthah in Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie*, pp. 362-4. Note also Nun as ejaculation, ʿ3^c Nwn, see Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, p. 71 n. 23.

¹⁵⁴ See C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten* (Munich and Berlin, 1976), pp. 98-101; Sourdivé, *La main dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, p. 409, commenting on the arms of the Osiride figure in R IX and Heruben.

¹⁵⁵ See Ph. Derchain, “La couronne de la justification. Essai d’analyse d’un rite ptolémaïque,” *CdE* 30, no. 60 (1955): 232-3. On the possible bellicose implications of the ithyphallic deity with his raised arm, see J. Ogdon, “Some Notes on the Iconography of Min,” *BES* 7 (1985-86): 29-41.

¹⁵⁶ See Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 444 (§639A); p. 487 (§695); and p. 537, n. 439.

¹⁵⁷ Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 1, p. 186.

who stand upon their staves in the eastern half of the sky.

The equation of the raised hand of the ithyphallic king with Nun suggests the notion of *m3^c-hrw* implied by the raised arm, for there is an “ethical meaning” to the equation of the deceased with Nun.¹⁵⁸ This association of vindication and Nun is similar to the association of the victory of Horus and the Inundation.¹⁵⁹ The great floral collar which the ithyphallic Osiris wears also suggests vindication.¹⁶⁰ The female lock-wearers of the Pyramid Text passage are present on the Enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX in the persons of the long-haired, androgynous figures in the lower register of the left-hand portion of the wall.¹⁶¹

The positions of the king’s arms and feet further depict the Solar-Osirian deity at the eastern horizon as the solar unifier of heaven and earth:

hnm.n=k hr.t n ʿndw

To the evening glow have you brought heaven.¹⁶²

The sun going into the hand of the Osiride king also links heaven and hell. So in the upper register of the Twelfth Hour of the Book of Gates, Scene 82,¹⁶³ of the four beings *hry.w 3h.w*, “those bearing the luminous one,” is said:

wnn=sn m shr pn

rmn=sn itn n R^c

ntsn sm3 d3.t n hr.t

m sšm pn imy ʿ.wy=sn

s3w md.wt r sbh.t igr.t

r htp R^c m h.t Nw.t

In this fashion are they,

carrying the disk of Re.

It is they who join the Netherworld to heaven,

¹⁵⁸ See L. Kákosy, “The Primordial Birth of the King,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1977): 70.

¹⁵⁹ See U. Luft, *Beiträge zur Historisierung der Götterwelt und der Mythenschreibung* (Budapest, 1978), pp. 185-86.

¹⁶⁰ M. Bell, “Regional Variation in Polychrome Pottery of the 19th Dynasty,” *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne* 1 (1987): 49-76; *idem*, in S. D’Auria, P. Lacovara, and C. Roehrig, eds., *Mummies and Magic* (Boston, 1988), pp. 133-4 (no. 68); *idem*, “Floral Collars, *W3h ny M3^c Hrw* in the Eighteenth Dynasty,” in *Abstracts of Papers, 5th International Congress of Egyptologists* (Cairo, 1988), p. 20. For the *wsh*-collar associated with rebirth, and the appearance of the newborn sun on the surface of Nun, see R. Beaud, “L’offrande du collier-*OUSEKH*,” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 46-62.

¹⁶¹ A single raised arm of vindication and greeting perhaps appears in the gesture of the deceased on certain Graeco-Roman funerary stelae – cf. A. Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt* (Liverpool, 1992), pls. 19d, 26a, 26c, etc.

¹⁶² Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 52-3

¹⁶³ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 377-9, vol. 2, p. 267.

by means of this image which is in their hands;
 who protect affairs at the portal of Igeret,
 until Re goes to rest in the body of Nut.

The raised arm of the ithyphallic deity on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX also depicts the netherworldly counterpart to *tw3 p.t*, “supporting heaven”—the *smd d3.t*, “making the Netherworld deep.”¹⁶⁴ The Osiride king of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, as the horizon, root of the West and pillar of the sky, combines *tw3 p.t* and *smd d3.t*, his feet in the “Place of Destruction” and his hands in heaven.¹⁶⁵ A text from Dendera provides an informative parallel for the combination of raising heaven and simultaneously bearing the corpse of Osiris:¹⁶⁶

dwn.n=f tw3.n=f Nw.t r s^cq b3=f
sw(3)d.n=f d.t n ip-d.t=f
dwn.n=i ʿ.wy=i hr b3 hr b3 n Wr-d-ib
wbn=f m 3h.t mi stw.t 3h.ty

In order to let his *ba* enter has he stretched out and supported Nut;
 he having (already) caused the body of One-collected-of-body (i.e. Osiris) to flourish.¹⁶⁷

Bearing the firmament and the *ba* of One-weary-of-heart (i.e. Osiris),
 have I stretched out my two arms,
 so that he (i.e. the unified Re-Osiris) might shine in the horizon
 like the rays of He-of-the-Horizon.

Although there is no cartouche accompanying the image of the figure supporting the sky at Dendera, Kurth assumes that the king is meant. To him refer the suffix pronouns in *dwn.n=f* and *tw3.n=f*, and in the following quotation, it is the king who is speaking; Kurth notes that the *f* in *b3=f* should refer to Osiris.¹⁶⁸ The suffix pronouns in the Dendera text have no referents other than the figure in the scene which the annotation there describes. Although the Dendera scene is a rather

¹⁶⁴ Compare the parallel in P. Salt 825 cited in Chapter 7, p. 427-8.

¹⁶⁵ For the raised arm of a deity interpreted as supporting heaven, compare P. Brooklyn 47.218.156; 4, 4 (Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*, pl. 4, p. 23) – the deity with his *hpš*-arm is one who *smn t3 hr(.t) hr-tp=f*, “supports the heaven above him.” This is part of the description of a figure with an arm raised with a flail in the common pose of Min (*ibid.* frontispiece and fig. 3 [opp. p. 13]), the pose of *f3l-ʿ*. For the separation of heaven and earth see also Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, pp. 188-198.

¹⁶⁶ S. Cauville, *Dendara, Les chappelles osiriennes* (Cairo, 1997), p. 103.

¹⁶⁷ The expression *sw(3)d d.t* was misread by Kurth as *smd d3.t* (D. Kurth, *Den Himmel Stutzen, die ‘Tw3 pt’ Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* [Brussels, 1975], pp. 11-13 [text 3])). However, as an expression *smd d3.t* does exist (P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon, A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu* [Leuven, 1997], p. 851).

¹⁶⁸ Kurth, *Den Himmel Stutzen*, p. 12, n. 2.

conventional and unelaborated scene of the king supporting heaven, the text describes a situation such as that depicted in the tomb of Ramesses IX. The king as Osiris supports the sky—here envisaged both as the sky-goddess Nut and the corpse of Osiris—in order to allow his own ba, Re, to exit through the eastern horizon.¹⁶⁹

In the text above the solar bark in the middle register of the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat the sun rests upon:¹⁷⁰

sšmw št3 n Šw
wp p.t r t3 r kkw-sm3w
 the secret image of Shu,
 who separates heaven from earth from the complete darkness

This *sšmw št3*, “secret image,” appears elsewhere in this final hour of the Amduat as the *sšmw-iwf*, “image of ‘flesh’ (the nocturnal sun),” and the *sšmw n Wsir hnty kkw-sm3w*, “image of Osiris, foremost of the complete darkness.” This is a depiction of the moment of solar triumph and rising, the unity of Re and Osiris; earth and sky did not meld during the narrowly averted cosmic disaster.¹⁷¹

The themes of *tw3-p.t* and *m3^c-hrw* are combined in a scene on the sarcophagus of one Padiese from Salamieh, now exhibited in the Cairo Museum as number JE 25813. There the deceased stands between the goddesses of the east and west, his arms raised above his hands in the gesture of vindication after the psychostasis;¹⁷² above the tips of his fingers hover a sky sign, with a solar disk riding below. The deceased there, as perhaps the Osiride figure of Ramesses IX on his enigmatic wall, supports heaven and maintains the separation of the elements of creation through his own Osirian vindication. The feet of the great deity press down on the root of hell;

¹⁶⁹ As one arm of the god is masturbating, this would be one arm supporting the heavens; for this, compare the texts on columns discussed by Kurth, *Den Himmel Stützen*, pp. 20 and 49-51, where the column itself is an arm. In text 20, the king as supporter of heaven is called *ˁ n Šw*, “arm of Shu.” In the tomb of Ramesses IX, the arm would correspond to the eastern horizon, the other arm presumably at the western horizon. For the raised arm as signifying the separation of heaven and Netherworld, allowing the sun to pass through the cusp of the eastern horizon, compare the scene in Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration*, pl. 20, where a solar disk rides above the Min hut in which the Osiris-Min figure resides.

¹⁷⁰ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 197 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 818); vol. 2, p. 188.

¹⁷¹ On the melding together of heaven and earth, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 306 n. 24. For linking the raising of heaven and the deepening of the Dat, compare P. Budapest 51.1960 column C, 8, where a cosmic disaster is described (L. Kákósy, “Fragmente eines unpublizierten magischen Textes in Budapest,” *ZÄS* 117 [1990]: 146 [l. 8], 147): *iziz hm=f h3yt p.t šm.(w) n-m d3.t*, “O, Wehe, Seine Majestät! Niedergefallen ist der Himmel, er ging in die Unterwelt ...” Following the union of Re and Osiris, the raised arm can also suggest the newborn sun-god, reaching out to embrace all of creation (see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 302-6 (and n. 8 to p. 302).

¹⁷² See Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten*, pp. 98-101.

his hand thrusts up towards heaven, reaffirming Shu's ancient creative act. The coals of hell become the red birth glow of the new terrestrial day.

A text in the final hour of the Amduat brings together the imagery of the raised arm as support of the heavens and separation between heaven and the Netherworld, and the hand of Osiris as Nun. Above the reclining figure of the mummiform Osiris at the end of the third register in the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat, a text states:¹⁷³


wnn=f m šhr pn m ššmw imn.n Hr m kkw-smzw
in ššmw pn št3 tw3 Šw hr Nw.t
prrr 3gb-wr m t3 m ššmw pn

In this fashion does he exist, as the image, which Horus hid in the
 complete darkness;

it is this secret image which supports Shu bearing Nut,

It is from this image that the 3gb-wr comes forth from the earth.

According to Hornung, 3gb-wr, the primordial water and the Inundation, is here in the Amduat the soul of the solar deity.¹⁷⁴ The disk of the sun, emerging into the eastern horizon, is referred to as the "great flood," called by the name of the waters into which it swims at the beginning of the dawn. The hand is Nun (see above), the 3gb-wr which flows out from "this secret image which supports Shu bearing Nut"—the imagery of the hand of Osiris as Nun implies the *tw3 pt*, "support of heaven," pose of Shu. The hand of Osiris as the waters through which rises the disk of the sun, in proximity to the falling lords of the Netherworld, is an image related to the imagery in the concluding text of the First Hour of Amduat: *hṭp n=k N.t wp=k n.t (r) rm.w*, "Neith is pleasant to you, for you separate the sheet of water from the swimmers."¹⁷⁵ The swimmers are the stellar blessed dead, who begin as swimmers, likened to fish, in the Netherworld (so P. Carlsberg 1); on the enigmatic wall, the *nbi*, "swimming," pose of the falling stars both serves to indicate the first element of their names, and to link them with the penultimate scene of Re entering the watery hand of Osiris. The falling, upside-down lords of the Netherworld in the upper register of the left portion of the wall, and the ithyphallic Osiris with his raised hand,

together foreshadow the group  of P. Salt 825 pl. IX, 5: *ḥ p.t šhd <m> d3.t*, "who lifts up heaven and descends inverted <into> the Netherworld."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 205, ll. 3-5 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 848-849); vol. 2, p. 193.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 193.

¹⁷⁵ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 21, ll. 2-3 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 165-166); see also *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 38 n. 53.

¹⁷⁶ For the reading see M.-L. Ryhner, "A propos des trigrammes panthéistes," *RdE* 29 (1977): 129-30. These epithets are followed by *b3 b3.w šfy.t šfy.wt*, "ram-form of ram-forms, most awesome of awesome ones," further recalling the Ramesses IX treatise (see the hieratic annotation to the reclining Osiride king, p. 349ff.). For the figure emerging from the disk suggesting access to the celestial realm, compare the enigmatic writing of *dw3y.t*, "morning," in the cryptic epithet of Darius I in the temple of Hibis as three figures

The penultimate scene in the treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX derives from the depiction of the end of the Netherworld in the 12th Hour of the Amduat. At the end of the Amduat Osiris reclines on the rising edge of the Dat, as he does in the tomb of Ramesses IX. The arm of Osiris is raised in the tomb of Ramesses IX, exultant in vindication, supporting heaven, his hand as Nun receiving the disk of the sun. In the Amduat, the arms of Shu separate heaven and the Netherworld, allow the swimming soul of Re (*ꜥgb-wr*) to emerge, and receive the disk. In P. Cairo S.R. 655 (C 2), the figure of Osiris is large, no longer confined to the lower register.¹⁷⁷ In P. Berlin P. 3126, the Osiris, arms of Shu, and scarab are in close association, and the Osiride figure is ithyphallic.¹⁷⁸ A similar combination of the Osiride figure and the arms of Shu occurs on the papyrus of Amenhotep, Cairo Museum JdE 95648, where the arms of Shu emerge from the area of the legs of the mummiform figure.¹⁷⁹ These versions of the Osiris figure at the end of the final hour of the Amduat show a series of developments which may have led to the form of the ithyphallic Osiris represented as reclining on—even within—the horizon hill in the tomb of Ramesses IX.

The incorporation of the arms of Shu as a part of the image of Osiris reclining on the root of the eastern horizon imparts to the unified Re-Osiris something of the pose and duty of Shu, supporting the sky and separating the elements of creation. In connection with the plummeting, star-like *nb.w-dꜣ.t*, depicted in the upper left portion of the enigmatic wall, the scene of the reclining Osiride figure in the tomb of Ramesses IX finds a textual parallel in Pyramid Text §2091 a-c:¹⁸⁰

Šw wꜥs Nw.t
 wꜥs n=k ir.t Hr ir p.t
 ir šhd.w p.t
 Oh Shu, who lifts up Nut,
 lift up to yourself the eye of Horus—to heaven,
 to the star-lit sky of heaven!

The raised arm of the ithyphallic Osiris may be seen as supporting the disk of the sun, as it sails in the area of the stars, those plummeting Lords of the Netherworld in the scene of near cosmic tragedy to the left.

The penultimate scene on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall contains an assortment of male/female pairs, emphatically stating the *perpetuum mobile* of the

emerging from three stars, atop a light-strewing *p.t*-sign (É. Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale," *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 342-3; see also above, Chapter 5, p. 280, n. 28).

¹⁷⁷ A.-A. F. Sadek, *Contribution a l'étude de l'Amdouat* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1985), pp. 88-94, pl. 6.

¹⁷⁸ Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, pl. 39b, pp. 187 and 249 (Berlin 17).

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 257 (Cairo 12); Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 26.

¹⁸⁰ Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 509.

Egyptian cosmos. The raised hand of Osiris, into which the sun is about to enter, is Nun (so P. Carlsberg); the unseen, masturbating hand of the ithyphallic deity is feminine, like the hand of Atum as Nebet-Hetepet.¹⁸¹ The *ꜥḥ.t*-horizon can be the feminine element of a pair of which the disk of the sun is the male member.¹⁸² On the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX, the feminine horizon is Osiris, the corpse of Osiris—*ḥꜣ.t*—yet another feminine element.¹⁸³ The disk which enters these feminine elements, the male disk of the sun, can also be a feminine element—the womb of the sun, from which the newly born Khepri emerges.¹⁸⁴

As the Osiride king is represented as a Min-like figure, the masculine phallus is present, as well as the unseen and masturbating, feminine hand of the self-generating deity.¹⁸⁵ The hand raised in the air is masculine, the symbol of the *fꜣl-ꜥ* aspect of Min. It is also feminine, the hand of Osiris corresponding to the feminine primeval waters.¹⁸⁶ In the scene on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, all of these aspects come together. Pyramid Texts §§253c-254a describes a number of the elements in the closing scene to this enigmatic treatise:¹⁸⁷

ꜣi inw=f bꜥ sin=f
ḥww=sn n Dsr-rmn ḥr iꜣbtt
šmt wꜥ pn im=k

His (a malevolent Horus') messengers go, and his express courier hurries;
they proclaim to the Sanctified of Arm in the east (Re),
that this one (Horus), who is you (the deceased king), has gone
forth.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸¹ For this equation, see W. Gutekunst, "Nebet-Hetepet," *LdÄ*, vol. 4, cols. 362-363 and the references in n. 4, col. 362. For the hand of Atum as a goddess, see also K. Myśliwiec, "La mère, la femme, la fille et la variante féminine du dieu Atoum," *Études et travaux* 13 (1983): 300-302.

¹⁸² Westendorf, *Studia aegyptiaca* 1 (1974): 389-98.

¹⁸³ Barta, *JEOL* 29 (1985-86): 98-105.

¹⁸⁴ Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history*, pp. 20-25; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁸⁵ For the goddess Iusaas as a personification of the masturbating fist of the primeval deity, see Derchain, in Derchain, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, pp. 31-34.

¹⁸⁶ Westendorf, in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien, Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*, pp. 186-7.

¹⁸⁷ Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 1, pp. 139-140.

¹⁸⁸ Barta, *ZÄS* 117 (1990) 91 (ex. 13) discusses lines 253d-254a; with K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Glückstadt and Hamburg, 1935-62), vol. 1, p. 240, he reads "that this one has gone into you." Such a rendering, which is possible, would refer to the rejuvenated solar deity's union with Osiris, an event depicted on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall as the solar disk passing near to, as though entering, the hand of Osiris. Allen's rendering of 254a (*The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 319 [§470]: "that this unique one, who is you, has gone"), followed here, derives some support from Utterance 578, § 1532a-c:

ꜣy inw. w=k sin sin. w=k ntꜣ tpy. w-ꜥ. w=k

These messengers, counterparts of the malevolent beings whom the annotation and the lower horizontal hieroglyphic text of the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall seek to ward off, are associated with the eastern horizon (see pp. 330-3 and 350-1 above). Messengers announce to Re, “whose arm is raised in the east” (*ḏsr rmn m i3btt*), the arrival of the dead.¹⁸⁹ The final line cited here refers to the union of Re and the dead king (the Osirian king of the Ramesses IX treatise). Shortly thereafter, in the same Utterance, the gods behold the king arrived at the horizon (PT 255a-256a):¹⁹⁰

ḥꜥ r ʿ3.wy 3ḥ.t
 i.zn ʿ3.wy qbḥ.w
 ḥꜥ=k ḥnty=sn Gb is ḥnty psd.t=f
 ʿq=sn iḥ=sn sdb pr=sn f3(i)=sn ḥr=sn
 m3=sn tw Min is ḥnty itr.ty

Stand at the double doors of the horizon!
 Open the double doors of the watery sky!
 May you stand before them as Geb before his ennead.
 When they enter they shall strike down evil,
 and when they leave they shall lift up their face(s),
 so that they might behold you as Min before the two shrines.¹⁹¹

The king at the doors of the horizon, presumably having gone into Re, *ḏsr rmn* in the east, is seen to be like Min. He is potent and *ḏsr rmn*, at the eastern horizon.¹⁹² Like Min at the eastern horizon as the support of heaven,¹⁹³ the

siw=sn tw n Rꜥ m ḏsr-rmn i3b.ty
 Your messengers go, your express couriers rush, and those before you hurry;
 that they might announce you to Re, as one whose left arm is raised up.

§1532a-c begins as does §§253c-254a; in the former text the deceased king (*tw*) is announced to Re; in the latter, the reference to the king in the second person singular appears as *im=k*, “who is you.”

¹⁸⁹ See the references in Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 1, p. 245 (n. to § 253d).

¹⁹⁰ Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 1, pp. 140-141.

¹⁹¹ On this section see Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 130 (§224D).

¹⁹² R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969), p. 59 n. 6 notes that the *ḏsr rmn* in 253d suggests the Min imagery in 256a. For the arm of the king as the *rmn*-arm of Re, compare the imagery of some 21st Dynasty coffins, on which the arms of the deceased emerge, at the elbow, from lotus blossoms, as Re rises from the lotus (H. Schlögl, *Der Sonnengott auf der Blüte, eine ägyptische Kosmogonie des Neuen Reiches* [Geneva, 1977]).

¹⁹³ Spiegel, in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*, pp. 129-81. For the raised arm of Min as a masculine element, compare the term *shn*, “to embrace,” referring to Min’s sexual activity (see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 143 n. 473, citing de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p.

ithyphallic Osiride king on the enigmatic wall, his arm raised, is in the horizon and is the horizon.

The scarab heading toward the figure of the ithyphallic Osiride king parallels the scenes of the winged scarab heading towards the soon to be revived Osiris in the sycamore tree.¹⁹⁴ As there, the scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX is an expression of the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern edge of the Underworld. Re flying as a winged scarab towards the Osirian sycamore expresses the idea of a text written

272a). For a similar combination of a "feminine" Osirian horizon corpse and an ithyphallic god of rebirth in the east, compare the combination of the corpse of Osiris as the horizon (male and female combined in the east), with an ithyphallic lioness deity representing a further male and female combination (the feminine eye of the sun and the masculine ithyphallic Min of the southeastern horizon), in a painting in the tomb of Thaty in Baharia Oasis (A. Fakhry, "Bahria and Farafrā Oases, Third Preliminary Report on the New Discoveries," *ASAE* 40 [1940], pl. 126; Z. Hawass, *Valley of the Golden Mummies* [New York, 2000], p. 207).

- ¹⁹⁴ J.-C. Hugonot, "Une particularité de la couronne atef d'Osiris à l'époque ramesside," *DE* 3 (1985): 25-8; K.-J. Seyfried, *Das Grab des Amonmose* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), color pl. IIIb. The tree there can show the presence of the shadow of the god, as would a fan behind the deity (L. Bell, "Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun," in P. Posener-Krieger, ed., *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* [Cairo, 1985], pp. 31-9; H. Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min* [Cairo, 1931], pp. 151-5; the use of the tree as a parallel to the fan showing the presence of deity is one of the reasons for the tree spreading behind Sobek on the stele from Dahamshah Luxor Museum J.149 – see *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art, Catalogue* [Cairo, 1979], pp. 62-3, no. 79; and the willow branch behind Sobek in M. Erroux-Morfin, "La sùle et la lune," in S.H. Aufrère, ed., *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'Univers végétal, croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne*, vol. 1 [Montpellier, 1999], p. 294, fig. 2). The tree can also show the presence of Osiris on the cusp between the Netherworld and the upper world, his feet in the abyss and his head amongst the stars, as described for the reclining Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX. For the tree as a Shu-like link between the Underworld and the sky, see a text in the tomb of Senemioh (*Urk.* IV, p. 501, ll. 14-16):

[...] *tp.w ir.w dm.n(=w) p.t*

sbh.n(=w) hn' sbz.w

[(The myrrh trees were planted)],

with the result that their tops have pierced heaven,

and have mingled with the stars.

On the two turquoise sycamore trees at the eastern horizon, deities atop them (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, §916b), Netherworld gods beneath them (*ibid.*, §1485a-b), Re going forth between them (Book of the Dead Chapter 109; S. Gabra, "Un chaton de bague à thème solaire," *ASAE* 44 [1944]: 173-8), see O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst* (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 297-303; I. Gamer-Wallert, "Baum, heiliger," *LdÄ*, vol. 1, cols. 655-60; M.-L. Buhl, "The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult," *JNES* 6 (1947): 80-97; E. Hermsen, *Lebensbaumsymbolik im Alten Ägypten* (Cologne, 1981), pp. 88-95. The interpretation of the tree and grove of Osiris as merely fertility images (see D. Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole* [Vienna, 1984], p. 166) is too simplistic. The solar aspect of the tree is likely to be behind the falcon-headed "tree-spirit" *Spy* discussed by J. Ogdon, "A New Male Personification of the Tree Spirit?" *BES* 3 (1981): 83-6.

between the two sycamores of the horizon, above which floats the disk of Re, in the tomb of Irinefer at Deir el-Medineh (TT no. 290).¹⁹⁵

R^c pw ḥtp m Wsir Wsir pw ḥtp m R^c n hrw nb

It is Re who sets in Osiris, and Osiris who sets in Re, daily.

That a comparison between the Ramesses IX scene and the depictions of the winged scarab approaching Osiris in the sycamore is not entirely unfounded is suggested by the presence of the fruit of the persea tree on the great collar worn by the ithyphallic Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX.¹⁹⁶ In a scene in funerary house 21 at Tuna el-Gebel, Nut sits with her legs stretched out in front, her feet pointing up, the mummy of the tomb owner stretched out on her lap. This pose of Nut mirrors that of the Nehep snake in the conclusion of the Ramesses IX treatise.¹⁹⁷ As in the Ramesside scene the scarab and disk approach the mummy, so in the scene at Tuna el-Gebel the falcon of Horus flies toward the group of Nut and the mummy. The text accompanying the goddess at Tuna el-Gebel states that she *ir sz=k*, “performs your protection.”¹⁹⁸

On the breast of the Osiride king is a disk, in which is repeated the scarab emerging from the disk, shown large above the reclining deity. This is a representation of the sun at night shining on the breast of the deceased king; so in line 10 of the text on the lid of the outermost sarcophagus of Merneptah:¹⁹⁹

‘pp ḥm=f ḥr šnb.t=k

¹⁹⁵ Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst*, p. 301, fig. 233.

¹⁹⁶ More likely persea fruits than mandragora, although the latter are well attested in Egyptian floral collars—see R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pp. 148 and 170-171. The disks and fruits of the Ramesses IX collar are foreshadowed already during the Amarna Period (cf. É. Chassinat, “Une statuette d’Aménôthès III,” *BIFAO* 7 [1910]: 169-172; J. Samson, *Amarna, City of Akhenaton and Nefertiti* [Warminster, 1978], p. 32); W.R. Johnson, “The *Nfrw*-Collar Reconsidered,” in E. Tweeter and J. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 223-234. Compare also the disk of the sun as it appears on the face of the lintel over the doorway into the second corridor in the tomb of Ramesses IX (Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 36), with a “notch” at the top that resembles a fruit.

¹⁹⁷ The serpent in the company of the revived Osiris of the eastern horizon may also be intended to recall Chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead. There Atum, foretelling a coming return of creation into the Nun waters, states that he will become a serpent and will remain, together with Osiris (see for instance the remarks of O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* 2nd ed. [Berlin, 1962], pp. 35-36).

¹⁹⁸ S. Gabra, *Rapport sur les fouilles d’Hermoupolis Ouest (Touna El-Gebel)* (Cairo, 1941), p. 48, pl. 16, 2; S. Gabra and É. Drioton, *Peintures a fresques et scenes peintes a Hermoupolis-Ouest (Touna El-Gebel)* (Cairo, 1954), pl. 27. On the Horus falcon here as the *ba* of the deceased, see D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), p. 59 and n. 295 on p. 23.

¹⁹⁹ Assmann, *MDAIK* 28 (1972): 62, text note 22.

His image passes over your breast.

The *iszḥw* and *itm* of the sun god are said to shine *ḥr šnb.t*, “upon the breast;” this activity can occur with a reference to shining in the *qrr.t*-tomb of the deceased.²⁰⁰ Such imagery was not restricted to the royal dead.²⁰¹ In the tomb of Paheri at El-Kab, this shining on the breast appears in a section which describes the daily east to west journey of the blessed dead, and the nocturnal slumber until Re awakens them at the eastern horizon:²⁰²

pr=k r ḥz tnw dwz w nw(y)=k tw tnw mšrw
st=tw n=k tkz m grḥ r wbn šw ḥr šnb.t=k

You going outside each morning, and returning each evening;
 a torch being lit for you in the night, until the sunlight rises upon your
 breast.

This passage suggests that the shining on the breast occurs at the eastern horizon, as depicted on the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX. In a Ptolemaic text on the west side of the ceiling in the hemispeos of Smithis at Elkab, the Re calls on the “great eye of Horus” to come back to his head; she is then desired to:²⁰³ *ḥnw r=t ḥr šnb.t=f*—alight upon his breast.

Along with the scene from the papyrus of Heruben, there is another parallel for the reclining, ithyphallic Osiris in a papyrus in Richmond, P. Virginia Museum 54-10 (see pl. 42).²⁰⁴ There, the hand of the raised Osiris is a fist, a counterpart to the other, unseen hand, both hands indicating masturbation. In the space between the knuckles of the raised hand and the head of the snake behind the reclining divinity, there is a space free of sand. This open space indicates that the hand of Osiris is indeed the portal through the hill of the horizon. The Virginia Museum papyrus also parallels the pictorial portion of the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise through the presence of a sun disk, from which two scarabs emerge. Within the Richmond sun disk there is an eye of Horus, the eye of the sun.²⁰⁵ In the Ramesses IX treatise this

²⁰⁰ See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 286-7; *idem*, “Harfnerlied und Horussöhne,” *JEA* 65 (1979): 62 n. 76.

²⁰¹ Compare The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* (Chicago, 1980) pl. 20, l. 16; see also M. Lichtheim, “The Songs of the Harpers,” *JNES* 4 (1945): 206, n. a to no. 10.

²⁰² J.J. Tylor and F.L.I. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab* (London, 1894), pl. 9, ll. 17-18.

²⁰³ Ph. Derchain, *Elkab I: Les monuments religieux à l'entrée de l'ouady Hellal* (Brussels, 1971), pp. 18*-19*.

²⁰⁴ Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, p. 148 fig. 43 = J.M. Brown, *et al.*, *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum* (Richmond, 1973).

²⁰⁵ For the equivalence of the Eye of Horus and the female Eye of the Sun in Egyptian iconography, compare the *udjat*-eye, in Williams, *New Kingdom Remains from*

solar eye appears as a female figure standing in the middle of a solar disk, the goddess as the eye of the sun (pl. 31, bottom right). The four deities of the east, the *b3.w i3b.tyw*, “the eastern souls,” are associated with the *sh.t i3rw*, “the field of Yaru,” and the *sh.t mfk3.tyw*, “the field of the turquoise gods.”²⁰⁶ The souls of the east and their *sh.t i3rw* are also associated with *Kns.t*, the area to which the solar eye wandered in her flight from Egypt.²⁰⁷ In the bottom register of the left portion of the enigmatic wall there is an association of four deities shown as engendering the fiery solar child with a depiction of the eye of the sun (pl. 31). Such a visual allusion in the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall to the place of the birth of the solar child and the rising sun, the lands of the far southeast is consistent with the Min-like pose of the Osiride king, Min being a deity of the eastern desert, associated with *Wtn.t*.²⁰⁸ Niwinski notes that the figure of the slanting Osiris parallels the scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX, and that motives from the Netherworld Books dominate the decoration of the Virginia Museum text, whereas the papyrus is labeled a *pry m hrw*, “(Book of) Going Forth by Day.”²⁰⁹ This mixture is not the result of Niwinski’s alleged “nonability of the craftsmen.” The mixture of Book of the Dead and Netherworld Book passages and motifs occurs already on the Second Shrine of

Cemeteries R, V, K, S, A and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan, p. 124, fig. 17aa (and p. 119 with n. 75): on one side the eye is normal; on the other side, in the area of the eyeball, is the small figure of a standing goddess holding a flower-topped scepter. Compare also the *udjat*-eye with an image of the goddess, probably Bastet on the basis of provenience, in M. Bakr, “New Excavations of Zagazig University,” in *L'égyptologie en 1979, Axes prioritaires de recherches* (Paris, 1982), vol. 1, p. 166 (fig. 27). These amulets illustrate the wish expressed on the stele London BM 1224, l. 7:

di-k df<d>=k m gs-dpw=i

May you set your iris-and-pupil as my protection

(K. Jansen-Winkel, “Die Stele London BM 1224,” *SAK* 17 [1990]: 217, l. 7 [according to Jansen-Winkel, p. 219, n. 10: “Das merkwürdige Bild kann ich sonst nicht belegen”]). The pupil, the eye of the sun, is the goddess whom the stele owner desired to be his protectress. See also Feucht., *SAK* 11 (1984): 412 and n. 44; and compare the idea of Hathor originating as a teardrop of the solar eye (Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, p. 228 n. 14). On the idea of the pupil as the girl in the eye, see W. Vycichl, “Sur les noms des parties du corps en égyptien,” *CdE* 47, no. 93 (1972): 177. For an elaboration of this idea, see J.C. Darnell, “The Apotropaic Goddess in the Eye,” *SAK* 24 (1997): 35-48.

²⁰⁶ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 127.

²⁰⁷ H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende* (Vienna, 1917), p. 79.

²⁰⁸ See for example, the stele of *Sbk-try*, Louvre C30 (K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch in akademischen Unterricht* [Leipzig, 1928], pp. 64-5). For *Wtn.t* as the land of the rising sun see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 120 n. 190; Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 103, no. 77. 1092 [citing stele Louvre C 30, wherein Min receives the solar appellation *Wtn.ty*]; E. Edel, *Beiträge zu den ägyptischen Sinaiinschriften* (Göttingen, 1983), pp. 180-81. On Min and the east, see also Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, pp. 183-84.

²⁰⁹ Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, p. 149. Niwinski is unaware that there is a version of Book of the Dead Chapter 106 within the Ramesses IX treatise (see above, Chapter 5, pp. 315ff.).

Tutankhamun (see Chapter 3), and has nothing to do with any inability on the part of the ancient Egyptians.²¹⁰

On the Richmond papyrus, a cloaked figure faces the reclining Osiris. This figure, as Piankoff noted, parallels an almost identical figure at the close of the mythological papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh I.²¹¹ There, the following scene is not the reclining Osiris, but the ram-headed sun in the serpent boat; the deck of that solar bark is a double-headed, Aker-like creature, and before the ram-headed sun stands a human-headed bird with a disk atop his head—an image of the rising sun, as the accompanying text makes clear. If one interprets the scene on the papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh I as a variant of the scenes of the reclining Osiris in the Virginia Museum papyrus and on the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX, the text on the papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh I may tell us something of the correctness of the interpretation of the reclining Osiris offered above. The text on the papyrus reads:

- 1) *dw3* 2) *R'-Hr-3h.ty (i)tmw*
 3) *hft wbn=f m 3h.t izbt* 4) *nt p.t in Wsir ...*
 6) *dd=f ind-hr=k k3* 7) *nty.w^a*
Hpri 8) *imy Nwn* 9)
Hr smsw hry-ib 3h.t
 10) *nby špsy š3 hdd* 11) *(i)tmw it ntr.w*
nb-r-dr k3 12) *nb hw.t-3.t^b*

Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum,

when he rises in the eastern horizon of heaven, by the Osiris ...;

he says: "Hail to you, oh lord of (all) which is,

Khepri who is in the flood,

Horus the elder who resides in the horizon,

the august creator, plentiful of light, Atum, the father of the gods, the All Lord, the bull, the lord of the palace."

^a The epithet *k3 ntyw* is a variant of *nb ntt*, the epithet of Amun in *Wb.* II 354, 4.²¹² The eastern deity as a "bull-lord" suggests an allusion to Min of the eastern horizon.

²¹⁰ For the assumption that the influence of the Netherworld Books on the Book of the Dead was an innovation of the 21st Dynasty, see M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, "Die Totenliteratur der 21. Dynastie," *JEOL* 24 (1975-6): 49; see also A. Niwinski, "The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the 'State of Amun' in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty," *JEOL* 30 (1987-88): 89-106.

²¹¹ Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, p. 162, n. 11.

²¹² For *k3* as parallel to *nb*, see Ph. Derchain, "Miettes (suite)," *RdE* 30 (1978): 26, n. 5, and the literature cited there; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 22, text to figure no. 48; Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 182, text n. 447; Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, p. 71 n. 23. This use of *k3* is also attested in demotic texts – cf. H.-J. Thissen, "Nubien in demotischen magischen Texten," in D.

^b The deity is Atum, showing the oft occurring association of Heliopolis and the Netherworld Books. There is even mention elsewhere of the Netherworld of Heliopolis (*d3.t n.t iwnw*), and the Heliopolis of the Netherworld (*iwnw n d3.t*).²¹³ Enigmatic text 1 of the Book of the Day and of the Night²¹⁴ discusses the four *b3.w i3b.tyw*, “eastern spirits,” baboon-shaped beings inhabiting the turquoise fields.²¹⁵ The text describes their adoration of Re:²¹⁶

ḏ(d)-mdw
ḥs.t in nn n ntr.w m-ḥt R^c
wbn=f m 3ḥ.t i3bt.t nt p.t
*nb ḥw.t-3.t pw*²¹⁷
ntsn s^cr M3^c.t n R^c

Recitation:

Singing by these deities in the entourage of Re,
 when he rises in the eastern horizon of heaven
 (he is the lord of the palace).

It is they who raise up Maat to Re.

The *ḥw.t-3.t*-palace is a Heliopolitan location, a portion of the sun temple,²¹⁸ and mention of the *ḥw.t-3.t* in the enigmatic texts of the Book of the Day and the

Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* (Cologne, 1991), p. 375, citing P. Louvre E 3229, col. 6, l. 23, Re-Shu is termed *k3 ḥk3*, “bull of magic,” another way of expressing *nb ḥk3*, “lord of magic” (*Wb.* III 176, 12).

²¹³ See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 311 n. 47.

²¹⁴ Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 84–89.

²¹⁵ On the four deities in the east of heaven, see Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, p. 79. As Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 127 notes, the *sh.t mfk3.tyw*, “field of the turquoise gods,” and the *sh.t i3rw*, “field of reeds,” are related. In Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 5, the *sh.t mfk3.tyw* is mentioned. Note that their baboon shapes are appropriate to the far south east, where the solar eye went. They represent the area *Kns.t* (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, §1141, see Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, p. 79), and *Kns.t* is itself associated with the *sh.t i3rw* (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, §1244).

²¹⁶ Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 87.

²¹⁷ Drioton read *nb(.w) 3ḥ.t p(w)*, taking *nb* as a plural—despite the lack of a plural indicator—and reading *ḥw.t-3.t* as a cryptogram for *3ḥ.t*, “horizon.” The lack of a plural indicator suggests that *nb* refers to Re, this portion of the text being a gloss further specifying Re in his relation to the spirits of the eastern sky. One need not read the clear *ḥw.t-3.t* as a cryptic writing of *3ḥ.t* to see in the term a reference to the eastern horizon, of which Re is specified as lord. Drioton’s *ḥw.t* as *i* from *itr.t* is unlikely; *ḥ.t* as a value for the 3-sign, a wooden tent pole, is a conceivable but unattested enigmatic value.

²¹⁸ *Wb.* III 4, 2–6.

Night is consistent with the Heliopolitan toponymy of that work. The “lord of the palace” (*nb ḥw.t-ʿz.t*) is Re-Atum.²¹⁹ Giving a wider application to the *ḥw.t-ʿz.t* as a reference to a portion of the cosmos,²²⁰ the epithet *nb ḥw.t-ʿz.t* is an allusion to the lord of the place where Re and Osiris commingle at the eastern horizon. At dawn Re is at the front of the Dat-netherworld, an area which may be called *ḥnt*—the “forehall”²²¹ or the “interior.”²²² In Pyramid Texts Utterance 357,²²³ this area is the *ḥnw-ʿḥ*, “interior of the palace,” a name for Osiris himself:

ṣḥ.n Ḥr ḥr=k m rn=k n ṣḥ.t prr.t R^c im
 m ḥnw ʿ.wy=k(y) m rn=k n ḥnw-ʿḥ
 sbḥ.n=k ʿ.wy=k(y) ḥz=f ḥz=f
 nwṣwṣ qs.w=f ʿz ib=f

It is within your arms in your name of ‘Interior of the Palace’ that Horus has become *ṣḥ* before you in your name of ‘horizon through which Re comes forth,’

you enfolded your arms all about him,

that his bones be *nwṣwṣ*²²⁴ and that his heart expand.

²¹⁹ In The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 2, pl. 181, Re-Horakhty-Atum is the *nb ḥw.t-ʿz.t*. In the Re-chapel in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, Atum is the *nb ḥw.t-ʿz.t* (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6: *The Temple Proper Part 2*, pl. 425 C); he also bears this title in an unpublished scene on the east half of the north wall of room IV in Khonsu Temple (Nelson Key Plan KM 434 = PM II, p. 238, no. 65, 2). The *nṯr ʿz* is the *nb ḥw.t-ʿz.t* – J.-P. Corteggiani, “Une stèle héliopolitaine d’époque saïte,” in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976*, vol. I: *Égypte pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), pp. 119 *et passim* (note that in the Medinet Habu Re-chapel [The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6: *The Temple Proper Part 2*, pl. 425 C-D], the *nṯr ʿz*, Re-Horakhty, is on the side of a pillar adjacent to a depiction of the *nb ḥw.t-ʿz.t*, Atum). On the *ḥw.t-ʿz.t* and the Re-Atum temple as a single structure (not two separate temples), see W. Helck, “Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak,” *ZÄS* 82 (1957): 109-16; R.A. Caminos, “The Nitocris Adoption Stela,” *JEA* 50 (1964): 91; P. Kaplony, “Fürstenhaus,” in *LdÄ*, vol. 2, cols. 351-6; and L. Gabolde, *Le «Grande Château d’Amon» de Sésostris Ier à Karnak* (Paris, 1998), pp. 145-49 (§§225-31).

²²⁰ Compare Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 154, text no. 113, (b) 59-60: *iry=k n=k ḥw.t-ʿz.t [m ḥrt]/[ḏsr.ti im-s m imn]-rn=f*, “May you make for yourself a great house [in heaven]/[you being holy therein as the one] whose name [is hidden].”

²²¹ On *ḥnt* in this meaning see the discussion of *ḥnt* and *ʿrry.t* on pp. 424-6 below.

²²² G. Posener, “Le chapitre IV d’Aménémopé,” *ZÄS* 99 (1972): 130-133.

²²³ Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 1, §585a-d.

²²⁴ Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 586 (§746) lists *nwṣwṣ* as “meaning unknown;” Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 3, p. 96 suggested “sich dehnen, strecken;” Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, p. 115 reads “his bones are in due order (?)” Compare the line *i R^c mdw ḥr ḏt=k Wsir sbḥ ḥr prt-im=k*, “oh Re, speak for your body; Osiris, cry for what has come forth from you,” discussed by J. van Dijk, “The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus,” *JEOL* 26 (1979-80): 19-21.

Here Osiris personifies the final room of the Netherworld as *hnw-ḥ*, “interior of the palace.” In Chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead, Osiris is *hq3 nṯr.w nb d3.t hnty ḥw.t-ḥ3.t*, “ruler of the gods, lord of the Netherworld, preeminent in the palace.”²²⁵ The Heliopolitan Re(-Atum) as “the lord of the palace” is perhaps an allusion to Osiris as the horizon through which Re rises; by implication, the lord of the horizon is the united Re-Osiris of the eastern horizon.

The Heliopolitan lord of the palace corresponds to Osiris in the *hnt*-hall. The designation of Osiris as *hnty d3.t*, “foremost of the Netherworld,” on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, may tell us more than that Osiris is “foremost of the Netherworld.” Osiris is also located at the portal of the horizon, and may even be envisaged as forming the portal himself. In the 73rd address in the Litany of Re,²²⁶ deities called *hnty.w* are mentioned:

ḥkn n=k Rḥ q3 šḥm nb b3.w imy bnbḥ=f ḥry-tp nṯr.w hnty.w ...
Hail to you, Re, high of might, lord of *bas*, who is in his Benben
sanctuary, chief of the gods of the forehall ...

According to Hornung “das Det. □ lässt für *hnty* an die Bedeutung ‘Vorhalle’ (Wb III 307, 10ff) denken, vielleicht als ein Teil des unterweltlichen Benben-Heiligtums.”²²⁷ He also notes that *hnty.w* could be a substantive—“Derer in der Vorhalle.” Rather than simply indicating Osiris’ primacy, *hnty-d3.t* may also refer to Osiris’ position. He is at the front of the Dat, the area of the dawn. The room whence the sun emerges is that in which Osiris reclines on his hill of sand. In PT Utterance 357 (see above), the birth of Re occurs through the horizon-as-Osiris, which is also the *hnw-ḥ*, “interior of the palace.”²²⁸ This passage from the Pyramid Texts combines Osiris as the horizon, embracing the rising sun, and personifying the final room of the Netherworld.²²⁹

For the possibility that the *Hn.t* of the Dat is the place of the rising up of the hill of the horizon, there is some support in the version of the Book of Traversing

²²⁵ Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum*, pl. 75, l. 13 (a portion of Book of the Dead Chapter 15 g [T. G. Allen’s § S 3, p. 14]).

²²⁶ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 82

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 121 n. 202; for the association of the netherworld with Heliopolis, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 311 n. 47. This would be the place of the *dmḏw* of Re and Osiris (Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 241, ll. 17-8 and p. 242, n. i).

²²⁸ See F. Friedman, *On the Meaning of Akh (3ḥ) in Egyptian Mortuary Texts* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; Brandeis University, 1981), pp. 87-9.

²²⁹ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 103; for the *ḥ* of Osiris, see P. Metropolitan Museum 35.9.21, 11 (Goyon, “Textes mythologiques, I. «Le livre de protéger la barque du dieu,” *Kêmi* 19 [1969]: 32-3), where the *ḥ-smj.t* is protected from Seth and his henchmen; *ḥ* there is determined by the bearded, seated god, as though it were a name for Osiris himself. In The Book of Caverns, there is “eine von der Urfinsternis erfüllte *qrr.t-Wsir*”—see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 131, citing Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 71, l. 1, and pl. 73, l. 1.

In the first hour of the Amduat, the entry of the sun into the West is described as:²³³

ʿq ntr pn m ʿrry.t imn.t n.t ʒh.t

This god entering into the western forecourt of the horizon²³⁴

The ʿrry.t in temple architecture is “the area of a temple including the gateway.”²³⁵ The text from the Amduat, by specifying the ʿrry.t imn.t, “the western portal,” implies that there was an eastern forecourt as well.

Just as there is a hnty-forehall in the eastern and western ends of the Netherworld, so there is an ʿh-palace at the western beginning of the Netherworld as well. In the “Decree of Osiris,” the lord of the dead instructs the deities of the infernal regions that they should set the newly arrived deceased: r wsh.t tp.t n.t imnt.t ʿh pw n nb-r-dr, “in the first hall of the west—that is the palace of the All Lord.”²³⁶ Here the wsh.t-hall is the forecourt of the palace of the universal deity.

The god worshipped in the hymn on the mythological papyrus of Djekhonsefankh I is the rejuvenated night-sun. He is Re-Horakhty-Atum in the east, he is both Horus the elder in the horizon, and Khepri. He is Khepri in the flood, represented in the reclining Osiris by the raised fist of the god, the sun passing through the waters of Nun (the hand of Osiris) to rise in the east. The deity is called k3, the bull, “lord,” a reference to his potency,²³⁷ shown by the ithyphallic character of the reclining Osiris. The ithyphallic Osiris reclining on the root of the

“lord(s) of the palace” may be a further reference to the entrance to the Netherworld likened to terrestrial architecture (see there). The headrests with representations of temple portals (Ch. Boreux, “Un type rare de chevet égyptien,” *Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire orientales* [1935]: pp. 97-105), treating the horizon as a temple entrance, also allude to this concept.

²³³ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 8 - p. 3, l. 1 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 110).

²³⁴ See also Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 45, citing line 10 of the stele of Ipy from Saqqara:

ind hr=k R^c nb p.t itm w m htp=f nfr

nfr.wy htp=k m ʿr<y>.t

šsp.n=k w3.t M3nw m3^c m itn

Hail to you, oh Re, lord of heaven, Atum when he sets well,

how beautiful is your setting in the portal,

you having taken the road of the western hills, sailing fair in the
sun disk!

(J.E. Quibell and A.G.K. Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side* [Cairo, 1927], pl. 9, l. 10 (correcting Assmann’s reference to pl. ix, 8). Note the odd orthographies of p.t, with the strong arm (as though pḏ); and R^c with the di-arm instead of the normal ʿ.

²³⁵ W. Ward, “Late Egyptian ʿr.t: The So-Called Upper Room,” *JNES* 44 (1985): 329-35 (quotation from p. 332), referring to G.P.F. Van den Boorn, “Wḏ^c-ryt and Justice at the Gate,” *JNES* 44 (1985): 1-25.

²³⁶ For the text see conveniently A.H. Zayed, “Stèle inédite, en bois peint, d’une musicienne d’Amon à la basse époque,” *ASAE* 56 (1959): 96; on the decree in general, see H. de Meulenaere, “Le décret d’Osiris,” *CdE* 63 (1988): 234-41, and the literature cited there.

²³⁷ See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 80 and n. 6a.

eastern horizon in the tomb of Ramesses IX is the deity to whom a hymn on the ceiling of the tomb of Imiseba is addressed (see above), a being who manifests himself as Ptah, Re, and Amun-Min-Kamutef. With his feet in hell and his hands in the highest heights of heaven, he is the giant solar-Osiris at the root of the eastern horizon.²³⁸

The qualities of the giant deity are well summarized in a hymn to Re-Horakhty in P. Berlin 3050, col. 8, ll. 1-3:²³⁹

ḥ.n=k t(3) p.t r sq3 b3=k
 sh3p.n=k d3.t n ḥm.w=k
 sq3.n=k t(3) p.t r 3w ʿ.wy=k
 swsh.n=k t3 m ḥp.t=k
 nhm n=k t(3) p.t n wr b3=k
 snd n=k t3 n dsr s3m=k

As you have lifted up heaven in order to exalt your ba,
 so have you hidden the Netherworld for your statues.
 As you have exalted heaven to the extent of your two arms,
 so have you extended the earth according to your course.
 As heaven shouts for you because of the greatness of your ba,
 so earth trembles before you because of the sanctity of your
 image.

²³⁸ The ithyphallic Osiris as a manifestation of the unified Solar-Osiris is supported by a number of small wooden figures in the Cairo Museum, displayed as numbers 5021, 5022, 5023, 5036, 5037, and 5038 in case "T", and number 5999 in case "R," all in Room 22. These are small, falcon-headed sarcophagi, with solar images and symbols depicted on the exterior. Some have a vertical text down the front referring to *Wsr ḥnty-imn.tyw ntr ʿ3 nb b3ḥw*, etc., "Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, lord of the eastern mountain." Within each model sarcophagus is a figure of an ithyphallic Osiris. The small figures represent the ithyphallic, creative Osiris within the falcon-headed sarcophagi of the solar deity, together the lord of the eastern horizon. For similar ithyphallic "corn" Osiris-figures, see M.J. Raven, "A New Type of Osiris Burials," in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds. *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years* (Leuven, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 227-239.

²³⁹ S. Sauneron, "L'Hymne au soleil levant des papyrus de Berlin 3050, 3056 et 3048," *BIFAO* 53 (1953): 89, ll. 1-3.

CHAPTER 7

INVERSION IN THE NETHERWORLD

When celestial objects drop below the horizon of the upper sky and enter into the Netherworld, they are seen to continue down in an attitude the inverse of that in which they rose above the opposite horizon. The sun and the stars all can be seen as going upside-down into the Netherworld. In P. Carlsberg 1, stars die and enter the Netherworld (E III 26 and III 1); they fall.¹ In the Netherworld, the stars are said to *pn*^c, “turn over:”

sw pn^c=*f hpr* [...]=*f h*^c *n*

It turns over. It happens that it [...] and it rises again (L V 36).²

Celestial bodies must be inverted when entering into the Netherworld in order for those objects to turn over upon arrival in the Netherworld. This inversion suggests entry into the Netherworld as descending *shd*, “upside-down;” the Book of Traversing Eternity confirms the *shd* nature of entry into the Netherworld. The treatise says:³

hy=*k r p.t* *nn dni*=*tw* ^c=*k*

shd=*k r d3.t* *nn sn*^c=*k*

May you rise up to heaven, without you arm being held back;

may you go down into the Netherworld, without being repelled.

Shd is determined by an upside-down figure, suggesting entry “kopfüber”⁴ into the Netherworld. This motion *shd* is presented as desirable, parallel to *hy*, and the wish is that no power hinder the deceased from going *shd* into the Netherworld. According to Sethe, citing the Vatican stela version of the composition, the Netherworld is the place “in dem die Sonne und mit ihr die selige Tote kopfüber hinabsinken, im Gegensatz zu dem Emporheben zur oberirdischen Himmel.”⁵ The desire is, however, to *shd* into the Netherworld, not to continue in the state *shd* once

¹ O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* vol. 1 (Providence, 1960), pp. 68-9.

² *Ibid.* p. 73, pl. 40; see also O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1, ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmographischer Text* (Copenhagen, 1940), p. 48, p. *23, pl. 5.


³ F.R. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité* (Leuven, 1994), p. 397 (hieroglyphic transcription).



⁴ So interpreted by K. Sethe, *Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne* (Berlin, 1928), p. 5.

⁵ K. Sethe, *Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 4-5 [260-1].

there. For this reason, Chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead describes stars inverted in the Netherworld, in the presence of Re, who should set them aright.⁶ The dangerous, continued upside-down travel in the Netherworld as represented by the *nb.w-d3.t* in the upper left register of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX is appropriate to beings in proximity to the cosmic disaster, depicted there by the solar bark atop the back of Apep.

In the middle register on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, are two depictions of a prone, mummiform figure, an arm raised before it and supporting a solar disk (pl. 10B; pl. 11). The second (rightmost; pl. 11) of these prone, mummiform entities holds out his hand over an *h^c*-sign, a reference to the standstill of the solar bark. Above the supporting hand is a group of three signs, (as discussed above, Chapter 3, pp. 129-30) an enigmatic group reading *R^c šm r t3*, "Re has gone to the earth;"⁷ the upside-down orientation of the walking legs below the disk, representing the verb, shows that this sinking down towards the horizon occurs in an inverted pose.

The motion is inverted—the *shd* entry into the Netherworld. The group on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun parallels in appearance and significance the enigmatic sign  for *ʿq m d3.t* in P. Salt 825, VIII, l. 8. In cryptographic sections in Papyrus Salt 825, the concept of a deity having access to the Netherworld appears as a man upside down, below whose head is a circle.⁸ In the cryptographic portion of section VIII, 8 of this papyrus, the concepts of entry and exit from the Netherworld

are expressed by a pair of enigmatic signs——which suggests a reading *pr m d3.t*, and *ʿq m d3.t*.⁹ The group  in IX, 5 also suggests access both to the

⁶ Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 219; P. Barguet, *Le livre des morts des anciens Égyptiens* (Paris, 1967), p. 136 n.1: "Le déterminatif du mot indique qu'il s'agit d'étoiles".

⁷ Cf. the phrase *šm r t3*, "to go to the earth," in Lange and Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1, ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmographischer Text*, pp. 48, 50, and 23*, pl. 5; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 53 (S 6 of the dramatic text = P. Carlsberg I V 35).

⁸ Drioton, "La cryptographie du papyrus Salt 825," *ASAE* 41 (1942): 124, section IX, 5; Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte* (Brussels, 1965), p. 12*, line 7; pl. 9; M.-L. Ryhner, "A propos des trigrammes panthéistes," *RdE* 29 (1977): 125-37.

⁹ Drioton, *ASAE* 41 (1942): 115, fig. 18; Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, p. 11*, line 7; pl. 8; Drioton (pp. 117 and 120) misinterprets the first of these signs in VIII, 8 as the figure of a dwarf; he assumed that the second sign was a strangely done cursive writing of the upside down man alone. The circles are actually disks from which the first figure emerges, and into which the second enters. For the reading of the pair of signs, compare the annotations to the left and right of the figure of the Aker on the back wall of room F in the tomb of Ramesses IV (E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* [Mainz am Rhein, 1990], pl. 1b, pl. 84 [and p. 87]): *ʿq nfr* and *pr nfr*. The second sign in VIII, 8 recalls the similar figures on the Second Shrine of

celestial and chthonic realms. As a reading of this latter group, Ryhner suggested: *ḥ p.t šhd <m> d3.t*, “who raises heaven and goes head down <into> the Netherworld.”¹⁰ The group in IX, 5 differs from that of VIII, 8 primarily in the presence of both figures’ arms. In IX, 5 the beings are not only entering the various realms of creation, but are acting in those realms. The second pair from P. Salt 825 is to be read *tw3 p.t smd d3.t*, “who lifts up heaven and makes the Netherworld deep.”¹¹ In the enigmatic signs in P. Salt 825, the upside-down figures appear in the process of entering the Netherworld; they are at the cusp of this world and the next, and in this area an inverted motion—*šhd*—is appropriate. The horror of the figures in the tomb of Ramesses IX is that they have already entered the Netherworld, but remain upside down. At the time of the impending cosmic disaster, when the bark of Re stops on the sandbank of Apep,¹² they have failed to turn over (*pn*), and are tumbling down to the places of destruction. Once in the Netherworld, only the damned remain inverted.¹³

On the south wall of the hypostyle hall in the temple at Philae, twice the following text occurs:



wbn n=f itn 𓂏 =f r m33=f

As the disk rises for him (Osiris), so does it set in order to behold him.

This text is parallel, as Kuentz has shown,¹⁴ to British Museum 1367, which makes clear that the sign of the inverted man in the Philae texts corresponds to *ḥtp*.¹⁵ A portion of text on the Bab el-Amra discusses how the moon acts as the deputy of

Tutankhamen (A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* [New York, 1955], fig. 42), *šm r t3*—see Chapter 3, pp. 129-30.

¹⁰ M.-L. Ryhner, “A propos des trigrammes panthéistes,” *RdE* 29 (1977): 129-30 (Drioton, *ASAE* 41 [1942]: 126, read the upside down figure as *s* in *šhs d3.t*).


¹¹ See the discussion of this concept in Chapter 6, pp. 408-10.


¹² See the discussion of the solar standstill in the discussion of *ir=f ḥw* in Chapter 5, pp. 287-8.

¹³ In the text introducing the Second Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division,” *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 25), the *šhd.w* are amongst the damned in the *ḥtmy.t*. Only if they continue their inverted tumble are the *nb.w-d3.t* damned and ultimately dangerous; this is why the *d3.tyw*, “inhabitants of the Netherworld,” of A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 5 (Chicago, 1954), p. 332a (discussed by J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* [Leiden, 1960], p. 240) are malevolent.

¹⁴ C. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou-Simbel* vol. 2 (Cairo, 1968) p. 139.

¹⁵ The value *ḥtp* for the sign of the inverted man was overlooked in the Montpellier sign-list (F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* vol. 1 [Montpellier, 1988], p. 11, no. 177); note also the Ptolemaic examples listed by *Wb.* IV 266, 4.

Re *sh.t* ()=*f r šn.t*, “when he descends into the Netherworld.”¹⁶ In the Book of the Fayum, the sun is described as:¹⁷

imn-R^c hpr.w hḥ htp=f  *hḥ*

Amun-Re, (whose) manifestations are the Heh-gods; when he sets,
the Heh sink down.¹⁸

In the depiction of the Birket Qarûn in the Book of the Fayum, Re enters the lake, swimming¹⁹ upside-down between Nun and Nunet to the left and Amun and Amunet to the right (elements of the Heh-deities). Within the lake is a scene of the cyclical passage of the day and night sun through the lake. The setting sun, the star of day, also entered the Netherworld in an inverted position. Like the stellar “lords of the Netherworld” (*nb.w-d3.t*), Re himself enters the Netherworld upside-down.²⁰

On the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the inverted *nb.w-d3.t*, the “lords of the Netherworld” (pl. 32), appear above a scene of the solar bark run up on the back of Apep (pl. 31). “Upside-down stars” are a motif appropriate to a scene of the destruction of Apep, and the Book of the Dead describes such a scene. In chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead, above the defeat of the Serpent, the *shd.w*, “the

¹⁶ P. Clère, *La porte d'Éuergète à Karnak* (Cairo, 1961), pl. 60 = K. Sethe and O. Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1957), p. 74, ll. 14-5 (on this passage see Fairman, “Some Unrecorded Ptolemaic Words,” *ZÄS* 91 [1964]: 9-11); similarly a portion of the horizontal band of text to the right of the lunar disk in Clère, *La porte d'Éuergète*, pl. 18 = Sethe and Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit*, p. 41, l. 10 (§53f).

¹⁷ H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum* (Wiesbaden, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 158-9, text 206.

¹⁸ Beinlich (*ibid.* p. 159, n. 1 and p. 279) read this as “Amun-Re (und?) (seine) unzähligen Erscheinungsformen. Sein Sich-Niederlassen ist das unzählige Versinken.” As explanation he suggests: “Die Zeile bezieht sich anscheinend auf das scheinbare Eintauchen der Sonne in den Fayumsee;” in the glossary, Beinlich transliterated the hieroglyph of the inverted man as *shd*.

¹⁹ The text says *R^c pw w3=f r nbi* (*ibid.*, pp. 152-3, text 150); the depiction is on p. 87, Abb. 26. Beinlich notes that the legs of Re are not shown, and were probably originally intended to be hidden by water ripples, ultimately omitted (*ibid.*, p. 86).

²⁰ In the fourth scene in section A (second register) of the Book of the Earth, the two circles at the level of the head of the central deity each contain three inverted beings. The area of the being's head is said to be in the *d3.t hr.t* (see below), because the area of the inverted stars in the Ramesses IX treatise is the area of the *hr.t* into which the slanting Osiride king raises his arms. This association of the hand of Osiris in the *d3.t hr.t* with the plummeting lords of the Netherworld suggests that the *d3.t hr.t* may have been the place of inverted entry into the Netherworld. The swimming of stellar bodies may be behind the use of the star to write *nb*, “lord” (See the titulary of the Second Intermediate Period ruler *Nḥsy* from Tell Mokdam—E. Naville, *Ahnas El Medineh (Heracleopolis Magna), with Chapters on Mendes, the Nome of Thoth, and Leontopolis* [London, 1894], pl. 4, B1 and 2; see also M. Bietak, “The Center of Hyksos Rule: Avaris,” in E. Oren, ed. *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* [Philadelphia, 1997], p. 109 for the probable origin of the Tell el-Muqdam block).

inverted stars,” fall. These inverted stars appear on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 32); with their limbs spread wide the figures in the upper left register there take on the appearance of inverted stars. The disks atop the upside-down heads of the beings further indicate the stellar identity of the inverted figures in the tomb of Ramesses IX.

The disks into which the stellar lords of the Netherworld appear to fall are actually to be seen as attributes placed atop their heads. The disks are the attributes of stars, and are the shining disks which rise atop the heads of the blessed dead in the Netherworld.²¹ In the third tableau in the first register of section A in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk,²² twelve standing goddesses with light-shedding disks atop their heads are called “hours.” They hold their hands over stars, and the accompanying text explains:

irw=sn m db^c.w=sn

Their attributes are at their fingers

They have disks and stars as attributes, apparently equated. In a parallel text from the Late Period,²³ the hours, rather than wearing disks atop their heads, have:

itn m hr=sn

disks as their faces

The heads are themselves disks.²⁴ The description of the hours as having disks for heads describes well the disk-headed figures in the enigmatic treatise on the

²¹ M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (London, 1987), pp. 121-3, especially pp. 121-2, discussing P. BM 10209 I 41-2: *iry n=k itn imy-wrtt m-^cq3 n št3.t-k psd=f n=k snkty m imḥ.t wbn=f m šww hr tp=k*, “A sun-disk has been fashioned for you <in> the necropolis opposite your tomb, that it may illumine the darkness in the underworld for you and shine as the sun upon your head” (trans. *ibid.* p. 122). This passage reflects a portion of Chapter 133 of the Book of the Dead (a version of a portion of the Book of the Two Ways in the Coffin Texts), wherein the deceased is likened to Re with his attribute of a solar disk atop his brow (Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 105 [with n. 23]; E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* [Zurich and Munich, 1990], pp. 495-6; corresponds to A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 7 [Chicago, 1961], p. 256).

²² A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (Cairo, 1953), pl. 2, l. 8.


²³ Cited by Piankoff, *ibid.* p. 10 n. 1.

²⁴ Compare the solar imagery associated with the head of the king, and similar solar imagery referring to the heads of non-royal dead, as though the head of the deceased were the disk of the sun (for the imagery of the headrest, see C. Boreux, “Un type rare de chevet égyptien,” *Annuaire ed l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire orientales* [1935]: 97-105; R. H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art* [London, 1992], pp. 158-9; and C. Sourdivé, *La main dans l’Égypte pharaonique* [Berne, 1984], pp. 253-63; B.R. Hellinckx, “The symbolic assimilation of head and sun as expressed by headrests,” *SAK* 29 [2001]: 61-95; on the hypocephali, D. Kessler, “Kopftafel,” in *LdÄ*, vol. 3, col. 693; Barguet, *Le livre des morts des anciens égyptiens*, p. 228 n. 1 [to Chapter 162]; Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of*

ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI. These male deities are said to protect (*s33*) the hours:²⁵

mn tp.w=sn hr=sn (i)m=s

with the result that their heads remain upon them therein

The female deities with disks before them and glowing stars above in the bottom register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling treatise are apparently hours.²⁶ In several places in the enigmatic treatise on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun the sun disk has an associated star.²⁷ In the scene to the lower right of the second and concluding side of the treatise, hours enter the corpses of the goddesses; the hour within the corpse of each goddess appear as a star atop a disk.²⁸ On the stela BM 1224 (reign of Takelot I), the owner asks Re to allow him to fly up and join the *h3bs.w*-stars, that he might join with the stars ²⁹ In the lowest

Papyrus BM 10507, p. 123). For the head of the deceased as a disk, see also D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990) p. 65, n. 886. One may also compare the headrest showing Shu between the lions of Aker on a headrest from the tomb of Tutankhamun (see Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pl. 59), where the head of the king would be the sun itself (on Shu in Amarna theology, see G. Fecht, "Amarna Probleme (1-2)," *ZÄS* 85 (1960): 91-117; J. Assmann, *Ägypten – Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 244-246; *idem*, *Re und Amun, die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1983); *idem*, "Die loyalistische Lehre Echnatons," *SAK* 8 [1980]: 1-32; *idem*, "Palast oder Tempel? Überlegungen zur Architektur und Topographie von Amarna," *JNES* 31 [1972]: 143-55).


²⁵ Upper register, inscription 2, lines 4-7 = pl. 21.

²⁶ Lower register, inscription 2, line 10, = pl. 24, if the word there is indeed to be read *wnwt* and not *im.t*.

²⁷ Compare also the star/disk pairs representing the hours in the sarcophagus hall of the tomb of Ramesses III (E. Hornung, "Auf den Spuren der Sonne: Gang durch ein ägyptisches Königsgrab," *EranoS Jahrbuch* 50 [1981]: 466 and fig. 16, p. 467; an elaboration of scene D IV in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk), and the star/disk pairs in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (A VIII and D IV).

²⁸ The text is *wnwt=sn sn ʿq.w m h3.wt=sn*, "it is their hours, they having entered into their corpses;" for stars and disks associated, compare also E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 2 (Geneva, 1980) pp. 256 and 268.

²⁹ K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Stele London BM 1224," *SAK* 17 (1990): 217, line 8: Re should

help the deceased, *ʿp(=i) r p.t m-ʿb h3bs.w hnmy(=i)* , "so that I may fly up to heaven in the company of the stars, and that I may join with the stars." The group of star and disk occurs on the lintel of the doorway to "caveau No 329" at Deir el Medina (B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh* (1926) [Cairo, 1927], p. 77, fig. 56), where it may both label the adoring ba-birds to either side of the central sun disk as disk-wearing stars, and label the scene as *dwt3 R*, "adoration of Re." The idea of the fate of the head as separate from that of the body (see the section in the chapter on the enigmatic treatise on

register of the Seventh Hour of the Amduat, the Datian Horus sets the stars upright and gives to the hours their proper positions—it is probably this Datian Horus who stands to the left of the plummeting and splayed figures. The Datian Horus wishes for the stars and hours:³⁰

m3^c n iw^f=tn hpr n 3hw=tn
htp=tn m sb3.w=tn

Order be to your flesh and realization to your 3h-power,
 so that you rest in your stars.

The Ramesses IX treatise interprets the concept underlying the phrase *htp=tn m sb3.w=tn*, “so that you rest in your stars,” as star-like, splayed figures in disks of light.³¹

The stars on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall are inverted, and the figures in them are dark. The streams of light surrounding them form concentric circles, all contained within a circle. Their light covers and hides them. The streams of connected light, in unbroken circles surrounding the dark figures within mimic the unbroken darkness—the *kkw-sm3w*. When the normal functions of the Netherworld and her inhabitants are upset, darkness and inversion of the dead are associated. According to PT §323a-b:³²

bt NN pw 33s m kkw
ni m33=f shd.w

Walking in darkness is what King NN abominates;
 he will not see those who are upside down.³³

the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun), for a least a portion of the Datian day, appears to be behind a portion of text T 20 in the tomb of Basa (TT 389):

sb3-k m p.t *b3(-k) tp t3*

Your star be in heaven, (your) *ba* upon the earth.

(J. Assmann, *Grabung im Asasif* vol. 2 *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole* [Mainz am Rhein, 1973], p. 63 and n. b). This text from the tomb of Basa appears to refer to the head as a star.

³⁰ E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1963), p. 128 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 565); vol. 2, p. 136.

³¹ The similarity between the Amduat passage and the depiction on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall is stronger if one reads *htp=tn* not as a clause of purpose, but as one of circumstance—“order be to your flesh and realization to your 3h-power, when you rest in your stars.” The stars and hours need order and 3h-power when they set, in order properly to turn rightside-up in the Netherworld.


³² K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Leipzig, 1908-1922), vol. 1, p. 174.

³³ J. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (Malibu, 1984) pp. 230-1 (§360A); this corresponds to de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 189e-f (spell 575); according to version B3BO:

bwt(=i) pw 3m m grh
nj m33 N tn shd.w

The figures are inverted, upside-down, falling above a register depicting the destruction of Apep and his serpent cohorts by the right eye of the sun, while the bark of Re is run aground on the back of Apep. In the Netherworld Books, inversion is in general the undesirable fate of the damned.³⁴ But it may also be seen as the pose assumed by all, blessed and damned, when entering the Netherworld. As we have seen, even the entry of the sun itself into the Netherworld could be seen as an inverted descent.

P. Cologne 3547,³⁵ a magical papyrus from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, describes a cosmic catastrophe, in which the bark of the sun stands still (II, 1). The Great Ennead is in trouble (II, 2), and “one cannot see another” (II, 3).³⁶ Further (II, 3):

nn pn^c=sn () n3 nb.w d3.t nty m hr.t-ntr
they will not turn over the lords of the Netherworld who are in the
necropolis.

The text suggests that at the time of the catastrophe, the gods are no longer able to set the lords of the Netherworld upright – they cannot orient them relative to their Datan environment.³⁷ The *nb.w-d3.t*, the “lords of the Netherworld,” occur earlier

Hornung’s comparison of the upside-down stars to the *pg3.w* and *igy.w* may also be significant. In the introduction to the Sixth Hour of the *Amduat* (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 110 n. 2 and 123), the sun god stops at the abyss of the Netherworld, called *Nb.t-D3.tyw*, “Mistress of the Netherworld;” “sie mündet in das Urgewässer Nun, das in unendlicher Erstreckung die Welt allseitig umschliesst (*ibid.* p. 123).” The inverted Lords of the Netherworld enter the Netherworld through the water called Mistress of the Netherworld.

³⁴ See R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1993), pp. 168–71. B.H. Stricker’s (*De Geboorte van Horus*, vol. 5 [Leiden, 1989], pp. 672–85) explanation of certain bound, upside-down, headless enemies of the sun as symbolic of the embryonic sun cannot explain the fetters, nor is it consistent with the accompanying texts.

³⁵ D. Kurth, in D. Kurth, H.-J. Thissen, and M. Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri (P. Köln ägypt.)* (Wiesbaden, 1980), pl. 2.

³⁶ The “mythological” text on the Saft el-Henna naos gives a description of the catastrophic events accompanying the departure of Shu; there the text describes an event similar to the darkness at the time of the solar stand-still, with a storm wind (*dʿw*) and the resulting inability of deities to see one another (specifically line 8)—see U. Verhoeven, “Eine Vergewaltigung? Vom Umgang mit einer Textstelle des Naos von El Arish (Tefnut-Studien I),” in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Alten Ägypten (Fs. Derchain)* (Leuven, 1991), p. 329.

³⁷ Kurth, in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri*, pp. 22 and 35, n. 51 interprets the passage differently; Kurth renders this as “und sie wehren nicht mehr ab die Herren der Unterwelt, welche in der Nekropole sind;” according to him, this refers to the “Vernachlässigung der hier den Göttern zugeschriebenen Aufgabe, gefährliche Wesen abzuwehren.” He suggests that the “Lords of the Netherworld” here are the *mw.t.w*, “jene Toten, die als spukende Wesen aus ihrer Gräbern steigen und die Lebenden in Furcht

in the Cologne papyrus, in line I 2, where the papyrus calls them near to assist in its healing purpose. The *nb.w-d3.t* are in fact the blessed dead.³⁸

A further attestation of the *nb.w-d3.t* is in line 28 of the autobiographical inscription in the tomb of Inhermose at El-Mashayikh. In a damaged section of the wall, the deceased speaks of acting for the benefit of both the *3ḥ.w* and the *nb.w-d3.t*.³⁹ This parallelism suggests that the *nb.w-d3.t* are not unlike the *3ḥ.w* (see further below).⁴⁰ In the solar hymn in Theban Tomb 30,⁴¹ the hope is expressed that Re will help the deceased:

dī=f mn rn n ... Ḥnsw-ms m3^c-ḥrw ḥr nb.w-d3.t

may he cause that the name of ... Khonsumes endure, justified before the lords of the Netherworld.

The deceased wishes to be among the blessed dead. In the addition to chapter 1 of the Book of the Dead, the dead desires to see the *nb.w-d3.t*.⁴² As a justified and blessed inhabitant of the Netherworld, Osiris himself is a *nb-d3.t*.⁴³ In the first and

versetzen." Kurth would understand *pn^c* here as synonymous with the more commonly used *ḥsf* referring to the warding off of noxious entities in the Netherworld (see J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* [Berlin, 1969], p. 33).

³⁸ Kurth (in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri*, pp. 26-7, n. 17) cites a number of references to the "Lords of the Netherworld:" 1) chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead; 2) chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead; 3) the papyrus of Djedkhonsuefonkh. On the basis of these three attestations Kurth concludes "'Herren der Unterwelt' ist ... eine Bezeichnung der gerechtfertigten Toten, die das Totengericht unbeschadet überstanden." (*ibid.*, p. 26).

³⁹ B. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh 1: The Tomb of Anhurmose—the Outer Room* (Sydney, 1988), pp. 34-5, pls. 24-5.

⁴⁰ The *nb.w-d3.t* parallel the *qr.tyw*, "cavern dwellers," in K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. 1: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford, 1975), p. 168, l. 9 (temple of Sety I at Abydos); in *ibid.*, p. 191, ll. 4-5, they parallel the *imn.tyw* (the desire expressed there, *dī=k ḥr=k n nb.w-d3.t*, "may you turn your face toward the lords of the Netherworld," is probably a desire for the attention necessary in order to turn over (*pn^c*) the inverted stars at the cusp of the upper and lower worlds).

⁴¹ J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), p. 40, text no. 29, ll. 26-27.

⁴² And note the text on the south edge of the Anubis niche on the south end of the east wall in J. Osing, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru in Zawiyet Sultan* (Mainz am Rhein, 1992) p. 76, n. d and pl. 44 (far right, bottom of the rightmost vertical column):

dī=k bs.tw(=t) <ḥr> nb.w-d3.t

May you cause that I be ushered in <amongst> the lords of the Netherworld.

For *bsi ḥr*, as Osing, *ibid.*, p. 76, n. d, restores, compare J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIII^{mes} Dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon* (Leuven, 1989), pp. 165 and 177.

⁴³ P. BM 10554 (P. Greenfield), E.A.W. Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum* (London, 1912), pl. 75, l. 13 (= H.M. Stewart, "Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns

second scenes in the second register of the third division of the Book of Caverns, the Lords of the Netherworld are said to have come from Khentamenti, and one of the four figures depicting these blessed dead is labeled "Osiris-Khentamenti."⁴⁴ In the demotic P. Berlin 8351 IV, 6, the awakening of the blessed dead is likened to the awakening of the *nb.w-d3.t*.⁴⁵

According to Zandee,⁴⁶ the *nb.w-d3.t* of Chapter 168 of the Book of the Dead are demons, whom the Osirian deceased avoids. In the portion of Chapter 168 which Zandee cites from P. BM 10478,⁴⁷ the statement is made:

... *Wsir wstnw ib hr nb.w-d3.t*

... Osiris, dauntless, because of the lords of the Netherworld

Zandee read the last portion of this passage as "Osiris N.N. is undaunted with the lords of the Netherworld." Zandee's "undaunted" directly renders the "unverzag" of *Wb.* I 368, 1, and is unproblematic.⁴⁸ His rendering of the preposition *hr* as "with," understanding the lords of the Netherworld as potentially daunting entities, is not supported by subsequent lines of chapter 168, which Zandee does not cite. In section 13 of this chapter, the deceased is *wstn* "like the lords of the Netherworld."⁴⁹

imy.w dsr-tp di=sn q pr.t n Wsir

wstn=f mi nb.w-d3.t

Those amongst whom *Dsr-tp* ("sanctified of head") is, grant entry and egress to Osiris,
that he may go unhindered like the lords of the Netherworld.

In Chapter 168 of the Book of the Dead the deceased is desired to proceed unhindered in the Netherworld, like the *nb.w-d3.t*; from this one can assume that free movement was a characteristic of the *nb.w-d3.t*. Similarly, the earlier passage

of the New Kingdom," *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 6 [1967]: 68-70, G; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 77 ff.); already PT 8d (E. Hornung, "Dat," *LdÄ*, vol. 1, col. 995).

⁴⁴ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 30, text nos. 2 and 3.

⁴⁵ G. Vittmann, review of D. Kurth, H.-J. Thissen, and M. Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri* 1 (*Papyrologica Coloniensia* 9), in *Enchoria* 11 (1982): 122 (I thank R. Jasnow for this reference), citing W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 27 and pl. 85 (see also W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* [Copenhagen, 1954], p. 212).

⁴⁶ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 204.

⁴⁷ E.A.W. Budge, *Book of the Dead* (London, 1898), p. 431, l. 7; p. 432, l. 12 (this is T.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day, Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms* [Chicago, 1974], Chapter 168 A, §d, S 5 [p. 166]).

A. Piankoff, *Le «coeur» dans les textes égyptiens depuis l'Ancien jusqu'à la fin du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1930), pp. 37 and 110, reads *hsty wstn* and *wstn ib* as "sans peur;" for the Book of the Dead 168 IV, he reads "celui dont le coeur marche librement."

Budge, *Book of the Dead*, p. 432, l. 12.

should be parallel, and T.G. Allen's reading: "A portion has been offered to them on earth by Osiris (N.), bold of heart, on behalf of the lords of the nether world"⁵⁰ is preferable to Zandee's rendering. Rather than being malevolent demons, the *nb.w-d3.t* in Chapter 168 of the Book of the Dead are beings who move unhindered through the Netherworld, like whom the blessed dead wishes to move, and on behalf of whom he makes offerings on earth.

Thus far, the *nb.w-d3.t* are not beings which we should expect to find "warded off," as Kurth understands to be the case in col. II, l. 3 of the Cologne magical papyrus. Kurth does, however, interpret the *nb.w-d3.t* in Djedhor as dangerous.⁵¹ Line 103 of the text of Djedhor addresses the dangerous *sbt*; in line 104, the text states:⁵²

*R^c hr ts r w3=f r m33 psd.t ntr.w nw Hr-ḥ3
n3y nb.w-d3.t ḥ^c hr bh3n=k*

Even as Re is mounting to his bark, in order to behold the ennead of the gods of Kheraha,
the lords of the Netherworld are engaged in slaughtering you.⁵³

In the Djedhor passage the "lords of the Netherworld" do kill, but they kill an enemy of the sun. In the mythological papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh II⁵⁴ the *nb.w-d3.t* are serpent-holding, knife-wielding, animal-headed entities—the lords of the Netherworld are punishing beings. Yet they sit and stand atop and appear to punish evil snakes; one of the *nb.w-d3.t* stands behind the kneeling deceased as he adores the sun, in a pose that appears to be more protective than menacing. Kurth concludes that, in the Cologne papyrus, the "Lords of the Netherworld" are beneficent in col. I, l. 2 of the Cologne papyrus, but malevolent in col. II, l. 3. This does not accord with the attestations of the term which Kurth himself cites. In no

⁵⁰ Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 166 [§d, S 5].

⁵¹ Kurth, in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri*, p. 48 n. 104 (already Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 204 [§ B.14.1] interpreted the *nb.w-d3.t* as demons).

⁵² E. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-Her-le-Sauveur* (Cairo, 1956), pp. 48 and 53; parallel lines 40-1 of the Metternich Stela (C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela* [Copenhagen, 1956], p. 31 [p. 34 for discussion of parallels]), and lines 6-7 of the back of cippus UC 16547 (H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, Part 3: *The Late Period* [Warminster, 1983], pl. 20).

⁵³ For the translation of *ḥ^c* (Old Perfective) + *hr* + infinitive, see A. Gardiner, "A Protest Against Unjustified Tax-Demands," *RdE* 6 (1951): 121; and J.-M. Kruchten, *Études de syntaxe néo-égyptienne* (Brussels, 1982), pp. 34 and 36, p. 82 n. 83—"le sujet est déjà 'installé' dans une action qui se répète ou dure; il est 'occupé à, en train de' faire telle chose" (p. 34 no. 4). For the related *ḥ^c.n=f* + old perfective, see now also M. Broze, "'Entretemps, ce vaincu du nom de Teti-an était arrivé...' A propos de la forme *ḥ^c.n=f* + pseudoparticipe dans une narration," in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Alten Ägypten (Fs. Derchain)* (Leuven, 1991), pp. 65-77.

⁵⁴ A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri* (New York, 1957), pl. 22, 3rd vignette.

source are the "Lords of the Netherworld" clearly described as dangerous or ambivalent. Each writing of the term in the Cologne papyrus concludes with the sign of a falcon on a standard; there is no enemy determinative in col. II, l. 3 of the Cologne papyrus, where Kurth suggests that the *nb.w-d3.t* are unpleasant beings. The Great Ennead should be well disposed towards the *nb.w-d3.t*; the reference to the Great Ennead's inability to "turn over" (*pn*) the *nb.w-d3.t* appears to describe the failure of a desired action to occur.⁵⁵ The "Lords of the Netherworld," as stars entering the Netherworld, should be turned over and allowed to rise again in the night sky. As an outcome of the cosmic tragedy so narrowly averted when Re stops and threatens to run aground on the back of Apep, the *nb.w-d3.t*, "lords of the Netherworld," as the *shd.w*, "upside-down stars," whom the deceased describes in Book of the Dead Chapter 99,⁵⁶ are in danger of plummeting into the Lower Netherworld.⁵⁷ As the sky is in danger of dropping onto the earth at the time of the narrowly averted cosmic catastrophe, so the stars below the horizon at the entrance to the Netherworld, and the undersky itself, thereafter to plummet towards the lowest realms of the Netherworld.⁵⁸ The parallelism of the *shd.w* and the *nb.w-d3.t* rests on the Egyptian concept of the stellar destiny of the deceased.⁵⁹

The "lords of the Netherworld" could be viewed as deities of the Netherworld, the "lords of the Netherworld" forming an ennead.⁶⁰ In a broken text in the tomb of

⁵⁵ The *nb.w-d3.t* are probably the *shd.w* of the Book of the Dead. The deceased says that he will not look on them (PT §323a-b; Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, pp. 230-1 (§360A); note also de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 189e-f and Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 25, ln. 1), but this does not indicate that they are evil, but is rather connected with the deceased's general abhorrence of the chaotic and inverted.

⁵⁶ Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 219.

⁵⁷ As the dangerous situation in which Re finds himself threatens the stars with inversion, so their inversion further threatens the well being of the sun—for the *ihm.w-sk* and *ihm.w-wrđ* stars helping to carry the sun, see F.-R. Herbin, "Une nouvelle page de livre des respirations," *BIFAO* 84 (1984): 290-1, n. (53).

⁵⁸ The cosmos was in danger of returning to its undifferentiated state (H. Te Velde, "The Theme of the Separation of Heaven and Earth in Egyptian Mythology," *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 [1977]: 161-70; E. Hornung, "Verfall und Regeneration der Schöpfung," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 46 [1977]: 411-49; S. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire* [Freiburg and Göttingen, 1994], pp. 228-231).

⁵⁹ W. Barta, "Funktion und Lokalisierung der Zirkumpolarsterne in den Pyramidentexten," *ZÄS* 107 (1980): 1-4. On aspects of the stellar destiny of the dead in the later phases of the ancient Egyptian religion, see L. Kákossy, "Probleme der Ägyptischen Jenseitsvorstellungen in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit," in Ph. Derchain, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (Paris, 1969), pp. 59-68; *idem*, "Selige und Verdammte in der spätägyptischen Religion," *ZÄS* 97 (1971): 100-106; I. Nagy, "Remarques sur quelques formules stellaires des textes religieux d'époque saïte," *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1977): 99-117.

⁶⁰ Ch. Leblanc, *Ta Set Neferou, une necropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1989), pl. 104 (Valley of the Queens no. 44, tomb of Prince Khaemwaset): *ḏ-mdw in psd.t nb.w-d3.t*; pl. 120 (Valley of the Queens no. 52, tomb of Queen Tyti): *imzhy hr psd.t nb.w-d3.t*. The *nṯr*-signs are determinatives, not part of **nṯr.w nb.w-d3.t*, "all the gods of the Netherworld" (parallel to *nṯr.w nb.w imntt*, "the gods, lords of the West"—

Mutirdis, the tomb owner appears to refer to the fifteen entities, brandishing knives and standing in shrines, representing the gatekeepers of the accompanying chapter 146 of the Book of the Dead, as *nb.w-d3.t*.⁶¹ On the exterior right door panel of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Re-Horakhty addresses the deceased king:⁶²

iry=i s.t=k m hr.t-ntr m w^c m nn n ntr.w nb.w-d3.t

I shall make your place in the necropolis as one among these gods,
the lords of the Netherworld.

In the categories of beings which it encompasses, the term *nb-d3.t* appears to be similar to the term *3h*,⁶³ including deities and the blessed dead. And as the *nb.w-d3.t* may be the doorkeepers of the Netherworld, so may the *3h.w* act as gatekeepers and judges.⁶⁴

Similarly, in chapter 101 of the Book of the Dead, the sun should set the deceased on his feet in the Netherworld. The third address to Re in that chapter reads:⁶⁵

see E.F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* [Chicago, 1967], pp. 34-5 n. a, followed by J.J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications* [London, 1991], p. 13, n. 4).

⁶¹ J. Assmann, *Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970*, vol. 6: *Das Grab der Mutirdis* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pls. 23 and 23 A (and as a handcopy on p. 59, where the quail chick of *nb.w*, present in the drawing and clear in the photo, is omitted). A text in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49—N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes* [New York, 1933], vol. 1, pl. 59, col. o) referring to the *sb3.w nb.w n d3.t* perhaps refers to the “gates of the lords of the Netherworld,” although the presence of the indirect genitive speaks somewhat against this interpretation. In the mythological papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh II (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 22), the deceased is shown kneeling, adoring Re as an accompanying text makes clear. Behind him stands a crocodile headed, snake and knife wielding being; seated behind the standing creature are three snake and lizard brandishing, animal headed beings atop serpents. They are labeled *nb.w-d3.t*, “lords of the Netherworld,” a label which may include the being behind the deceased. Later in the papyrus the deceased prays to the “gods of heaven” (*ntr.w-p.t*), and asks: *n s^cr=tn bin=f n ntr pw nty ht=f*. “you should not present his bad to that god who is behind him,” referring to the formidable, probably *nb-d3.t* standing behind the deceased earlier in the papyrus. This is another example of a *nb-d3.t* who punishes evil and keeps wrongdoers out of the realm of the blessed in the Netherworld.

⁶² A. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon* (Cairo, 1952), vol. 1, p. 27.

⁶³ The *3h.w* and the *nb.w-d3.t* are associated in the inscription in Ockinga and al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh* 1, pp. 34-5, pls. 24-5.

⁶⁴ R.J. Demarée, *The 3h ikr n R^c-Stelae, On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden, 1983), pp. 219-22; Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 180-3. There may have been a certain antipathy and wariness towards the *nb.w-d3.t* if they, like the *3h.w*, “might take part in the judgment of the newly arrived dead” (*ibid.* p. 221 with nn. 131 and 135, and p. 257). At times their judgments of the dead may also have been envisaged as expressions of personal vengeance (note the passage from the Dispute of a Man with his Ba, lines 142-143).

⁶⁵ Based on E. Naville, *The Funeral Papyrus of Iouija* (London, 1908), pl. 13, lines 25-6.

i R^c m rn=k pwy n R^c
ir sw3=k hr nty.w-im m shd
k3=k s^ch^c=k NN hr rd.wy=fy
wḏ3=k wḏ3=f

Oh Re, in that your name of Re;

If you pass by those-who-are-there/the dead, they being inverted,
 please make NN stand up upon his two feet.

As you are well, so is he well.

According to Hornung, “die dritte [Strophe bezieht sich] auf bestrafte Wesen des Jenseits, die auf dem Kopf gestellt sind.”⁶⁶ The inverted beings are, however, the *nty.w-im*, the dead, without further specification that they are evil (disregarding for the moment the *m shd* in question). The text of Book of the Dead Chapter 101 even suggests that the deceased person for whom the chapter is inscribed is amongst those *m shd*. The Egyptians themselves appear to have been somewhat uncertain of the nature of these beings. The determinative for *nty.w-im* in the Eighteenth Dynasty papyrus of Yuia is that given as a determinative after the names of the blessed dead; in the papyrus of Nu, also from the Eighteenth Dynasty, the *nty.w-im* receive as a determinative the less genteel sign of the man with an axe in his forehead.⁶⁷ Such a determinative is attested elsewhere when the *nty.w-im* in question are specified as malevolent.⁶⁸ In the Nu example, the determinative of the dying enemy may refer only to the danger in which the *nty.w-im* find themselves—they are the “ill” *nty.w-im*.⁶⁹

In the version of chapter 15 B2 variant⁷⁰ of the Book of the Dead on the Eighteenth Dynasty stela of one Panehesy, Berlin 7317,⁷¹ line 11, the *nty.w-im* are

⁶⁶ E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zurich and Munich, 1990), p. 478.

⁶⁷ E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead, Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet with Supplementary Text from the Papyrus of Nu* (London, 1899), pl. 57; G. Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu* (London, 1997), pl. 79, l. 6; Chapter 101 in the Twentieth Dynasty papyrus of Neferrenpet is damaged, and *nty.w-im* and its determinative are missing (L. Speleers, *Le papyrus de Nefer Renpet, un livre des morts de la XVIII^eme Dynastie* [Brussels, 1917] pl. 19). The later papyrus of Nedjmet is noncommittal, and the *nty.w-im* are given no determinative (*ibid.* pl. 10, col. 12). For the sign of the person bleeding from the head determining the name of the deceased, see H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley, NY, 1968), p. 133.

⁶⁸ *Wb.* II 355, 9-10. Compare the use of this determinative with the *b3*-birds annotating the upside-down, human-headed souls of the damned at the end of the bottom register of the Third Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* [New York, 1954] fig. 12 [opposite p. 66]).

⁶⁹ Compare the use of the dying enemy as a determinative of “eye” (*ir.t*) to mean “ill eye” in P. London-Leiden verso column 20, l. 1 (see H.-J. Thissen, “Nubien in demotischen magischen Texten,” in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* [Cologne, 1991], p. 371).

⁷⁰ The designation of T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, p. 21.

The *nty.w-im m šhd* could be the blessed dead who happen to be upside-down when Re encounters them, they just entering into the realm of the dead. On the sarcophagus Medelhavsmuseet NME6 is a text describing the dead being *m šhd* at the point of entering into the Netherworld:⁷⁵

R^c wd3=f n mw.t=f
hb.n=f M3nw m 'Itm
sw3=f hr nty.w-im m šhd
 Re journeys to his mother,
 having passed through the western mountains as Atum,
 and passes by those who are there, they being upside-down

Here again are the “inverted dead” (*nty.w-im m šhd*), by whom Re passes at the time of his setting; they are the dead at the cusp between the upper and lower skies, at the beginning of the nightly journey.⁷⁶ Even Wennefer, the model of the blessed dead, can be said to be inverted in the Netherworld. In Chapter 42 of the Book of the Dead, the deceased says:⁷⁷

mk irw=i šhd
ink Wnn-nfr
 but my form is inverted.
 I am Wennefer.

BIFAO 79 [1979]: 114-5; R.K. Ritner, “O. Gardiner 363: A Spell Against Night Terrors,” *JARCE* 27 [1990]: 26, n. 4 and the references cited there). As Posener recognized, these potentially aggressive *šh.w* are the blessed dead themselves (G. Posener, “Les ‘afarit dans l’ancienne Égypte,” *MDAIK* 37 [1981]: 393-401, specifically pp. 399-400; on early manifestations of the *šh.w*, see K. Koch, “Erwägungen zu den Vorstellungen über Seelen und Geister in den Pyramidentexten,” *SAK* 11 [1984]: 427-30). The *šhw* may also be potential enemies of the solar deity (Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 208, n. *ee* to ll. 51-2 of text no. 156). The spirit components of the individual were capable of a certain amount of aggression; compare the epithet of Ptolemy VI as “bellicose *ba*,” *b3 tkk* (see A. Farid, “New Ptolemaic Blocks from Rub^c-el-Maganin-Armant,” *MDAIK* 35 [1979]: pp. 66 and 68 [inscription 9, a block from Armant reused in a Roman fortification at Rub^c-el-Maganin]; on *tkk*, see J.F. Borghouts, “The Victorious Eyes: A Structural Analysis of Two Egyptian Mythologizing Texts of the Middle Kingdom,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 2: *Religion* [Göttingen, 1984], p. 705, n. 13; on the bellicosity at times associated with the *m3^c-hrw* state, see Ph. Derchain, “La couronne de la justification Essai d’analyse d’un rite ptolémaïque,” *CdE* 30, no. 60 [1955]: 232-3).

⁷⁵ B. George, “Ein Text der Ptolemäerzeit über das Dasein in Unterwelt und Grab,” *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14 (1979): 16-23, with parallels (cited by George) in G. Daressy, “Sarcophage ptolémaïque d’Assiout,” *ASAE* 17 (1917): 95-6; and G. Maspero, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1914), p. 11.

⁷⁶ So also George, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14 (1979): 18-20; these may be the *šhd.w* of de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 162r (chapter 563): *n šhd=i mm šhd.w*. Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 118.

The tumbling stellar figures on the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 32) wear stellar disks atop their heads, an indication that though inverted, they are the blessed dead.⁷⁸

The uncertainty of the Egyptians as to the appropriate determinative for these inverted dead⁷⁹ is due to the fact that perpetual inversion in the Netherworld is undesirable,⁸⁰ and is the permanent fate of some opponents of Re.⁸¹ In Chapter 101 of the Book of the Dead (discussed above) the individual deceased, who finds himself amongst the *nty.w-im m shd* at the time of his descent into the Netherworld, asks that Re right him and set him on his feet. Just as Re in chapter 101 of the Book of the Dead is asked *k3=k s'hc=k NN hr rd.wy=fy*, "please make NN stand up upon his two feet," so the Great Ennead should *pn'*, "turn over," the lords of the Netherworld in section II, l. 3 of the Cologne magical text (see above, pp. 433-4). The Great Ennead should properly orient the blessed dead in the Netherworld.⁸²

The stars which actually enter the Netherworld are the *ihm.w-wrd*, the Unwearying Stars. The Undying Stars (*ihm.w-sk*) accompany the bark of Re across the sky of day, but leave the sun in the west, whereas the Unwearying Stars (*ihm.w-wrd*) travel with the sun below the horizon and into the Netherworld. P. Leiden I 348, vs. II 5-6 mentions weariness of the Unwearying Stars; vs. II 4-5 of the same text threatens a similar catastrophe:⁸³

⁷⁸ See below, and pp. 430-1, n. 25 above.

⁷⁹ This uncertainty appears also in the use of the enemy determinative to describe the drowned dead in the middle register of the Ninth Hour of the Book of Gates (scene 58; see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 216 n. 7); these are blessed dead, to be restored by Re. Only their drowned and at times inverted situation called forth the evil determinative.

⁸⁰ See conveniently the references in G.E. Kadish, "The Scatophagous Egyptian," *JSSEA* 9 (1979): 203-17 and the more recent discussion of P.J. Frandsen, "On Fear of Death and the Three BWTs Connected with Hathor," in E. Teeter and J.A. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 138-143.

⁸¹ For example, the *shd.w* in the sixth *h3d* pit in the lower register of the Eleventh Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 191, l. 1 [no. 816 = *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 789]; vol. 2, p. 182), in the *in.t-shd.w*, the "wadi of the inverted ones" (*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 188, 9 [= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 789]; vol. 2, p. 182). Compare also the *shd.w* demons in P. Salt 825 XI, 3 (Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, p. 13*, 9; pl. XI [trans. p. 141 as "adversaires"]).

⁸² In the vignette to chapter 47 of the P. Leiden 16 Book of the Dead text, the large figure of the deceased (the dead as *rmj* ʕ) stands in front of three small, inverted figures, the dead condemned to being upside-down eternally, perhaps even the damned falling into hell (see P. Le Page Renouf, "Book of the Dead," *PSBA* 15 [1893]: pl. 14 [following p. 276]). This vignette appears to emphasize the statement of the chapter that the deceased has his proper place in the Netherworld, properly, uprightly oriented in contrast to the state of the damned.

⁸³ J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden, 1971), p. 172, text n. 415; translation p. 31, spell #34.

hpr b3g3 m p.t rsy

there shall be weariness in the southern sky...

As Borghouts notes, “the stars of the southern heaven are the *ihmw wrd*, ... who may just be threatened here with *b3gw*, ‘weariness,’ i.e. an interruption of their functions.”⁸⁴ Borghouts also cites lines 35-8 of the statue of Djed-hor:⁸⁵

i 3h R^c

qm3 nn hr spr.t n p.t ...

Oh akh-power of Re;

weariness has been formed on the cusp of heaven...

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 172, text n. 415. On the verb *b3gi*, see *Wb.* I 482, 11; J. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 581 (§743) and p. 62 (§100) for the inflexion of 4ae inf. verbs; E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. I (Rome, 1955), p. 199 (§448); J. J. Zandee, “Sargtexte um über Wasser zu Verfügen (Coffin Texts V 8-22; Sprüche 356-362),” *JEOL* 24 (1975-6): 25; J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 172, text n. 415. This use of *b3g3* may actually threaten the stars with death and perpetual residence in the Netherworld—for *imy.w b3g3w* as the dead, see E.A.E. Reymond, “Two Versions of the Book of the Dead in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh,” *ZÄS* 98 (1972): 128-9 = P. Edinburgh 212.113.(2), l. 7. The specification of the *b3g3* as being *m p.t rsy* may play on the *bgw/b3g 3*, the “great cry,” in the eastern sky (de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 219f = Spell 49; note also Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 130, no. 78.1381 [de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, p. 364a and p. 379b, a plaintive voice at the eastern horizon]), indicative of the recreation of the dawn and the world (J. Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris Ei, Zwei Ägyptologische Studien zu Diodorus Siculus I 27, 4-5* [Uppsala, 1970], pp. 76-87; R.B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator* [Wiesbaden, 1985], p. 31, n [43]; *bg/bgg* as the sound of creation may be related to the creative *ngg* cackle of the *smn*-goose of Amun—W. Ward, “Lexicographical Miscellanies II,” *SAK* 9 [1981]: 367-9, and the references cited there; J. Yoyotte, “Études géographiques I. La «cité des acacias» (Kafr Ammar),” *RdE* 13 [1961]: 83; Ch. Kuentz, *L’oie du Nil (Chenalopex Aegyptiaca) dans l’antique Égypte* [extrait des *Archives du Museum d’Histoire Naturelle de Lyon* 14; Lyon, 1926], pp. 46-8; Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, p. 94 [note to text 16 §C, l. 18]). The noise of rebirth is heard in the egg of Sokar in the Fifth Hour of the Amduat, and at the rebirth of Osiris (A. Szczudłowska, “Liturgical Text Preserved on Sekowski Papyrus,” *ZÄS* 98 [1970]: 61, l. 21, 5). On the mythological papyrus London 30 (Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, p. 146 fig. 39, bib. p. 328), a ram stands over the “great cackler” to the left of Geb and Nut, opposite the backside of Nut. This portion of the image should be the east, and the opposite end of the pair is indeed labeled west. The great cackler signifies the moment of recreation of the day at the east of heaven. The “roaring” of *Akephalos* is the noise of creation in the eastern horizon, not simply “the sun god as a lion”—A. Klasens, “An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty,” *OMRO* 56 [1975]: 26). For the association of south and east, see C. Loebe, “Bemerkungen zum Horustempel des Neuen Reiches in Edfu,” *BSEG* 14 (1990): 67. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-Her-le-Sauveur*, pp. 25-6.

This weariness at the cusp of the upper and lower skies refers to the time of the entry of stars into the Netherworld. This liminal region is the area to which PT §1167 (utterance 512) refers as the *idb.w p.t*, “the banks of heaven”:⁸⁶

it=k gs.t=k hn=k hn.t=k
mī R^c hr idb.w nw p.t ⁸⁷
 Start your run, travel your canal,
 like Re upon the banks of heaven.

Stellar weariness would result in the stars being inverted, unable to turn themselves over (*pn^c*), the ennead unable to turn them over.⁸⁸ The inverted stars in the Ramesses IX treatise may be the *ihm.w-sk*, “those who do not know destruction,” catastrophically continuing to descend into the west.

The movement of the *ihm.w-sk* about the polar star could also be interpreted as *pn^c*, involving a going upside down, a continual turning over and rising, but in the sky, never dipping below the horizon into Nun. In PT § 1760 b,⁸⁹ the deceased king falls with the Circumpolar stars (*hr=i m-m-sn*).⁹⁰ Within the sky the king can turn

⁸⁶ Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 153.

⁸⁷ On the *idb.w(y) p.t*, “the (two) banks of heaven,” see B. van de Walle, “Une base de statue-guérisseuse avec une nouvelle mention de la déesse-scorpion Ta-Bithet,” *JNES* 31 (1972): 76, n. i.

⁸⁸ For the inability of the entities to turn over (*pn^c*) as a result of weariness, compare the desire that the funerary bier turn over (*pn^c*) the weary but waking Osiris (see Osing, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru in Zawiyet Sultan*, p. 57, n. q); for the inability of the ennead to turn over the imperiled lords of the Netherworld, cf. Kurth, in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri*, col. 2, l. 3.

⁸⁹ Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 423.

⁹⁰ See also Utterance 217, PT §154a-b. Note also that the *ihm.w-wrđ* may be referred to as the *ih.r.w-m-p.t*, “those who fall in the sky” (see P. Barguet, “Le rituel archaïque de fondation des temples de Medinet-Habou et de Louxor,” *RdE* 9 [1952]: 6 and 16, n. 2; note also the wish that the deceased king “fall in the eastern half of heaven” (*ih.r m gs i3bt.y n p.t*), probably in imitation of the *ihm.w wrđ*: PT §1541b). On the lid of the Abū Yāsīn bull sarcophagus, the constellation *msht* is said to *pn^cn^c* (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3 p. 191 [no. 37], pl. 24):



Parker reads this section as “but they travel, going upside down in the night as in the day.” This is a somewhat nonsensical description of the motion of the *msht* around the polar star. *Pn^cn^c* means “to go/turn around and around” in the Sphinx stela of Amenophis II (P. Lacau, *Études d'égyptologie*, II. *Morphologie* [Cairo, 1972], p. 261 [§82] n. 3; C. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* [Cairo, 1976], pp. 87-8, n. sss; H. Goedicke, “Readings,” *VA* 3 [1987]: 241 and 243), apparently emphasizing repeated circular motion as opposed to the verb *pn^c*, and this meaning of *pn^cn^c* fits perfectly the description of the revolutions of the never setting *msht* and its constituent “Imperishables” around the pole star. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 129, no. 77.1397, understands *pn^cn^c* on the Abū Yāsīn

about, rise and fall around the polar star as one of the Indestructibles. The king can also be desired to fall in the east of the sky, like the stars which fall below the horizon.⁹¹ The dead entering the Netherworld can be said to go upside down in order to enter the Netherworld; once there, however, they orient themselves relative to the Netherworld.⁹² In chapter 80 of the Book of the Dead, falling in the necropolis is parallel to going to rest at death, and the dead hopes to be raised after this falling:⁹³

ts wi hr.t(y)=fy
iw.ty=fy m sz=l
hr.n=l hn^c=f m in.t sbdw
htp.n=i
 May he who shall fall raise me,
 he who shall come as my protection.

sarcophagus as meaning “faire des mouvements circulaires en revenant sur son point de départ.” *Pn^c* here is thus not an example of stars going upside down into destruction, but is parallel to the king falling (*hr*) at certain times in the company of the circumpolar stars. *Pn^c* parallels *hr*, and refers to a temporary inverted movement (for *pn^c* parallel to *shd*, note *pn^c ib*, apparently synonymous with *shd h3.tw*—see Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 175, text n. 429). *Pn^c* appears in another astronomical/astrological context, but in a broken passage, in P. Vienna Omina A, col. III, l. 24 (R. Parker, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar-Omina* [Providence, 1959], p. 17, pl. 2). For stellar entities going *shd*, compare Bab el-Amra, pl. 16 (vertical column behind Hathor) = Sethe and Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch- römischer Zeit*, p. 47, l. 17 (= §58 h): *iw sr* (𓆎) *m shd* (𓆎) *m nht* (see Ph. Derchain, “Mythes et dieux lunaires en Égypte,” in *La lune, mythes et rites* [Paris, 1962], p. 41).

⁹¹ In PT 579 (§1541b) the desire is expressed (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, pp. 328-329):

ih^r-k m gs izb.ty n p.t
 May you fall in the eastern side of heaven!

⁹² Only going upside-down into the Netherworld in an astronomically correct fashion would be depicted as natural or desirable. The deceased king can “fall” with the circumpolar stars as they go around the pole star, and the dead can *shd* as do stars into the Netherworld. This is not related to a dangerous cosmic reversal, such as the sun going back down and falling in the east (Introduction to chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead; Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 78 [S §1]—in this spell, the eye of Horus represents the disk of the sun).

⁹³ Following Pa on the whole, except for the *f* of *hn^c=f*, added from other versions (Navelle, *Das aegyptische Tottenbuch*, p. 175). For *hr*, “to fall” with the meaning “to die,” see G. Andreu and S. Cauville, “Vocabulaire absent du *Wörterbuch* (II),” *RdE* 30 (1978): 17, citing R. O. Faulkner, “The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus III,” *JEA* 23 (1937): 182 = *hr r wzb.w*, “to fall into the reeds” (P. Bremner Rhind 27, 4, and the parallel in 29, 4). For *hr m*, “to die of” something, see R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Providence and London, 1979), p. 71, pl. 27, 11 (in the morning hymn to Amun; cited by Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, p. 222, no. 79.2256).

In the valley of Abydos did I fall with him,
I having gone to rest.

Continued descent, however, leads only to the bowels of the Underworld, the places of damnation and destruction. The deceased in chapter 80 of the Book of the Dead (see immediately above) admits of falling (*hr*) amongst the *ihm.w-sk*, but the dead does not desire to continue this motion within the Netherworld. According to Book of the Dead Chapter 130:⁹⁴

n hr Wsir ... m h3q.t-b3=s/b3.w
Osiris shall not fall ... into “She Who Captures her *Ba*/the *Bas*.”

Within the Netherworld, going upside down leads only to the infernal realms of torture and slaughter. So in a portion of Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead:⁹⁵

nn shm ds.w=sn im=i
nn h3=i r wh3.wt=sn
hr-ntt wi rh.kwi st
rh.kwi rn.w i ry
Their knives shall not have power over me;
I shall not go down into their cauldrons,
for I know them,
and I know their names.

The heads emerging from disks, above the arms of deities performing *s33*, “protection” on the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 16, middle register, right side), find a parallel depiction in the second scene of the second register, section C of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁹⁶ On the left of that scene stands the serpent-headed Apep, on the right the ram-headed nocturnal solar deity. Those gods stand facing one another, their arms extended before them, palms down in a gesture of protection over a solar disk. From this disk emerges the falcon head of Horus-Daty; this head protruding from the top of a solar disk is the deity *pr=f m št3.t=f imy d3.t*, “emerging from his mystery which is in the Netherworld.”⁹⁷ In the third scene in the second register of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns, two goddesses protect two ovals containing the corpse of Osiris and the Ram head and

⁹⁴ Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch*, pp. 338-9 (§§10-11); this text is quoted in a retrograde and corrupt fashion within the enigmatic Netherworld Book on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pl. 45, l. 10 of the vertical inscription).

⁹⁵ Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 62 (§§70-71).

⁹⁶ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. C.

⁹⁷ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 33 and text 11, pl. 17, l. 2 (the text which describes this scene is in the upper register, switched with that of the first register, no. 12, which is in the second register).

scarab of the nocturnal rejuvenation. Above their protective arms hovers a disk, the disk of Khepri, which they are said to lift up. In the first scene of the second register of section D,⁹⁸ a deity bends protectively over a prone body, from the middle of which another figure emerges; presumably this depicts the more elaborately described second scene in the same register, wherein Horus emerges from the body of Osiris.⁹⁹ This scene appears to show the ascension of the human-headed solar-disk, with a stellar female deity, perhaps the same as those in the lowest register, turning over in the Netherworld. The reference to the *d3.t št3.t* suggests an allusion to the region *Pn-šty(.t)* of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk,¹⁰⁰ and the scene of the ithyphallic deity in the “funnel,” perhaps a clepsydra, occurring in the tombs of Tawosret and Ramesses IX.¹⁰¹ This scene of the god in the funnel-like area is similar to the fourth scene in the second register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk,¹⁰² both depicting the figure of *imn-wnw.t=f*, the same as shown in the large standing figure in the middle of the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 6A).

This chapter began with a discussion of two similar images of a prone, mummiform figure in the middle register of the second side of the enigmatic composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 10B, and pl. 11). The raised arms support disks, and an accompanying enigmatic group, incorporating the supported disk, shows that the arm of the second (rightmost) figure is righting the inverted Re upon his inverted entry into the Netherworld (see above, pp. 151-61). The form of the prone figures there is that of Osiris in the scene of the awakening of Osiris known from the tombs of Ramesses VI and IX, and the Cenotaph of Sety I.¹⁰³

These figures are also similar to depictions of the deity *Tkmy*, present twice on the solar bark in the Ramesses VI Corridor G composition (pl. 15, middle register; pl. 27, lower register). *Tkm/Tkmy* (*Wb.* V 333, 8) appears as the name of the lower watchman at the gate of the fourth hour of the Book of Gates and is present in the Coffin Texts and in the Book of the Dead as a manifestation of the solar deity.¹⁰⁴ In

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. D.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 47-8, and text 8, pls. 25-6.

¹⁰⁰ The *Šty.t* of the Book of Caverns (so Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 65, n. 4).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-6. P. Barguet, “Remarques sur quelques scènes de la salle du sarcophage de Ramsès VI,” *RdE* 30 (1978): 51-6, has proposed that the “funnel” represents a clepsydra, the entire scene referring to the passage of time in the Netherworld, required to rejuvenate the solar deity, the nocturnal water clock filled with the divine seed of the standing deity. Note that in the Litany of Re, the 68th Address refers to Re as “One of the Djenet-pot of heaven, star of the Netherworld, conductor of his mummies.” (Hornung, *Anbetung*, p. 77); this is perhaps a reference to a clepsydra and star as navigational aides.

¹⁰² Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. A.

¹⁰³ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 183-5; Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 93; H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London, 1933), vol. 2, pl. 74. On these scenes, see also É. Drioton, “Inscription énigmatique du tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis,” *Kémi* 12 (1952): 24-33.

¹⁰⁴ Book of Gates: Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 142; vol. 2, p. 121 (*tkmy* there, as on the dropped portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G composition

an amuletic text of the 25th Dynasty, *Tkm* (for *Tkm*) appears, along with *Akephalos*, as a manifestation of the giant deity at the eastern horizon.¹⁰⁵ He is, like the giant deity discussed in Chapter 6 above, omnipresent in the eastern horizon—according to Spell 404 of the Coffin Texts:¹⁰⁶

tkm rn=f

iw=f wb3=f 3h.t imnt.t

iw=f rh 3h.t izbt.t tkm rn=f

Tekem is his name;

he opens the western horizon and knows the eastern horizon;

Tekem is his name.

On the basis of the nature of the deity Tekemy, and the annotation accompanying the second prone figure on the Tutankhamun shrine, Tekem there is the Osiris of the unified Re-Osiris setting the sun aright in the Netherworld after his inverted passage below the horizon. The figures of Tekem in two of the three treatises studied here, two on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, and two in the Corridor G composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI, combine two themes which the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity emphasizes—the inverted entry of celestial beings into the Netherworld, and the need to right them there; and the existence of an omnipresent, giant deity, the unified Re-Osiris at the eastern horizon, filling heaven, earth, and hell.

[pl. 27, lower register], is jackal-headed); Coffin Texts: de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 197c-f (Spell 404). The occurrences in the Book of the Dead (E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und herausgegeben* [Berlin, 1886], p. 155=chapter 72, 6; p. 230=chapter 99, 39 and 40) derive from this Coffin Texts passage (see also Meeks *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 417, no. 78.4611). On Tekem see also the references in P. Piacentini, "The Anthropoid Stone Coffin in the Estense Collection of Modena," *Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche* 11 (1992): 9 n. 18.

¹⁰⁵ A. Klasens, *OMRO* 56 (1975): 27, and U. Köhler, *Das Imiut* (Wiesbaden, 1975), part B, pp. 427-8 n. 2.

¹⁰⁶ De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 197c-f.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This study has examined three religious treatises of the New Kingdom: a composition on the exterior of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, a treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX. Following an overview of Egyptian cryptography, a characterization of the various forms of cryptography, and a classification of the various cryptographic texts of the New Kingdom, each of the three treatises was examined in detail. As a result, the three enigmatic compositions are seen to be related, three versions based on a common template. That template is a treatise composed of enigmatic annotations and representations related to the Netherworld Books of the royal tombs, with Book of the Dead excerpts interspersed, emphasizing the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon and the turning over of the blessed dead at the cusps of the Netherworld.

The Original Template

The original template for the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity was apparently composed of a large, three register section (both sides of the Tutankhamun shrine; the longer, left-hand sections of the Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX compositions); stellar imagery and descriptions abounded in those three registers (present in all three registers in the Tutankhamun and Ramesses VI treatises, but essentially confined to the upper register on the Enigmatic Wall of Ramesses IX). A large figure of the unified Re-Osiris dominated the compositions, filling the vertical space occupied by the three horizontal registers of the main portion of the template (so the giant figure on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and the ithyphallic Osiride figure in the penultimate scene on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall).¹ Texts referring to the protection of the king from baleful messengers may have appeared in the central horizontal register in front of the giant figure in the original template (present in the Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX compositions, but absent on the Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling²). The texts of the template appear to have consisted of enigmatic annotations, for the most part beginning with the introductory formula *nn n ntr.w m shr pn* (or a

¹ Although the image of the giant deity in the tomb of Ramesses IX is in the penultimate scene of the Enigmatic Wall treatise, the figure is the central element of the composition (the scenes and texts to the left of the giant figure read towards the right, towards the Osiride giant; the scenes and the texts to the right of the giant read to the left, also towards the image of the Osiride king). The figure of the giant Re-Osiris is also the final element of the netherworldly portion of the treatise.

² The description of inimical guardians in the upper register of the dropped portion of the Corridor G Ceiling may, however, be an elaboration of the area on the template referring to malevolent messengers.

variant), with excerpts from the Book of the Dead interspersed (most in evidence on both sides of the Tutankhamun shrine, and in the lower register of the main section of the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX; although Book of the Dead passages are absent in the Ramesses VI Corridor G treatise, portions of the Book of the Dead do appear on the side walls of Corridor G). The cryptography of the original template, as reflected in the cryptography of the three surviving versions, was essentially alphabetic, composed for the most part of signs with enigmatic uniliteral values.

The Textual and Iconographic Content of the Treatises

These texts have as a central theme the Solar-Osirian unity, expressed most openly by the figures of the giant deity of the eastern horizon. In the Tutankhamun composition he is a standing, mummiform figure, ringed by the serpents of the outer darkness, occupying all of ordered space and jutting into the realms beyond. In the Ramesses IX text he fills the eastern horizon, is himself the eastern hill of the horizon, feet in hell and raised hand³ in heaven. In the tomb of Ramesses VI he is the serpent-legged, disk-headed Abrasax, the giant as a flame stretching across the eastern sky, uniting the netherworld in which his serpent legs slither with the heaven in which his solar head travels.

The enigmatic treatises also provide textual and iconographic evidence for the inverted entry of stellar souls into the Netherworld, and the necessity of righting these arriving beings and orienting them correctly in the Dat. The Second Shrine of Tutankhamun provides further information on yet another obscure point of Egyptian eschatology, and depicts the return of the heads of the headless blessed dead after their journey through the Netherworld in the entourage of the sun.

These three treatises are different versions based on a common template, although each recension may emphasize certain features absent in the others. As S. Quirke has noted, of the Netherworld Books found in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom, only the Amduat and the Litany of Re preserve ancient titles, the other compositions of the royal tombs, such as the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns, "may rather constitute extracts from a pool of imagery both textual and pictorial that was available to the royal craftsmen and archivists responsible for planning the scheme of decoration for each tomb."⁴ Certain of these extracts, such as the Book of Gates, attained a higher level of standardization. The Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity never achieved such standardization, although in each of the three recognizable occurrences of this cryptographic treatise, the composition is presented as a complete work. As a parallel to the state of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity one may compare the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, which appears as isolated scenes here and there, and occurs in any apparent completeness

³ The other hand of the deity is to be envisaged as masturbating (see above, Chapter 5, pp. 336-7; Chapter 6, pp. 394-6, 412-3).

⁴ S. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London, 1992), p. 165.

only in the sarcophagus chamber in the tomb of Ramesses VI. One should perhaps conclude that both the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk are known only as excerpts from larger compositions.

Textually and pictorially the three surviving versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity provide a number of unique descriptions which provide new and specific details for the interpretation of basic elements of Egyptian religion. The goddesses Isis and Nephthys are described as being the arms of the solar deity and are so depicted in the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI. The goddess-limbs of the sun are elsewhere associated with the legs, and they are also associated with the twin uraei which may be shown pendant on either side of the disk of the sun. As goddesses they protect the solar deity; as arms they punish his enemies; as legs they support him and link him to the earth. The right-hand annotation and depiction in the so-called *Schutzbild*, and the scene in the dropped portion of the ceiling, tie together and explain sources for Egyptian religious thought as diverse as the depiction of Isis and Nephthys worshipping the unified Re-Osiris in the tomb of Nefertari, a mutilated scene in a Ramesside tomb at El-Mashayekh, and a passage in Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*. They provide information essential for understanding the deities *tkmy* and *Akephalos*. The use of the term *ꜥ*, "footpath," on the shrine of Tutankhamun, and the depiction of a stele at the beginning of the middle register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G composition, emphasize the Netherworld as a subterranean continuation of the Western Desert. The scene of the ithyphallic Re-Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX illustrates passages from the Pyramid Texts and combines and expands elements present at the end of the bottom register in the 12th Hour of the Book of Amduat. The rising figure grasping a snake in the lower register of the main portion of the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX is a unique depiction of Nehebkau as the *nꜥw*-serpent drawing the deceased up to heaven. These treatises contain much of importance in interpreting other Netherworld Books occurring in the New Kingdom royal tombs and contribute to an understanding of the supreme mystery of the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon.

Within the historical framework of Egyptian religion and religious compositions, these texts connect the so-called mythological papyri, eclectic compositions of the Third Intermediate Period, with the Ramesside Period and the Late Eighteenth Dynasty. The closest parallels for much of the iconography of the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, such as the reclining Osiride king in the tomb of Ramesses IX and the anguipedal sun in the tomb of Ramesses VI, occur in later works. The rightmost scenes of the lower register of the left portion of the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX have their closest parallels in mythological papyri of the Third Intermediate Period, specifically the papyrus of Heruben in Cairo, and a papyrus in Richmond, Virginia. The Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX compositions examined also resemble certain of these later papyri textually, in the combination of Netherworld Book allusions and Book of the Dead excerpts. This feature has important implications for the place of the later mythological papyri within the ancient Egyptian religious corpus.

The late mythological papyri are known to have drawn on the Book of the Dead and the Netherworld Books for their inspiration. According to Niwinski,⁵ a number of the not infrequent mixtures of Book of the Dead texts and Netherworld Book iconography on Third Intermediate Period papyri may in part result from ignorance of the Egyptian scribes of the time. The enigmatic Netherworld books of the Solar-Osirian Unity show this to be a mistaken opinion. The Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, together with the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX,⁶ demonstrate that the mixture of Netherworld texts and iconography with Book of the Dead passages is at least as old as the Amarna Period, appearing first—so far as one now can say—in the decoration of royal tombs during the New Kingdom. The late mythological papyri are not a degenerate fusion of divergent and little comprehended corpora; they are rather continuations and elaborations of a basic template from which the three New Kingdom versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity also derived. Providing a pedigree for the form and content of the Late Period mythological papyri is one of the most important contributions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

The mythological papyri of the Third Intermediate Period, with their motives often identical to those of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, represent a slight shift in emphasis in the view of the Osirian future of the dead over what prevails in earlier mortuary literature. The Osiris of the compositions studied here is the god of the Netherworld at the time of his union with Re, the omnipresent giant deity at the eastern horizon. In the later mythological papyri the deceased is associated not with the mourned god of Isis' and Nephthys' nocturnal vigil, not the deity passing into his Netherworldly realm; rather the dead associates with the victorious Osiris at the end of the nocturnal journey, already joined with Re in the east. A later outcome of this emphasis on the Osiris of the morning glow rather than the Osiris of darkest night is the epithet "Hathor" applied at times to deceased women. They are the female aspect of the unified Re and Osiris, easily identified with Hathor, the eye of the rising sun, as well as the womb in the east from which the sun rises (parallel to Osiris as the hills).⁷ This emphasis on the solar Osiris of the eastern horizon is then

⁵ A. Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989), pp. 149-150.

⁶ E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), p. 88 notes that the decoration of the sarcophagus chamber in the tomb of Ramesses IX mixes scenes of various Underworld Books, "wie viele Papyri der Dritten Zwischenzeit."

⁷ On the epithet Hathor, see the references in D. Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien* (Berlin, 1961), p. 36 and n. 2; S. Morenz, "Das Problem des Werdens zu Osiris in der griechisch-römischen Zeit Ägyptens," in Ph. Derchain, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (Paris, 1969), p. 81 n. 3; A. Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt* (Liverpool, 1992), p. 112. The epithet has nothing to do with "die Grenze des Geschlechts," as Morenz (*ibid.* pp. 81-2) suggested, but rather takes advantage of the identification of the deceased with the Osiris of the time of the mystic union with Re to derive a new and perhaps more descriptive title for a woman amongst the blessed dead.

a continuation of a trend visible in mortuary hymnology since the Amarna Period, after which time a parallelism of Re and Osiris in the solar hymns of tomb entrances becomes widespread.⁸

Cryptography and Grammar

In the study of Late Egyptian cryptography, the theories of acrophony and the consonantal principle have dominated the discussion of enigmatic sign value derivations; and Late Egyptian cryptography has dominated the study of Egyptian cryptography. Recently there has been increasing acceptance of acrophony, the most nebulous and uncertain of the principles. The texts examined here, the longest enigmatic texts from before the Graeco-Roman Period, and some of the longest of the corpus, show no certain example of acrophony. The most common source of the enigmatic sign values which these treatises exhibit is substitution: signs of similar appearance substitute; *pars pro toto* substitutions, and the reverse, abound; signs of a particular category, such as birds, interchange; hieratic confusions are exploited.⁹ Writings based on a recognition of phonetic shifts and changes in pronunciation also occur. Uniliteral signs predominate in these texts, as do alphabetic spellings of words.¹⁰ Although these texts differ orthographically from the other enigmatic texts of the period (see Chapter 2), the absence of any true acrophony speaks against the existence of this principle in earlier cryptography. The consonantal principle is employed, but substitution is the backbone of early Egyptian cryptography. The origins of certain common values remain obscure, such as the mouth for *p* and the grasshopper for *r*; for these values acrophony is, however, not necessarily the last possible explanation. The mouth for *p* may represent a term for open mouth, based on the same root as *wpl*, "to open," or have originated through onomatopoeia through the plosive sound which the lips make when spitting. The origin of the use of the grasshopper for *r* is as yet inexplicable.


On the basis of the cryptographic principles and derivations present in the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, one may say that the most extensive examples of New Kingdom cryptography preserve evidence for the functioning of the cryptographic principles that Fairman recognized in Ptolemaic

⁸ See J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), p. xv.

⁹ Substitution of signs continued to be a central element of cryptography, and became increasingly common in texts written in *Normalschrift*; and is found in normal Kushite hieroglyphic texts as well—see M.F.L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, vol. 1, Text (London, 1949), p. 52, n. 1; p. 60, n. 98; and p. 61, n. 111; D. Meeks, "Une fondation memphite de Taharqa (Stèle du Caire JE 36861)," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976*, vol. I: *Égypte pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), pp. 221-59 (particularly pp. 233-4, text note 5).

¹⁰ Individual words all have separate orthographies; that is to say, no cryptographic sign appears to write parts of two or more words (compare the *w3s*-sign writing -wy and sw, in S. Sauneron, "Remarques de philologie et d'étymologie (§§26-35)," *BIFAO* 62 [1964]: 19).

hieroglyphic texts. Were one to accept Drioton's acrophonic principle as a feature of later Egyptian cryptography, it would be necessary to see that principle as a late development, for it can find no pedigree in the longest examples of New Kingdom cryptography.

These texts provide previously unrecognized orthographic evidence. The writing of *shr* as , *shy*, in the Corridor G treatise of Ramesses VI supports the interpretation of a similarly written word *shy* at Medinet Habu as *shr*. A writing of *itn* in the lower left section on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, along with other thus far neglected evidence from religious texts, including an enigmatic annotation to a now destroyed scene in the tomb of Ramesses III, provides yet further support for the reconstruction of the pronunciation of *itn* as *iat*, with the weakening and loss of the final *n*. An orthography of the word *nhz-hr* on the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX makes purposeful, cryptographic use of an hieratic sign confusion attested in several documents from that king's reign.

Grammatically the enigmatic annotations of the three treatises are unremarkable from the standpoint of Middle Egyptian. A brief and somewhat selective inventory of the grammatical forms present in the compositions examined above may be appropriate, in order to demonstrate their Middle Egyptian character. The following overview does not consider texts in *Normalschrift* accompanying the treatises, as these often mention the name of the ruler for whom the composition was copied, and thus may not themselves belong to texts copied from an original version. The Book of the Dead passages are also not considered here, as they may have been taken from a contemporary recension of the Book of the Dead.

The enigmatic texts of the three surviving versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity essentially consist of a series of annotations beginning with the introductory formula, *nn n ntr.w m shr pn* and variants.¹¹ The introductory formula, a label to the scene it accompanies, is at times followed by a prepositional phrase further qualifying the *m shr pn* portion of the introduction;¹² in some instances this is the only adjunct following the introductory formula (pl. 5B):

¹¹ *nn n ntr.w/ntry.t m shr pn*: Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 5B; pl. 5C; pl. 7A; pl. 7B; pl. 8; pl. 9A; pl. 9B; pl. 10A; pl. 10B; pl. 11; pl. 12; pl. 13A; pl. 13B; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, l. 1; pl. 22C, ll. 2-3, ll. 12-16; pl. 23, ll. 60-64; pl. 24, l. 1; pl. 25, ll. 45-47; *nn m shr pn*: Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 4B; *imy.w shr pn*: Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 14; *nti pn m shr pn*: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19A; pl. 19B; pl. 19C; pl. 20A; pl. 20B; pl. 20C; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 36, l. 1; *ir nti pn m shr pn*: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, ll. 2-3; *wnn nn n ntr.w m shr pn*: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 23, ll. 28-29; pl. 27; *wnn.hr nn n ntr.w*: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 20-21; *wnn-f nti pn m shr pn*: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, l. 1; *wnn-sn m shr pn*: Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33; pl. 35A, l. 1.

¹² Other examples are Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 5B; pl. 5C; pl. 7A; pl. 8; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19A; pl. 19B; pl. 20B; pl. 21, l. 2; pl. 21, ll. 20-21; pl. 24, ll. 1-2; pl. 25A, l. 47; Enigmatic Wall of Ramesses IX: pl. 34A, ll. 1-4.

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

m qr(r).wt=sn imy.wt^a Hry(t)

wnn h3.t (?)=sn m kkw

These gods are in this fashion

in their caverns which are in the Upper Region:

It is in the darkness that their corpses(?) exist.¹³

Assuming that nothing is missing from this annotation, the introductory formula and the two following prepositional phrases are best analyzed as a circumstantial clause, a label to the accompanying scene. The other forms which appear as the single adjunct to the introductory formula are Noun + Old Perfective,¹⁴ circumstantial *sdm=f*,¹⁵ and *sn sdm=sn*.¹⁶

The annotation beginning with *nn n ntr.w m shr pn* is, however, at times followed by several adverbial forms (pl. 7A):

nn n ntry.t m shr pn m db3.wt=sn

sn m33=sn hq.wt itn=f

b3.w=sn pp=sn htwt=f

h3.w < t=sn mn m s.t=sn >

These goddesses are in this fashion in their sarcophagi,
they beholding the light of his disk.

Their *ba* spirits enter after him,

<their> corp<s>es <remaining in their places.>¹⁷

The elements of these multiple adverbial adjuncts are prepositional phrases,¹⁸ *m-ht* + nominal *sdm=f*,¹⁹ circumstantial *sdm=f*s,²⁰ and nouns + prepositional phrases.²¹

¹³ So also Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 5C; pl. 8; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 20-21; pl. 24, ll. 1-2; pl. 25A, l. 47; Enigmatic Wall of Ramesses IX: pl. 34A, ll. 1-4. In the Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling, there appears the variant *nn n ntry.t m hq.wt itn.w try.w=sn*, "these goddesses are in the light of the disks which appertain to them." In that variant form of the introductory formula, *m shr pn* and a following prepositional phrase have collapsed, the prepositional phrase eclipsing *m shr pn*. On the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, a prepositional phrase detailing the location of the deities follows the introductory formula on the first side of the shrine only.

¹⁴ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 9A; pl. 10B; pl. 11; pl. 13B; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 22C, ll. 2-5; for the Noun + Old Perfective as circumstantial when not preceded by *iw*, see É. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System in Old and Middle Egyptian* (Geneva, 1986), p. 36.

¹⁵ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 23, ll. 60-67.

¹⁶ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 27; for this form, see W. Barta, "Das Personalpronomen der *wj*-Reihe als Proklitikon im adverbiellen Nominalsatz," in *ZÄS* 112 (1985): 94-104.

¹⁷ For a similar string of adverbial adjuncts following an introductory formula (*wnn=sn m shr pn*), see A. Piankoff, "Le livre des Quererts, sixième division," *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 135, l. 2 (4 circumstantial clauses preceded by *iwty*).

The *sw sdm=f* form which Barta has described,²² occurs several times as an adjunct following the introductory formula *nn n ntr.w m shr pn* (pl. 13A):

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

hh=sn hr sst3.w ʕ3(.w)

sn m33=s(n) nswt-bity nb-t3.wy Nb-hprw-Rʕ di ʕnh mi Rʕ d.t

These gods are in this fashion,

they seeking the great mysteries,

and they seeing the King of Upper and Lower Egypt

Nebkheperure, given life like Re forever.²³

¹⁸ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 7A; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19B; pl. 20B; pl. 21, l. 2.

¹⁹ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19B; pl. 20B. The verb in these two examples is *ḡwi*; the statement that the form is nominal is based on occurrences of *m-ht* + nominal *sdm=f* elsewhere in the three treatises: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, l. 8 (*ht pp nti pn ʕ3*); pl. 23, ll. 55-56 (*ir m-ht pp=f*); pl. 24, l. 23 (*m-ht pp nti pn ʕ3*); pl. 24, ll. 25-26 (*ir m-ht pp=f*); pl. 24, ll. 35-36 (*m-ht pp nti pn ʕ3*); pl. 25A, ll. 38-39 (*ir m-ht pp=f*); Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 34A, ll. 17-19 (*ir m-ht pp nti pn*); and *m-ht* is + prospective nominal *sdm=f* on pl. 33 (Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall).

²⁰ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 4B; pl. 7B (twice); pl. 13A (twice); Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19B; pl. 20B; pl. 22C, ll. 12-27 (twice); pl. 23, ll. 28-34.

²¹ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 14; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 22C, l. 12 - pl. 23, l. 27; pl. 30, l. 1 (twice); Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 36, l. 1.

²² Barta, *ZÄS* 112 (1985): 94-104.

²³ Also Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 7A; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 2-3; pl. 21, l. 47 (partially destroyed); pl. 22, ll. 30-32; pl. 27; pl. 23, ll. 28-34. Phrases beginning with the *sw sdm=f* form occur also as the emphasized adjunct of a nominal verb form (pl. 7B):

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

šp=sn m3.wt ʕh.t=f

šp=f h3.wt Dw3.tyw

ʕpp=f

sn ʕn=sn <h>tw ʕq b3.w

These gods are in this fashion:

they receiving the light of his *ʕh.t* -eye

when he illumines the bodies of the Datians.

When he passes (nom.),

they turn back <af>ter the bas enter.

Also pl. 9A (in the form *sn r=sn ʕp=sn*); pl. 10A (in the form *sn r=sn ʕp=sn*); pl. 12 (in the form *sn r=sn ʕp=sn*), and dependent upon a nominal or other initial form, as in pl. 13B (So also Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 23, ll. 44-45; pl. 25A, ll. 37-38).

As in the example from pl. 13A, a number of sections consist of the introductory formula and a series of adverbial adjuncts, with no following initial form (pl. 18A; pl. 22C, ll. 12-21):

ntr pn m shr pn m nm.t
hd=f m imyt rz=f
m-ht dwi R^c r=f im=s

This god is in this fashion in the *nm.t*,
 he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth
 when Re calls out to him therein.

nn n ntry.t m shr pn
hkn=sn ntyw m 'p m Htm.t
bzw=s <n> htw=f

These goddesses are in this fashion,
 praising those who are traveling in the Place of Destruction,
 their *bas* being after him.

The introductory form at times has no adverbial adjunct, but stands alone. It may be followed directly by a nominal *sdm=f* (pl. 20C):

nti pn m shr pn
pr r sd.t imy.t rz=f
m-ht dwi R^c r=f
hd=f m imy.t rz=f

This god is in this fashion:
 When Re calls out to him,
 there comes forth the flame which is in his mouth,
 he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth.²⁴

On the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, two segments of the cryptography have *nn n ntr.w m shr pn* followed by a noun label, qualified by an active participle. In the first example, the label *hd.wt R^c* is followed by the participle *hbs.t* (pl. 12):

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
hd.wt R^c hbs(.t) hz.wt=sn
dwi=f bz.w=sn
sn (haplography) r=sn 'p=sn m-htw

These gods are in this fashion:
 It is the light of Re, which clothes their corpses.
 When he calls their *ba*'s,²⁵

²⁴ So also Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19C; pl. 21, ll. 20-27.

²⁵ On the verb *dwi* in the Netherworld Books see above, Chapter 3, pp. 105-6.

they travel behind.

In the second example, the noun (*mḥn.w=sn*) + active participle (*s3w*) is followed by another noun in apposition (*ḥrr.wt*), the whole forming an A, B Ø²⁶ sentence (pl. 10A):

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn
mḥn.w=sn s3w ḥ3.wt=sn ḥrr.wt n.t itm/R^c-(i)tm
ḏwi=f n b3.w=sn
sn r=sn ʿp=sn

These gods are in this fashion:

Their Mehen snakes which guard their corpses are the Hereret snakes of
 Atum/Re-Atum.

When he calls to their bas,
 they approach.

The negative aorist *nī sdm.n=f*²⁷ appears only once in the corpus, immediately following the introductory formula on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun. The context there is uncertain, the introductory formula appearing in an uncommon manner (pl. 14):

imy.w šhr pn m-ḥnt ḥbs sn
n m33.n=w ḥḏ.wt=f
ntryt m s3

Those who are in this manner in the presence of the one who conceals
 them.

They are unable to see his light,
 the goddesses being as protection.

Perhaps, as Myśliwiec suggested, the opening is but partially preserved.²⁸ The circumstantialized negative aorist *īwty sdm.n=f*,²⁹ not uncommon in the *Amduat* and the *Book of Gates*, though quite rare outside of those two Netherworld treatises, does not appear in this group of texts, nor is there an occurrence of circumstantial *ny*

²⁶ M. Gilula, "An Unusual Nominal Pattern in Middle Egyptian," *JEA* 62 (1976): 170, n. 58.

²⁷ W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten* (Berlin, 1962), p. 172, n. 1.

²⁸ K. Myśliwiec, "La renaissance solaire du mort," *Bulletin du Centenaire (BIFAO 81 Supplement, 1981)*, p. 98, proposed reading "[nn n ntr]w m šhr pn..."

²⁹ Cf. E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1963), p. 183, ll. 10-12 (= *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 762), *et passim*; on the form see W. Barta, "Subjunktivische Konjunktionen als Einleitung von Umstandssätzen," *GM* 90 (1986): 7-10. This is a use of *īwty* to introduce a circumstantial phrase, not *īwty* as the negative relative (E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 2 [Rome, 1964], p. 522; H.J. Polotsky, "Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique," *Israel Oriental Studies* 6 [1976]: §2.3.4).

sdm.n=f. The form *m33.n=w* is an occurrence of the “*sdm.ny*-form,” described by Edel.³⁰ This single appearance of a form attested in the Middle Kingdom need not suggest the influence of the Late Egyptian third person plural suffix pronoun *-w* in this grammatical context.

The bare *nn n ntr.w* (and variants) introducing most of the statements in the enigmatic annotations are labels to the scene, with following circumstantial forms, all circumstantial to the scene which they accompany.³¹ This is the most reasonable explanation for annotations such as Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 4B;³² Ramesses VI: pl. 19B;³³ pl. 20B;³⁴ pl. 22C, ll. 12-21,³⁵ wherein the introductory *nn n ntr.w*, etc., is followed only by one or more adverbial adjuncts. In the other annotations, wherein an initial form follows the introductory formula directly, or after one or more intervening adverbial adjuncts, the initial form breaks with the label, and begins a separate, though related, narrative. These circumstantial *nn n ntr.w* statements with following initial forms may be seen to function in a manner similar to sentences with a protasis introduced by *ir*. Such sentences need not have

³⁰ E. Edel, “Die Herkunft des neuägyptisch-koptischen Personalsuffixes der 3. Person Plural *-w*,” *ZÄS* 84 (1959): 17-38.

³¹ Cf. H.J. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses* (Jerusalem, 1965), p. 5, n. 6 to §11; E.F. Wente, review of W. Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II. in Karnak*, in *JNES* 30 (1974): 316-317; Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, p. 26.

³² *nn m shr pn*

šp tp

sn m-h3=f

They are in this fashion,
the head lighting up,
they being around him (as protection).

³³ *nt(i) pn m shr pn m nm.t*

ḥd=f m imyt r3=f m-ḥt ḏwi R' r=f

This god is like this in the *nm.t*,
he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth
when Re calls out to him.

³⁴ *nti pn m shr pn m nm.t*

ḥd=f m imyt r3=f m-ḥt ḏwi R' r=f im=s

So is this deity in the *nm.t*,
he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth
when Re calls out to him therein.

³⁵ *nn n ntryt m shr pn*

ḥkn=sn ntyw m 'p m ḥtm.t

b3w=s <n> ḥtw=f

These goddesses are in this fashion,
praising those who are traveling in the Place of Destruction,
their *bas* being after him.

anaphoric pronouns in the apodosis, which can stand alone from the protasis,³⁶ and an adjunct to the protasis may stand between the protasis and the apodosis.³⁷ In the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* of the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI, a form of the introductory formula beginning with *ir* occurs (pl. 30, ll. 2-3):

ir nꜥ pn m šꜥr pn

stt=f ir nty-ḏwꜥ

As for this god in this fashion:

It is against the one who is evil that he shoots.

This sentence shows well the “in der Regel grössen Selbständigkeit der ‘Apodosis’” in such sentences,³⁸ and supports the suggestion that in those annotations consisting of the introductory formula followed immediately by a nominal *sdm=f* or other initial form, the *nn n nꜥr.w* statement, a label to the scene, may also serve to introduce the subject of the annotation in extraposition, similar to a protasis introduced by *ir*.

A number of initial forms may follow the introductory *nn n nꜥr.w*, etc., at times in close succession (pl. 8):

nn n nꜥr.w m šꜥr pn

m qrr.t im(y).t Ḥtmy.t

iw bꜣ Rꜥ ḏwꜥ=f ḥꜣ.wt=f im

ꜥq=f m qrr.t tn

ḥꜣ.ty tpy im

šꜥḏ Rꜥ im.yw=s m ḥrw=f

srq=sn m-ḥt ḏwꜥ

These gods are in this fashion

in the cavern which is in the Place of Destruction:

The *ba* of Re summons his corpses therein,

when he enters into this cavern,

the light of the (human-)headed one therein.

It is by his voice that Re illumines those who are in it.

It is after being called that they breathe.

³⁶ F. Junge, *Syntax der mittellägyptischen Literatursprache* (Mainz am Rhein, 1978), p. 66.

³⁷ For this exceptional form see *ibid.*, p. 67 for an example with “Attributsatz” between the protasis and apodosis.

³⁸ F. Junge, *Syntax der mittellägyptischen Literatursprache*, pp. 66-70; for the possible apodoses of such a sentence, see Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, pp. 292-295, §§421-424.

The enigmatic texts accompanying the left portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G composition are the longest texts in the corpus examined here, and many of these annotations consist of series of emphatic verb forms and following adverbial adjuncts; one may compare pl. 21, ll. 27-34:

$\text{'}pp wnw.wt}$
 'r itn ht wnw.t
 $mdw=sn m htw R^c$
 $h < z=sn m > hprw=f$
 $\text{'pp itn Htm.t-wsr.wt}$
 $\text{'q h3.wt m kkw <=sn >}$
 When the hours pass,
 a disk ascends in the following of an hour.
 When they speak in the following of Re,
 <they descend by means> of his realization.
 When the disk travels *Hetemet-Weserewt* ("She-Who-Destroys-Throats"),
 the corpses enter into <their> darkness.

In the three surviving versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity examined in the preceding chapters, the initial forms that occur after the introductory label *nn n ntr.w m shr pn* + possible adverbial adjunct are 1) *iw* + Noun + *sdm=f*,³⁹ 2) *iw=f sdm=f*,⁴⁰ 3) *iw sdm=f*,⁴¹ 4) Noun + *sdm=f*,⁴² 5) *hr* + Noun + *sdm=f*,⁴³ 6) nominal *sdm=f*,⁴⁴ 7) *in* + Noun + *sdmw=f*,⁴⁵ 8) *sdm.in=f*,⁴⁶ and 9) infinitive + *in* + Noun.⁴⁷ The

³⁹ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 8 (*iw b3 R^c dwi=f*); pl. 11.

⁴⁰ Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 36, l. 3.

⁴¹ Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 36, l. 5.

⁴² Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 7A; pl. 13B (twice: *b3 R^c dwi=f* and *b3.w=s <n> 'p=sn*); Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, l. 4; pl. 21, ll. 15-17; pl. 22C, ll. 5-7; pl. 24, ll. 2-4; pl. 24, ll. 20-23; pl. 24, l. 25; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33; pl. 35, figure A, l. 1; pl. 36, l. 3.

⁴³ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 10-15.

⁴⁴ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 5B; pl. 5C (twice: *wnn* and *<'>pp*); pl. 7B; pl. 8 (twice: *shd R^c* and *srq=sn*); pl. 9A; pl. 10A; pl. 10B; pl. 11; pl. 12; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19A; pl. 19C; pl. 20A (twice: *prrr sd.t* and *d(w)i R^c*); pl. 20C; pl. 21, ll. 21-22; pl. 21, l. 27; pl. 21, l. 31; pl. 21, ll. 32-33; pl. 21, ll. 39-40; pl. 21, ll. 44-45; pl. 23, ll. 35-38; pl. 23, ll. 67-70; pl. 24, l. 5; pl. 24, l. 10; pl. 24, l. 19; pl. 24, l. 32; pl. 24, ll. 34-35; pl. 30, l. 2; pl. 27 (three times: *prrr imy.t rz.w*, *srq nti*, and *rh nti*); pl. 30, l. 5; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33 (three times: *sqdd nti pn*, *'pp=f*, and *nhp n=f imy.w-i3.wt=sn*); pl. 35A, l. 12; pl. 36, l. 1; pl. 36, ll. 3-4.

⁴⁵ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, l. 4 (On *in* + noun + *sdmw=f* form, see P. Vernus, *Future at Issue. Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics* [New Haven, 1990], pp. 55-60).

⁴⁶ Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 34A, ll. 22-24.

⁴⁷ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 36-38.

introductory phrase *r m-ht* followed by a nominal *sdm=f* with an apodosis beginning with a *sdm.hr=f* form appears in the Ramesses Corridor G treatise,⁴⁸ and on the Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall.⁴⁹ Also in the Ramesses VI treatise, two balanced *ir m-ht* + nominal *sdm=f* protases share an apodosis beginning with a *sdm.hr=f* form (pl. 21, ll. 52-59):

ir m-ht dwti nti pn ʕ r=sn
ir m-ht ʕpp=f hr=sn
imn.hr=sn h3.wt

Now when this great god calls to them
 and when he passes by them,
 they hide the corpses.

In what little one may read of the badly damaged left-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild*, there is another example of *ir* + protasis, with nominal *sdm=f* beginning the apodosis (pl. 30, left, l. 4):

ir ntr.w 7 n(i)ky.w
stt=s[n ...]
 As for the seven (Apep) punishing deities,
 th[ey] shoot [...]

In several annotations a nominal *sdm=f* follows the introductory formula + prepositional phrase, beginning a new section of the annotation. In pl. 7B, a nominal *sdm=f* begins the second part of the annotation. In pl. 7A, noun + nominal *sdm=f* begins the second section.⁵⁰ This latter construction may appear on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, in pl. 13B:

nn n ntr.yt m shr pn
wnw.t=sn ʕq.w m h3w.t=sn
b3 R ʕdwti=f r=sn
sn m33=sn h4dw.t itn=f
b3.w=s <n> ʕp=sn m htwt=f m hry
sn mnw m s.t=sn n b3/3h

These goddesses are in this fashion:
 their hours having entered into their corpses.
 The *ba* of Re calls to them,
 and they see the light of his disk.

⁴⁸ Pl. 24, ll. 13-26; pl. 25, figure A, ll. 38-40.

⁴⁹ Pl. 35, figure A, ll. 17-22.

⁵⁰ The construction Noun + nominal *sdm=f*, specifically *b3.w* followed by *ʕpp=sn*, occurs several times in the Book of Gates (as in the lower register of the Sixth Hour, Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 398: *b3.w=sn ʕpp=sn m-ht=f/htwt=f*, “their *ba*’s enter after him”).

Their *ba*'s travel after him above,
they remaining in their place of the *ba/akh*.

The pl. 13B example is composed of the introductory formula qualified by a Noun + Old Perfective adverbial adjunct, with the second section beginning immediately afterwards with an initial form (Noun + nominal *sdm=f*). The similarity of several other annotations on the shrine to the pl. 13B annotation strongly suggests that they have second sections beginning with nominal *sdm=f* forms (pl. 9A; pl. 10B; pl. 11):

nn n nt<r.w> m shr pn
hd.wt R^c q.w m h3.wt=sn
dw=f b3.w=sn
sn r=sn p=sn htw b3.w

These *g<ods>* are in this fashion,
the light of Re having entered their corpses.
When he calls their *ba*'s,
they set out after the (other?) *ba*'s.

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
hd.wt R^c q.w m h3.wt=sn
hkn=sn m33=sn b3=f
tf dw=f r b3.w=sn
sn m htw=f
sšm=sn sw m Š[t3y.t]

These gods are in this fashion,
the light of Re having entered into their corpses.
When they see his *Ba* they rejoice,
he calling to their *ba*'s
they being in his following,
they conducting him in Sh[etayet].

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
hd.wt R^c q.w m h3.wt=sn
hkn=sn
m33=sn b3=f
st3=sn sw m <Š> t3y.t
wy=sn hr št3.w=sn sšm.w št3 im.(yw) D3.t

iw b3 R^c d(w)i=f n=sn b3.w=sn sš
These gods are in this fashion,
the light of Re having entered into their corpses.
When they see (nom.) his *Ba*, they rejoice,
they pulling him in <She>tayet,
their arms bearing their mysteries, the secret images which are in
the Dat.

The *Ba* of Re calls to them,
when their *bas* have pass by.

The dependent clauses occurring in the three treatises are 1) circumstantial *sḏm=f*s,⁵¹ 2) *sḏm.hr=f*,⁵² 3) passive *sḏm=f*,⁵³ 4) Noun + prepositional phrase,⁵⁴ 5) pronoun + prepositional phrase,⁵⁵ 6) Noun + Old Perfective,⁵⁶ 7) pronoun + Old Perfective,⁵⁷ 8) bare Old Perfective,⁵⁸ 9) *sn* (*r=sn*) *sḏm=sn*,⁵⁹ 10) *tf sḏm=f*,⁶⁰ 11) (*m*)-*ht* + nominal *sḏm=f*,⁶¹ 12) *m-ht* *is* + prospective nominal *sḏm=f*,⁶² 13) prospective nominal *sḏm=f*,⁶³ 14) *m-ht* + infinitive,⁶⁴ 15) *hr* + infinitive,⁶⁵ 16) *r* + infinitive,⁶⁶ 17) *sn n=sn* + Noun.⁶⁷

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- ⁵¹ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 4B; pl. 5C; pl. 7B (twice); pl. 8; pl. 10B; pl. 11; pl. 13A; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19A; pl. 19B; pl. 19C; pl. 21, ll. 4-7; pl. 21, l. 9; pl. 21, l. 10; pl. 21, ll. 18-20; pl. 21, l. 22; pl. 21, ll. 28-30; pl. 21, ll. 31-32; pl. 21, ll. 33-35; pl. 21, ll. 40-42; pl. 21, ll. 43-44; pl. 21, ll. 46-47; pl. 21, l. 50; pl. 22C, ll. 7-8, ll. 9-11, ll. 17-19; pl. 23, ll. 33-34; pl. 23, ll. 64-67; pl. 23, ll. 71-72; pl. 20A (twice); pl. 20B (twice); pl. 20C; pl. 24, ll. 6-9, ll. 11-12 (twice), ll. 19-20, l. 24, ll. 28-29, ll. 30-32, ll. 32-33; pl. 25A, ll. 41-42; pl. 27 (twice); pl. 28 (twice); pl. 30, l. 4; pl. 30, l. 5; pl. 30, l. 6 (twice); Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33 (three times); pl. 34A, l. 12.
- ⁵² Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 23, ll. 57-59; pl. 24, l. 9; pl. 24, ll. 15-16; pl. 24, ll. 26-27; pl. 25A, ll. 39-40; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 24A, l. 17.
- ⁵³ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, l. 5.
- ⁵⁴ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 11; pl. 14; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 42-43; pl. 22C, ll. 20-22; pl. 24, l. 30; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 38, figure A, l. 1 (twice).
- ⁵⁵ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 4B; pl. 10B; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, l. 1.
- ⁵⁶ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 5C; pl. 7A; pl. 11; pl. 13B; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 48-49; pl. 22C, ll. 4-5; pl. 23, ll. 41-43; pl. 27; pl. 30, l. 1; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 34A, l. 12.
- ⁵⁷ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 13B.
- ⁵⁸ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 22C-pl. 23, ll. 26-27; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33; pl. 34A, l. 9.
- ⁵⁹ Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 7A; pl. 7B; pl. 9A; pl. 10A; pl. 12; pl. 13A; pl. 13B; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 2-3; pl. 21, l. 47 (partially destroyed); pl. 23, ll. 30-32; pl. 23, ll. 44-45.
- ⁶⁰ On the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun only, pl. 10B.
- ⁶¹ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19A; pl. 19B; pl. 19C; pl. 21, l. 8; pl. 23, ll. 45-48; pl. 20C; pl. 24, ll. 23-24; pl. 24, l. 35-pl. 25A, l. 37.
- ⁶² Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33.
- ⁶³ Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 34A, l. 8.
- ⁶⁴ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, l. 2.
- ⁶⁵ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 26-27; pl. 22C, ll. 9-11; pl. 23, ll. 39-41.
- ⁶⁶ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 27; pl. 30, l. 3; pl. 30, l. 4.
- ⁶⁷ Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 24, ll. 12-13.

A probable *Wechselsatz* occurs in the right-hand annotation to the Corridor G *Schutzbild*.⁶⁸ The imperfective relative form appears as *ṣp.t nṯi pn ʿz* in pl. 21, ll. 23-25 (Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling).

Infinitives and circumstantial *sdm=f* forms occur as free-standing labels in each of the three treatises examined here. So on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun:

Pl. 5A:

- 1) *ṣq pr.t <m> imn.t*, "Entering and Exiting the Netherworld"
- 2) *ṣq imn.t*, "Entering the Netherworld"
- 2A) *ṣq Ṣw*, "Shu entering"
- 2B) *iw Ṣw*, "Shu coming"
- 3A and B) "Shu coming"
- 4A and B) *Ṣw*, "Shu," but without motion, perhaps to be read <*ḥṣ*> *Ṣw*, "Shu <standing still>"
- 5 A and B) *iw ḥprw Ṣw*, "the manifestation of Shu coming"
- 6A and B; and 7A and B) *iw itn Ṣw*, "the disk of Shu coming."

Pl. 6A:

dwz wnwn Rṣ pw wnwn

"Adoration of the circling one—the circling one is Re."

A very abbreviated annotation occurs on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, and may consist of the introductory formula and a one-member nominal sentence (pl. 9B):

nn n nṯr.w m šhr pn

tp.w=sn

These gods are in this fashion;
and their heads/it is their heads.

Two one-member nominal sentences follow the introductory formula *wnn=sn m šhr pn* in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 33):

wnn=sn m šhr pn

nḥz-ḥr.w smz.w.n Rṣ

ir=f ḥṣw ḥr nm.t =sn nt ṣṣ

imn ṣtzw dwzy ḥṣ.w im=f

In this fashion do they exist:

the Nehaher snakes which Re slaughtered,

he making a pause at their slaughtering pit of sand;

'He who hides the mystery, who praises the members
which are in it (the *ṣtzw*).'

⁶⁸ Pl. 30, l. 6.

These two one-member nominal sentences are labels to two of the main features of the scene over which that annotation is placed—the serpents and the figures atop the mounds of sand.

Labels composed of Noun + Participle also occur, on the second side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 12),

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn
ḥd.wt R^c ḥbs(.t) ḥ3.wt=sn
ḏwi=f b3.w=sn
 (sn haplography) *r=sn p=sn m-ḥtw*

These gods are in this fashion:
 it is the light of Re, which clothes their corpses.
 When he calls their bas,
 they travel behind.

and in the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 30, l. 5):

nṯi pn ir b3y.w(t)
 this god, who has made the burial pits.

In the tomb of Ramesses VI such statements also occur as free-standing labels (pl. 22A):

sb3 q pr (m) D3.t
 The (solar) star, who enters and who goes out (from) the Netherworld

sb3 phr D3.t
 The (solar) star, who goes around/enchants the Netherworld

R^c q pr (m) D3.t
 Re, who enters and goes forth (from) the Netherworld

Nsw.t-bity nb-t3.wy Nb-m3^c.t-R^c-Mry-ḥmn q m imy.w ḥtmy.t
ḥ3=f d3.t
 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands,
 Nebmaatre-Meryamun, who enters amongst those who are in the
 Place of Destruction,
 he uncovering the Netherworld.

Noun + relative form occurs as a label to the scene in the right-hand annotation accompanying the *Schutzbild* in Corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 30, ll. 3-4):

sn.ty wḏ ntī pn r ʿ.wy=f(y)
r ḥḏ irw.w imy.w

It is the Two Sisters whom this god determines to be his two arms,
 in order that the forms of those who are there (the dead) may
 shine.

Noun + relative form also appears in the tomb of Ramesses IX, within an annotation beginning with *wnn=sn m šhr pn* (pl. 35A, ll. 8-11):

ḥpr.w ʿšz.w ir=sn n=f
mtnw m ḥpr.w=sn

It is the numerous *ḥprw*-manifestations which they assume for him,
 they being endowed with their *ḥprw*-manifestations

An A *pw* B nominal sentence occurs once, on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 6A, lower annotation):⁶⁹

Rʿ pw wnwn
 the circling one is Re

Date of the Treatises

The dates which one should assign to the various compositions belonging to the Netherworld Books associated with royal burials remain uncertain. The Amduat appears on blocks from the tomb of Thutmosis I, and the Litany of Re first occurs on the shroud of Thutmosis III. These two compositions may be considered the oldest of the Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom royal tombs.⁷⁰ The Book of Gates is found first in the tomb of Horemheb, while the Book of Caverns, the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the Nut Book, and the Book of the Day and the Night all appear first in the tombs of the Ramesside rulers. Altenmüller has suggested that the Amduat is a Middle Kingdom composition, a cosmography based on a Heliopolitan tradition.⁷¹ Wente has observed that "certain passages in Amduat

⁶⁹ In his study of the grammar of the Netherworld Books, A. Baumann, *The Suffix Conjugation of Early Egyptian as Evidenced in the Underworld Books*, p. 39 concludes that a great majority of examples, the A B nominal sentence pattern has the Subject-Predicate order in the Netherworld Books; according to Baumann, the A *pw* B pattern appears in his corpus only in the Amduat.

⁷⁰ So A. Piankoff, "Les grandes compositions religieuses du nouvel empire et la réforme d'Amarna," *BIFAO* 62 (1964): 207.

⁷¹ H. Altenmüller, "Zur Überlieferung der Amduat," *JEOL* 20 (1967-1968): 27-42.

... suggest that Amduat had a broader usage than the New Kingdom royal tomb, and the offering formulas in the Book of Gates ... imply non-royal-participation;" he suggests that some of the royal Netherworld Books may date from the Middle Kingdom or First Intermediate Period.⁷² Assmann recognizes a pre-New Kingdom tradition as the basis of the Amduat, but sees reflections of Eighteenth Dynasty and Nineteenth Dynasty theological trends in the Book of Caverns, the Book of Gates, and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁷³ Hornung would date the Amduat to the Second Intermediate Period, the Book of Gates to the time of Amenhotep III;⁷⁴ he would date the Book of Caverns to the early Nineteenth Dynasty.⁷⁵ Schott has dated the Amduat to the early New Kingdom, essentially the time when it first appears on blocks from the tomb of Thutmosis I.⁷⁶ Grapow suggested that the Amduat was composed of several elements of differing dates; he took the Fourth and Fifth Hours of the Amduat to be the oldest portions of the composition.⁷⁷

The origins of the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity remain obscure.⁷⁸ They have affinities with the other, better known Netherworld treatises, and already the version on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun appears to draw on imagery, divine names, and texts appearing in the Book of Caverns and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, although copies of these treatises are known only from later royal tombs. The parallels to those so-called later Netherworld Books on the Tutankhamun shrine suggest that the view of the Book of Caverns, the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, and the Book of the Day and the Night, as later compositions, products of the Ramesside Period, may be incorrect. It is also possible that the similarities between those compositions and the Tutankhamun shrine treatise derive from common ancestors. As Hornung has indicated, precise dates for these compositions will remain elusive until detailed examinations of the grammar(s) and contents of these texts appear.⁷⁹ However, grammatical analysis suggests that no definite Late Egyptianisms exist in the Underworld Books, while

⁷² E.F. Wente, review of H.A. Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches*, in *JNES* 42 (1983): 156.

⁷³ J. Assmann, *Re und Amun, die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1983), pp. 13-14.

⁷⁴ E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher* (Zürich and Munich, 1972), pp. 17-18 and 21; see also M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, "Pfortenbuch," in *LdÄ*, vol. 4, cols. 1015-1016.

⁷⁵ E. Hornung, "Höhlenbuch," in *LdÄ*, vol. 2, col. 1230.

⁷⁶ S. Schott, *Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer in Königsgräbern der 18. Dynastie* (Göttingen, 1958).

⁷⁷ H. Grapow, "Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern," *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 34-35.

⁷⁸ For the union of Re and Osiris in earlier funerary literature, see S. Bickel, "Die Jenseitsfahrt des Re nach Zeugen der Sargtexte," in A. Brodbeck, ed. *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel. Ägyptologische Beiträge für Erik Hornung* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 48-53 (reference courtesy of Ms. Colleen Manassa); H. Willems, *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 151-156; H. Altenmüller, "Auferstehungsritual und Geburtsmythos," *SAK* 24 (1997): 19-21.

⁷⁹ Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, p. 17.

several features of Old Egyptian appear throughout the compositions, indicating that the overall “language” of the Underworld Books can be classified as Middle Egyptian with some archaic features.⁸⁰ Given the prevailing uncertainty regarding the dates of the better attested Netherworld Books, it is difficult to be precise regarding the date of the original template for the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. One may, however, make a few observations of a relative nature.

Grammatically, the enigmatic texts accompanying the various recensions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity are in Middle Egyptian.⁸¹ Grammatically there is no clear indication of Late Egyptian or Ramesside monumental grammar or vocabulary. The vocabulary of the enigmatic annotations in the three compositions is consistent with that of the other Netherworld Books; for example, along with *m-ht*, the form *htw*, “after,” which the *Wörterbuch* (*Wb.* III 344, 8) characterizes as “Königsgr., D. 19,” occurs on the Tutankhamun shrine,⁸² and on the Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling.⁸³

The treatise on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun shows that the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity is at least as old as the later Amarna Period,⁸⁴ and the paucity of Late Egyptian intrusions allows for an earlier date for the original template on which the three surviving New Kingdom versions of the book are based. Based on considerations of grammar, vocabulary, and theology, there is no reason why the enigmatic annotations accompanying the various versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity should not go back even to a Middle Kingdom original.

Although the allusions and parallels to the Litany of Re and the Amduat are not unexpected in texts first appearing during the reign of Tutankhamun, textual and iconographic parallels to the Book of Caverns and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk are perhaps more significant. References to the “later” Netherworld Books indicate that those Netherworld Books—or their precursors—are themselves

⁸⁰ Baumann, *The Suffix Conjugation of Early Egyptian*, pp. 450-3.

⁸¹ A number of the texts in *Normalschrift* refer to the ruler for whom the particular version of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity was made, and may thus be contemporary with the surviving copies of the book (although as Dr. Janet Johnson has pointed out, these name could also be insertions into “blanks” provided for them in the original template, a practice well attested for the Book of the Dead). The graffito accompanying the penultimate scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 38B) is likely to be a composition contemporary with the tomb. The horizontal band of text running above the Enigmatic Wall (pl. 40) is also most likely a contemporary text, and in its expression of the four-fold nature of the deity, recalls the hymn to Osiris in the contemporary tomb of Imiseba (pl. 39).

⁸² Pl. 7A; pl. 7B (partially written as <*h*>*tw*); pl. 9A; pl. 10B (*m-htw*); pl. 12 (*m-htw*); pl. 13B (*m-htw*).

⁸³ Pl. 20A (*m-htw*); pl. 21, l. 42 (*m-htw*); pl. 22C, ll. 7 and 21.

⁸⁴ On the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, the ruler’s name may have replaced an earlier name, a feature that might date the carving of the Tutankhamun version of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity rather earlier in the Amarna period (see the discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 161-2 n. 553).

at least as old as the Amarna Period. According to Barguet,⁸⁵ the funnel-shaped area in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in which the large figure of an ejaculating figure stands is a likeness of a cutaway view of a clepsydra. There, divine seed instead of water fills the netherworldly clock, ensuring through the passage of the night hours the coming rebirth of the rejuvenated sun. The clepsydra appears in Egypt at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and may have entered Egypt as one of the many innovations of the Hyksos Period.⁸⁶ The enigmatic composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, and the related cryptographic texts from the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX, appear to allude to the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. This connection might then show that the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk originated before the close of the Amarna Period. If Barguet is correct that a clepsydra figures in a scene from that composition, and if that scene with the clepsydra is an original element of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, then the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk was composed at some point between about the middle of the Second Intermediate Period and the end of the reign of Akhenaton. Allusions to the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk within the surviving versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity could place the original template for the enigmatic Netherworld Book within the same period of time, but subsequent to the original composition of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The prominence of cryptography suggests a time in the latter half of this period.⁸⁷

Independent of their relationship to the other royal Netherworld Books, there are a few internal indications that suggest a time for the composition of the original template for the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. The Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity have Book of the Dead excerpts as integral parts of the composition (even the Ramesses IX graffito contains a quotation from the Book of the Dead). The closest parallels to the three treatises examined here are mythological papyri of the Twenty-First Dynasty, on which there are also mixtures of Netherworld Book and Book of the Dead excerpts. If the template upon which the Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses IX treatises are based itself contained Book of the Dead quotations, then the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity must not be dated earlier than the first recension of the Book of the Dead. The Book of the Dead appears to have originated in the period of transition between the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties, and the move of the seat of power from Itj-Tawy to Thebes.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ P. Barguet, "Remarques sur quelques scènes de la salle du sarcophage de Ramsès VI," *RdE* 30 (1978): 51-6.

⁸⁶ See D. Devauchelle, "Wasseruhr," in *LdÄ*, vol. 6, cols. 1156-1157.

⁸⁷ One must recognize, however, that the apparent citations of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity may indicate no more than that the two compositions share a common ancestor.

⁸⁸ See R.B. Parkinson and S. Quirke, "The Coffin of Prince Herunefer and the Early History of the *Book of the Dead*," in A.B. Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London, 1992), pp. 47-48.

The enigmatic annotations and scenes find parallels in other Netherworld Books, and may perhaps themselves be taken from a composition or compositions of far earlier date. The grammar of the enigmatic annotations is Middle Egyptian. During the New Kingdom, cryptography appears to have attained its height of popularity during the reign of Amenhotep III.⁸⁹ One might perhaps connect the solar emphasis on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun not merely with Atonist influence, but with growing Heliopolitan influence on the Theban pantheon beginning already during the reign of Hatshepsut.⁹⁰ All of these considerations indicate that the original template of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity was put together sometime between the beginning of the Seventeenth Dynasty and the end of the Amarna Period, the prominence of cryptography suggesting more precisely a date during the reign of Amenhotep III. The texts and annotations—including those in cryptography—are in Middle Egyptian, with a lack of Late Egyptianisms, a fact that would support an Eighteenth Dynasty or even Middle Kingdom date for the originals of those texts. One may thus propose that the original of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity was a Theban combination of excerpts from earlier Netherworld treatises and the contemporary Book of the Dead. The original template could be as early as the middle Seventeenth Dynasty, and the solar emphasis is consistent with an early to middle Eighteenth Dynasty date. The prominence of cryptography suggests that the composition attained its final form during the reign of Amenhotep III. Parkinson and Quirke have suggested that “the move to Thebes might provide a reason for a new redaction of funerary literature above all for the king and his court.”⁹¹ The Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity may also ultimately be a product of the late Second Intermediate Period, reaching its final, cryptographic form during the reign of Amenhotep III.⁹²

Purpose of the Treatises

These texts contain no overt statements as to their use or the reason for their enigmatic orthography. Based on the tortuous acrophonic paths with which he

⁸⁹ See the remarks of E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* (Mainz, 1976), pp. 173-80.

⁹⁰ K. Myśliwiec, “Amon, Atum and Aton: The Evolution of Heliopolitan Influences in Thebes,” in *L'égyptologie en 1979, Axes prioritaires de recherches* (Paris, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 285-289.

⁹¹ Parkinson and Quirke, in Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, p. 48.

⁹² The cryptographic portions of the treatise may also owe something to developments during the Second Intermediate Period, to judge from the precursor of cryptography of a Dra Abu-n-Naga sort on the statue of a vizier from the Thirteenth Dynasty – see H. Ranke, “Ein Wesir der 13. Dynastie,” in *Mélanges Maspero I orient ancien* (Cairo, 1935-1938), p. 362 (l. 1 of the inscription). For the Second Intermediate Period as the time when many aspects of New Kingdom culture developed, note the comments of E. Otto, “Bedeutungsnuancen der Verben *mrj* ‘lieben’ und *msdđj* ‘hassen’,” *MDAIK* 25 (1969): 100.

worked, Drioton believed that an Egyptian religious text written in cryptography “était cryptographique au sens le plus fort du terme.”⁹³ He suggested that religious cryptography sought to hide the text from profane minds, whereas “normal” or secular cryptography was enigmatic—that is, it sought to entice the passer-by to spend time reading the text. The fact that some cryptic texts in the royal tombs are accompanied by “Klarschrift” transcriptions suggests caution. Thematic cryptography abounds in the private tomb texts at Dra Abu-en-Naga, but is virtually absent in many religious texts written in cryptography, including the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Many of the more elusive and tantalizing readings, with numerous secondary interpretations and implications, are private texts. The cryptic texts at Dra Abu-en-Naga are also commonly written in the exterior areas of the tomb, suggesting that they were intended to be pondered by passers by. The locations of the Dra Abu-en-Naga enigmatic texts in easily accessible areas support J. Baines’ assertion that the purpose of Egyptian cryptography was “mostly to add meaning to short texts or interest to stereotyped formulae.”⁹⁴

Religious cryptography appears to have been more restrained than private and royal monumental cryptography, not what one might expect were ancient Egyptian religious cryptography a secretive priestly writing system. The writing system itself does not impart esoteric knowledge in the three known versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.⁹⁵ Rather than being a means to conceal a text, religious cryptography may rather have served to test the reader’s knowledge of parallel texts and religious concepts, by means of which he could hope to make his way through the difficult orthographies. The Egyptians may have intended religious cryptography to be a means of testing a reader’s knowledge of the intricacies of the Netherworld.

The texts of private Eighteenth Dynasty cryptography were not of a special nature, and Drioton characterized most of them as banal. Few texts are genuinely banal, however, and anyone who has searched for an exact parallel to the seemingly stereotyped pronouncements of monumental ritual scenes would acknowledge that there is considerable variation in “banal” texts. Drioton is correct, however, in his observation that the texts by nature of their content would neither defy comprehension nor call for a cloaking, secret script. Drioton suggested that the

⁹³ É. Drioton, “La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhamon,” *JEA* 35 (1949): 122.

⁹⁴ J. Baines, “Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society,” *Man* 18 (1983): 581–82.

⁹⁵ The view of hieroglyphs expressed in the work of Horapollon (F. Sbordone, ed., *Hori Apollinis hieroglyphica* [Naples, 1940]) is found already in the demotic Myth of the Solar Eye (M. Smith, “Sonnenauge, Demotischer Mythos vom,” in *LdÄ*, vol. 5, cols. 1082–87). Although not all early cryptography made the most of its thematic potential, cryptography did ultimately influence religious imagery. By the Graeco-Roman period, certain cryptic values had become so commonplace that they were used for imagery in non-cryptographic religious texts. In a demotic mortuary text, a mention of the “hair” of the god Shu refers to the solar disk atop the head of the deceased, through a pun on the use of the hair sign for *hry-tp*, “that which is upon the head”—the “hair” of Shu is the object atop the head of Shu, that object being the solar disk (see M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* [London, 1987], pp. 121–2).

cryptography was rather meant to provide interest to standardized texts apt to be ignored by indifferent visitors, enticing a reader with a challenging but not impossible decipherment.⁹⁶ As Hornung notes, Goodwin in 1873 already suggested that cryptography was meant to heighten the interest of a text rather than hide its content.⁹⁷ Of the Coptic texts from the monastery of Phoibamon, near the Darb el-Baiyrat in the southern area of western Thebes, Till noted:⁹⁸

Among the inscriptions there are some in cryptographic writing according to the usual system. These cryptograms were not written in order to conceal anything, but, apparently, only as an exercise in cryptographic writing.

This accords with Iversen's conclusion that the enigmatic hieroglyphic texts were not meant to conceal information:⁹⁹

It is possible that the inscriptions may in some cases have served special magical purposes, but above all it was probably quite simply considered a learned accomplishment to be able to invent new writings, and much erudition and profound mythological knowledge were undoubtedly displayed in the subtle and speculative choice of the enigmatic signs and symbols.

These remarks are appropriate to monumental cryptography, and to private enigmatic texts, texts not concealed but actually meant to be seen and read; the enigmatic religious texts of the royal tombs are perhaps another matter. It is unlikely that their cryptography was necessary to protect them from profane perusal, for their locations suggest that few "commoners" should ever have seen them. The nature of cryptography, as it is based on certain understandable principles, might slow down a reader, but could not guarantee complete incomprehension except on the part of poor readers.

One cryptic text which one might at first understand as remarking on the secretive nature of religious cryptography is a section of the Book of the Day and of the Night. Following a description of the nature and cosmography of the souls of the east there occurs the statement:¹⁰⁰

iw=i rh.kwi sn m mdw-ntr

⁹⁶ É. Drioton, "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie," *RdE* 1 (1933): 49-50; *idem*, "Une figuration cryptographique sur une stèle du Moyen Empire," *RdE* 1 (1933): 228-9.

⁹⁷ Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 145; C.W. Goodwin, "On the enigmatic writing on the coffin of Seti I," *ZÄS* 11 (1873): 139.

⁹⁸ W. Till, in R. Rémondon, *et al.*, *Le monastère de Phoebammon dans la Thébaïde II: Graffiti, inscriptions et ostraca* (Cairo, 1965), p. 23.

⁹⁹ E. Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1961), pp. 36-7.

¹⁰⁰ Drioton, in A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (Cairo, 1942), p. 86.

ts.w fdw pw n rh^a

n ^c*q=k m-hnw=s <n> b*

imi=k dd r sdm rhy.t nb.t

I know them in hieroglyphs;

they are four statements of knowledge,

within which you have entered (i.e., to which you are initiated);

do not speak (this) so that just anyone can hear!

^a Following *pw*, Drioton read *sšt3*, taking the first bird as *s*, the second as *š*, a value he derived acrophonically from *šd*, “celui qui capture.”¹⁰¹ He takes the horizontal line at the top of the vertical column continuing this text as the *t3* of *sšt3*. The value *š* for the sign Drioton copies as the sign of the bird-eating-a-fish is otherwise unattested, and the derivation of *š* for that sign through a description of that sign as *šd* is unlikely.¹⁰² As the sign in question is actually that of a bird holding the top of a *h3*-plant in its beak, these desperate derivations are unnecessary. The separate position of the horizontal sign which Drioton reads as *t3* suggests that it does not belong to the same word or words as the preceding signs. Reading the horizontal sign as *n* in *n* ^c*q=k m-hnw=s*, there remain but two signs to be explained following *pw*.

The second sign following *pw* is not, as Drioton copies it, the bird-eating-a-fish, but rather the sign of a bird holding the top of a *h3*-plant in its mouth.¹⁰³ This composite sign is attested with the value *rh* (the bird as *r < r3*-goose; the plant as *h < h3*).¹⁰⁴ A reading *sh3* (the bird as *s < s3*; the plant as *h* from *h3*) would theoretically be possible, allowing a translation “they are four statements for memorization;” this interesting interpretation would remain speculative, however, for there appear to be no direct parallels for *ts.w n sh3*.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the bird holding the *h3*-plant in its mouth appears thus far not to be attested with a value *sh3*,¹⁰⁶ whereas *rh* is a well

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹⁰² In desperation one might read the bird as *š < s < s3*, with the fish as *šd*, derived from the rare term *šdy*, “coup de filet” (G. Andreu and S. Cauville, “Vocabulaire absent du *Wörterbuch* (II),” *RdE* 30 [1978]: 19); or one could take the group as a variant of a bird, a value *šd* deriving from *šdw*, “waterfowl (?)” (R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* [Oxford, 1962], p. 274).

¹⁰³ The badly damaged signs in question are visible in A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York, 1954), pl. 151, upper horizontal text division, 13th vertical column from the left; this area of the wall was already damaged when Champollion copied the texts (see J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* 2 vols. [Paris, 1844], p. 641).

¹⁰⁴ H. de Meulenaere, “Notes ptolémaïques,” *BIFAO* 53 (1953) 103-105.

¹⁰⁵ For the possible of place of cryptography in testing memorized religious knowledge, see below, p. 479.

¹⁰⁶ F. Daumas et al., *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* vol. 2 (Montpellier, 1989), p. 328 cites A. Scharff, “Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Achmim,” *ZÄS* 62 (1927): 99 for the bird-with-*h3*-plant as *sh3*. The word

attested reading for the composite sign. For *ts.w fdw pw n rh*, “they are four statements of knowledge,” there are references to a *ts rhw*, “discours empli de savoir,”¹⁰⁷ occurring in a similar context to the *ts.w fdw pw n rh* of the Book of the Day and the Night. In two Saite tombs at Saqqara, the text of Chapter 67 of the Book of the Dead is followed by a statement concerning the revealing of that text to the profane:¹⁰⁸

i d3d3.t-ntr.w tw wr.t nt p.t

iw in.n=tn wi hn=tn m w^c im=tn

nn rdi(.t) ts pw rhw n ihm.w ntr.w

Oh you great heavenly council of the gods:

You have fetched me away with you as one among you,

without giving that statement of knowledge to those ignorant of the gods.

The Saqqara references to a *ts rh.w* to be kept from the ignorant supports the reading of the *ts.w fdw n rh* in the Book of the Day and the Night. The enigmatic texts of the Book of the Day and the Night describe the spirits of the four cardinal points; thus the text speaks of “four statements.”

The *rh.w*-knowledge of this passage is a knowledge of cosmography.¹⁰⁹ For the king and the *rh*-knowledge of cosmography, one may cite the main Year 3 text on the East wall of the Luxor Temple pylon, in which text Ramesses II relates the cosmographic knowledge he derived from reading certain books in the library of the *pr-nh*. Ramesses applies this knowledge to his constructions at Luxor Temple.¹¹⁰ It was in fact in preparation for that work that he appears to have consulted the texts. The association of esoteric, cosmographic knowledge with practical construction matters, evident in the Luxor Temple text, is similar to that in the demotic text P. Vindob. D. 6319.¹¹¹

there is, however, to be read *rh.w*, in the epithet of the stele owner as *nb rh.w wr*, “a great possessor of *rh*-knowledge” (on which see below).

¹⁰⁷ D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1980), p. 430, no. 77.4977. One could also read *n rh*, “for the knowledgeable one.”

¹⁰⁸ E. Bresciani, S. Pernigotti, M.P. Giangeri Silvis, *La tomba di Ciennehebu, capo della flotta del Re* (Pisa, 1977), pl. 7, upper vertical columns, 7th and 8th cols. from the left; G. Maspero, in A. Barsanti and G. Maspero, “Fouilles autour de la pyramide d'Ounas (1899-1900): IV.II, Les inscriptions du tombeau de Péténis,” *ASAE* 1 (1900): 255.

¹⁰⁹ For the association of *rh*-knowledge and solar cosmography, see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970), pp. 56-57.

¹¹⁰ K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions Vol. 2: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford, 1979), p. 346, ll. 4-8 (consultations in the library); ll. 9ff. (instructions on the work to be carried out). For this text, see D. Redford, “The Earliest Years of Ramesses II, and the Building of the Ramesseid Court at Luxor,” *JEA* 57 (1971): 110-119.

¹ E.A.E. Reymond, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum*, Part II: *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings* (Vienna, 1977), pp. 45-105.

^b The horizontal line at the top of the final, vertical portion of this text, is here read as *n*, not the *t3* of Drioton's proposed *sšt3*. The verb *ʿq* appears here in the infinitive, following *n*; the final *s* is for *sn*, referring back to the *ts.w fdw*, "four statements."

This text is but mildly cryptographic, with a portion written retrograde. There is nothing here which one could not imagine that any ancient reader with a reasonable reading knowledge of the hieroglyphs would be able quickly to understand. The concern is only with pronouncing the texts so as to be heard by a *rhy.t* who, in the sacral context, was someone unable to enter very far into a temple.¹¹² An injunction against revealing temple secrets recorded in the Temple of Edfu is written in the *Normalschrift* of the period,¹¹³ emphasizing the fact that but a small percentage of "secret" material appears ever to have been set down in some form of cryptography.

The scenes of deities rising from the coils of serpents on the Tutankhamun shrine and on the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX may hint at a secret nature for these compositions. The snakes have various names, *imy-t3*, *nh3-ḥr*, *ʿ3pp* in the Ramesses IX treatise, but on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun each is labeled *Mḥn*. The scenes thus depict resurrection from the coils of Mehen, and the full understanding of these scenes requires on the part of the reader a knowledge of the esoteric mysteries of Mehen.¹¹⁴ The cryptography present in the treatise contributes little, however, to an added level of meaning. The three recognized

¹¹² On areas of access, see the references in L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *JNES* 44 (1985): 271, n. 96. This prohibition in the Book of the Day and the Night recalls the statement in certain mortuary texts that they are to be read aloud before those *nty-iw šw ir-w m-b3ḥ=w*, "before whom it is fitting to recite them" (see M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, pl. 4, col. 4, ll. 2-3; *idem*, "Papyrus Harkness," *Enchoria* 18 [1991]: 98). The use and study of the text on earth, and at the same time a desire to maintain a certain secrecy for the text, may at first seem contradictory. This echos, however, the attitudes attested in the later *Hermetica*: "although the ultimate revelation of divine knowledge can occur only in the personal intercourse of master and pupil, there is a parallel and supplementary literary tradition which, since it records what passes between Hermes and his adepts, has a sanctity of its own" (G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes, a Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* [Cambridge, 1986], p. 158). For the restriction of certain religious knowledge to a particular class, one may note the probable reference to a "Book of the *Rhy.t*" in P. Cairo Museum 58035, l. 26 (I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, 2 vols. [London, 1960], vol. 2, pl. 37, l. 26; the proper reading of the passage is given by H. Jacquet-Gordon, review of I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, in *Bi.Or.* 20 [1963]: 32-33).

¹¹³ É. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, vol. 3 (Cairo, 1928), pp. 360, l. 10-361, l. 5—see H.W. Fairman, "A Scene of the Offering of Truth in the Temple of Edfu," *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 86-92.

¹¹⁴ See P. Piccione, "Mehen, Mysteries, and Resurrection from the Coiled Serpent," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 43-52; on the Egyptian uroboros and the Orphic mysteries, see L. Motte, "Orphica Aegyptiaca I," *Langues Orientales Anciennes Philologie et Linguistique* 2 (1989): 266-67.

versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity do not show the range of thematic double meaning occurring even in the cosmographic texts (the Nut Book, the Book of the Day and the Night), only partially cryptographic, and in the Dra Abu-en-Naga texts, in general formulaic and otherwise well known texts. This relative absence of thematic cryptography in the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity indicates that originally there was no intent to impart a special, second, deeper religious doctrine through the signs.

The temple inscriptions of the Late Period, with their proliferation of thematic cryptography, and the explosion in the number of signs employed, might have been used to conceal the learning of the priests. Yet the difficult hieroglyphic texts of late Egypt appear rather to have been the repositories of all sorts of texts. They were meant to preserve from oblivion the endangered learning of the priests and the age-old religious texts of the country. Not a desire for secrecy, but an "Angst vor Vergessen" motivated the scribes who composed the complicated and often cryptographic inscriptions of Esna and the other late temples of Egypt.¹¹⁵ In the closing "address to the living" on the stele of a priest from Akhmim in the time of Hadrian, in a text composed in the standard hieroglyphic cryptography of the time, the erudite priest asks of those passing by his monument:

imy ib=tn m wn im=f

tm hm nh.t

ir drf.w=f

qd=tn rz=f r mnḥ

Set your hearts on what is therein (the texts of the stele);

do not forget the text collection;¹¹⁶

make copies of it;

adhere perfectly to the text.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ See J. Assmann, "Der Tempel der ägyptischen Spätzeit als Kanonisierung kultureller Identität," in J. Osing and E.K. Nielsen, eds., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt, Studies in Honour of Erik Iversen* (Copenhagen, 1992), pp. 9-25, specifically p. 12, n. 15 ("Angst des Vergessen") and p. 24 ("Angst vor Vergessen") is the terminology of H. Kees (*ibid.*, p. 12, n. 15).

¹¹⁶ For the vetitive use of the infinitive of *tm*, see E.F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago, 1967), p. 19 n. p; J. Černý and S. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome, 1984), p. 188 (ex. 529); compare also the examples listed in F. Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger, les enseignements moraux d'un scribe égyptien du premier siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 1926), vol. 2, p. 132, no. 577, §1.c; R.J. Williams, *The Morphology and Syntax of Papyrus Insinger* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1948), pp. 61-62, §§128-129. For the passage on the Akhmim stela, one might also read "in order that the text collection nor be forgotten" – compare H. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen* (Berlin, 1968), p. 49, §76 – although so classical a form as the jussive use of the negation of the passive prospective *sdm=f* with suffix =w on a stele from the time of Hadrian is perhaps unlikely. According to R. Jasnow, a parallel injunction *nn hm nhy* appears in a portion of the Book of Thoth, specifically P. Berlin P15531, col. 10, l. 1.

The priest of Akhmim is more concerned with the death of the Egyptian religion and the hieroglyphic tradition than with the maintenance of his own soul in the afterlife. The cryptography on his stele would not be intended to conceal the writings whose coming oblivion he foresaw. The priest's cryptography augments the texts, and may have enticed a passing scribe to stop and ponder the texts, but it is not there to conceal a language and cloak a script whose obscurity the stele's owner mourned.¹¹⁸

The statement quoted above from the partially enigmatic portion of the Book of the Day and the Night is more interesting in that it refers to reading the text aloud, actual use of the writings by living people. Along with other texts of the Netherworld Books, such as the Amduat,¹¹⁹ the Book of the Day and the Night was meant for study and use in this world.¹²⁰ That a funerary spell might have an application on earth is attested elsewhere.¹²¹ Hornung takes issue with Morenz¹²² and Assmann¹²³ regarding the teaching of Egyptian eschatology, and claims that the Netherworld Books seldom refer to their use on earth, and otherwise opposes the conclusion that they are part of the "Wissenslehren."¹²⁴ The passages from the Netherworld Books which Wentz has collected, along with the passage from the Book of the Day and the Night, support in general the conclusions of Morenz and

¹¹⁷ A. Scharff, "Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Achmim," *ZÄS* 62 (1927): 104-105 (l. 11 of the stele); for the understanding of this portion of the text, see Ph. Derchain, *Le dernier obélisque* (Brussels, 1987), p. 59.

¹¹⁸ A certain amount of secretive cryptography may have existed, however, in the Late Period. If it is a genuine piece of about the fourth century, a small figure of Osiris shows a marriage of hieroglyphs and alchemical symbols which are all Kircher could have desired of an hieroglyphic inscription (see S. Ratié, "Un Osiris alchimique au Musée de Chambéry," *La revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 30 [1980]: 219-21; *idem*, "Un Osiris alchimique au Musée de Chambéry," *Oikumene* 4 [1983]: 191-9).

¹¹⁹ S. Schott, *Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer in Königsgräbern der 18. Dynastie*, pp. 362-66.

¹²⁰ For the evidence from other treatises, see E.F. Wentz, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?" *JNES* 41 (1982): 161-79; on the connections between Egyptian theology as embodied in the mythological papyri of the Third Intermediate Period and the Orphic mysteries, see Motte, *Langues Orientales Anciennes Philologie et Linguistique* 2 (1989): 253-272. H. Willems' (*The Coffin of Heqata* [Leuven, 1996], pp. 279-284) assumption of a purely funerary use of these texts does not seem to be supported by the texts themselves.

¹²¹ Compare the water spell of the *Hirtengeschichte*, found also in the Coffin Texts – see M. Gilula, "*Hirtengeschichte* 17-22 = CT VII 36m-r," *GM* 29 (1978): 21-2.

¹²² S. Morenz, review of A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, in *Bi.Or.* 25 (1968): 182, *et cetera*.

¹²³ J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970), p. 57.

¹²⁴ E. Hornung, "Lehren über das Jenseits?" in E. Hornung and O. Keel, eds., *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1979), pp. 217-24; in *idem*, "L'Égypte, la philosophie avant les Grecs," *Les Études Philosophiques* (April-September, 1987): 120-21, Hornung denies anything but pragmatism in Egyptian ontology, and states that "il n'existe aucune preuve d'initiation pour les vivants, même si les cultes helléniques des mystères ont emprunté des représentations et des formes égyptiennes."

Assmann. With the enigmatic and partially enigmatic Netherworld Books having a role in earthly religion, the boundary separating them from the enticing Dra Abu-en-Naga texts becomes more ephemeral.

Beyond forcing a prospective reader to stop and ponder a text more intensely and for a longer time, an enigmatic religious text could perhaps be used to test the knowledge of an acolyte, providing a memnotechnic device which would help him read a text only if he possessed the prerequisite understanding of a number of eschatological concepts. On a late New Kingdom stele from Coptos, the owner of the monument states:¹²⁵

dw3.n=i ntr nb hr rn=f nn sh3.t w' im=sn

Without having to think about one of them,

I praised every deity by his name.

As Abdallah suggested,¹²⁶ the owner of the stele “presumably means that he knew all these names by heart.” In the late copy of the Amduat in the tomb of Pedamenope, most of the earlier cryptographic portions occur in *Klarschrift*.¹²⁷ Although enigmatic inscriptions became more prevalent in the later periods of the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, something may have suggested that cryptography was becoming inappropriate for the Amduat by the time of Pedamenope. One can speculate that priests may have felt such a writing system to be unnecessarily obscuring an increasingly aged and disused religious composition.

The cryptography of the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity did not conceal the texts, nor did it augment the content of the enigmatic texts with added layers of deeper, thematic cryptographic meaning. Cryptography may have added interest to texts, and it may have served as a device for testing the knowledge and memory of religious adepts, yet it is unlikely that these possible uses of cryptography applied to all uses of enigmatic writing, such as royal monumental titularies, and inscriptions on scarabs. There is, however, a solar aspect to cryptography that can explain all of the various uses of cryptography during the New Kingdom.

During the New Kingdom cryptography appears in texts dealing with solar regeneration, and with the crossing of cosmic boundaries. Hornung has noted the predominance of cryptography in the fourth and fifth hours of the Amduat,¹²⁸ the time of the solar regeneration in the chamber of Sokar. Cryptography is common on scarabs,¹²⁹ symbols of solar regeneration, and is the script chosen for the three books

¹²⁵ Aly O.A. Abdallah, “An Unusual Private Stela of the Twenty-First Dynasty from Coptos,” *JEA* 69 (1983): 69 and 71 n. k, p. 70 (text) l. 7.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 71 n. k.

¹²⁷ See A. Piankoff, “Le Livre de l’Am-Duat et les variantes tardives,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin, 1955), p. 245.

¹²⁸ See Chapter 2, p. 29 n. 3.

¹²⁹ See the comments in Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, pp. 173-180.

discussed here (Chapters 3-5), which deal primarily with the Solar-Osirian unity and have as their central and giant figures the combined Re-Osiris of the eastern horizon (Chapter 6). The cryptographic texts are also particularly associated with the liminal area of the tomb, the area of crossing the boundary between this world and the next. For this reason they proliferate in the tomb texts at Dra Abu-n-Naga and in the royal tombs. The liminal, boundary-crossing aspect of cryptography also applies to the appearance of enigmatic annotations to the scene of the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates, in the depiction of the subterranean hall where the momentous decisions concerning the fates of souls are made. The Ramesses II Nubian temple cryptography¹³⁰ refers to commerce with Punt, a land of the far southeast, area of the rising sun, land of the incense necessary for Egyptian temple ritual. From Punt, as from the areas described in the cryptic Nut Book, come divine birds,¹³¹ covered with the divinizing incense.¹³² Min is also associated with Punt and the far southeast, the area of the rising sun;¹³³ because of Min's solar associations, and his position as a

¹³⁰ See Chapter 2, p. 24 n. 44.

¹³¹ A. Egberts, "The Chronology of *The Report of Wenamun*," *JEA* 77 (1991): 62-7; a demotic reflection of the birds from the *qbhw*-waters in the Nut Book appear in W. Spiegelberg, "Der demotische Papyrus Heidelberg 736," *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 31, A. x + 7 (the statement that *qbh(?) pzy=w dml* strongly recalls the terminology of the earlier cosmographic texts). It is also possible that the stories of the birds in W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris* (Leipzig, 1914), pls. 9 and 9a (I thank Richard Jasnow for bringing this text to my attention), may be related to earlier cosmographic texts (cf. the reference to the Papyrus swamp [l. 5], and the statement concerning the other birds that "Egypt is their area" [l. 13: *Km.t(?) pzy=w tš*], which reads like passages from the cryptographic cosmography in the Book of the Day and the Night.

¹³² Poem no. 9 of Group B of the P. Harris 500 love poems (M.V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison, 1985), pp. 16-9; the phoenix came from the spice lands of the southeast (R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix according to Classical and Early Christian Traditions* [Leiden, 1972], pp. 305-34), and was at times thought to eat of aromatics (*ibid.* pp. 335-6).

¹³³ See H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende* (Vienna, 1917), p. 100, for *iwnty.w* Nubians performing for Min, a reference to the solar aspect of Min (Min is attested as the eastern support of heaven, and as the morning sun itself; see J. Spiegel, "Re und Osiris," in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel* (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 129-81; W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (Berlin, 1966), pp. 46-7, p. 71 and n. 16). The pole-climbing Nubians wear ostrich feathers, symbols of the goddess of the eye of the sun (compare a portion of the Mut Ritual—P. Berlin 3014 + 3053 XVI 6-XVII 1 = Elkab 33-6 [see U. Verhoeven and Ph. Derchain, *Le voyage de la déesse libyque, ein Text aus der <<Mutritual>> des Pap. Berlin 3653* (Brussels, 1985), §§ L3-M2, pp. 22-3 with nn. *bs*, *bt*, and *bu*, pp. 46-7] ; they are associated with dances for Bastet – J. Quaegebeur and Rammant-Peeters, "le Pyramidion d'un <<danseur en chef>> de Bastet," in Quaegebeur, ed., *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata II Orientalia Antiqua* [Leuven, 1982], pp. 191, 192-3 n. *d*. On the ostrich and its significance in Egypt, see P. Behrens, "Strauß," in *LdÄ*, vol. 6, cols. 72-75. The ostrich itself danced in honor of the sun-like pharaoh (*ibz*—see L. Dautheville, "Danse d'autruche en l'honneur du pharaon," *BIFAO* 20 [1922]: 225-9), so

deity of the far southeast, the land of the sunrise,¹³⁴ certain texts in the Min chapel near the solar altar in the Abydene temple of Ramesses II are written in cryptography.¹³⁵ The god Min and the land of Punt are associated with the liminal area of the far southeast, the area wherein the sun passes from the Netherworld into the sky of day. Cryptography may thus be said to have associations with the sun, as well as with the areas of passing between the upper and lower worlds. As the greatest visible bridge between the two worlds is the disk of the sun, Egyptian cryptography may be said ultimately to have solar implications in all of its uses. The solar associations of cryptography are strongly supported by the fact that the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity--the royal predecessors of the Late Period mythological papyri--are associated with the correct entry of the sun and stellar souls into the Netherworld, and the solar-Osirian unification in the bowels of the eastern horizon.¹³⁶

Coptic cryptography, though often apparently a learned exercise (a plausible explanation for the number of Coptic graffiti written in cryptography),¹³⁷ may also have been deemed appropriate for Christian texts due to the theme of life after death. Like the ancient solar mystery of Osiris and Re becoming one, the prototype of human resurrection, the Christian concepts of the Incarnation and the Resurrection were appropriate to the liminal nature of cryptography.¹³⁸

its feather in the hair of the Libyan dancers would be appropriate for Rat-Tawy as Hathor. The ostrich and its feathers are associated with Min as a deity of *Wtn.t* and the far southeast (for example the stele of *Sbk-iry*, Louvre C30 (K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch in akademischen Unterricht* [Leipzig, 1928], pp. 64-5; for *Wtn.t* as the land of the rising sun see E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 2 [Geneva, 1976], p. 120 n. 190; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1980], p. 103, no. 77. 1092). For the association of Min with the far southeast, the area of the sojourn of the solar eye, and for Min as the morning sun and the eastern horizon, see the discussion of the ithyphallic, Osiride king in Chapter 5, pp. 398ff.. See further the comments in J. C. Darnell, "Hathor Returns to Medamûd," *SAK* 22 (1995): 75-79.

¹³⁴ Compare also the association of the offering of the products of Punt, the morning toilet, and appearance in the eastern horizon—see A. Gutbub, "Un Emprunt aux textes des pyramides dans l'hymne à Hathor, dame de l'ivresse," in *Mélanges Maspero I orient ancien*, 4th fascicle (Cairo, 1961), p. 34.

¹³⁵ See the references in Chapter 2, p. 24 n. 45.

¹³⁶ Solar associations may also be found in the proliferation of amuletic cryptography during the time of Amenhotep III (Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, pp. 173-80; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 146), presaging the coming Atonist heresy of his successor.

¹³⁷ Although religious significance may have influenced the use of cryptography for graffiti at monastic sites (such as the Topos of Apa Tyrannos in the hills behind Armant), the use of cryptography by John and Pamin the sons of Kharis in their graffiti on the Alamat-Tal road behind Ezbet Ababda is less easily explained by religious considerations (publications of these graffiti by this author are forthcoming).

¹³⁸ F. Wisse, "Language Mysticism in the Nag Hammadi Texts and in Early Coptic Monasticism I: Cryptography," *Enchoria* 9 (1979): 101-120.

The enigmatic texts of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity did not conceal a wholly obscure, restricted, and esoteric wisdom. The three known, New Kingdom versions of this treatise emphasize the union of the sun and the corpse of Re at the eastern horizon, the liminal area between day and night, this world and the next. The corpse of the sun is *št3*, “mysterious;”¹³⁹ these texts dealing with the solar corpse and his nightly reanimation are themselves written in cryptography, mirroring the hidden nature of the deity. Like the corpse of the sun the signs which describe him are *št3*, “mysterious;” like him they are difficult to comprehend. As the sun eventually emerged from the outer darkness through the veiling red hue of his Hathoric mother, so these texts were meant ultimately to reveal their content to the persistent reader.

¹³⁹ See above, 289-93, 384-5, n. 54.

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
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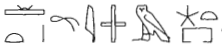
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GLOSSARY

compiled by Colleen Manassa

General Vocabulary, pp. 569-579
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Abbreviations:

adj.	adjective	n.	noun
adv.	adverb	part.	particle
def.	definite	pl.	plural
dep.	dependent	prep.	preposition
dem.	demonstrative	pron.	pronoun
f.	feminine	rel.	relative
ind.	independent	sing.	singular
masc.	masculine	vb.	verb

3

<i>3ḥ</i>	n., “ <i>akh</i> -spirit” pl. 13B, l. 20 (<i>questionable</i> , see <i>b3</i>)
<i>3ḥ.t</i>	n.f., “luminous eye,” pl. 7B, l. 1

i

<i>i</i>	vocative part., “oh” pl. 34A, ll. 27, 29, 37; pl. 35
<i>i</i>	1 st suff. pron. “I, me, mine” pl. 35
<i>ii</i>	vb. “to come” pl. 5C, l. 12
<i>iʿi r3</i>	vb., “to dine” pl. 34 A, ll. 32, 35
<i>iw</i>	vb. “to come” pl. 22C, l. 1; pl. 37 B, l. 1

<i>iw</i>	part. pl. 8, l. 6; pl. 11, l. 17; pl. 35; pl. 37A, ll. 3, 4, 5; pl. 37 B, l. 4
<i>(i)pw</i>	pl. dem. pron., “these” pl. 34A, ll. 37, 38; pl. 35
<i>im</i>	adv. “therein” pl. 8, ll. 8, 12; pl. 23, l. 43; pl. 24, l. 30; pl. 25, l. 40; pl. 30, l. 6 rt., ll. 4,5, lt.
<i>im3w</i>	n. “light/glow” pl. 24, l. 12
<i>imy</i>	adj. from prep. <i>m</i> “who is within” pl. 11, l. 15; pl. 34A, ll. 28, 30

- imy.t* f. adj. from prep. *m* “who is within”
pl. 8, ll. 4-5; pl. 18A, 1st dome, T4, T7; 2nd dome, B5; 3rd dome, B1, T6-T7-B6; pl. 18B, B2-3, T4-B6, T11-12, T19; pl. 28, l. 5, top; l. 5, bottom
- imy.w* pl. adj. “those who are within”
pl. 8, l. 14; pl. 14, l. 1, pl. 22A (text below scarab, l. 3); pl. 23, l. 77(?)
- imy.w* n. “those who are there (i.e. the dead)” (see *imy.w-t3*)
pl. 30, l. 4, rt.
- imy.wt* pl.f.adj. “those who are within”
pl. 5B, l. 7; pl. 5C, l. 6
- Imy.t-d3.t* n., “Amduat”
pl. 4A, l. 2
- imn* vb., “to hide, conceal”
see also name *Imn-št3w*
pl. 21, ll. 10, 26-27; pl. 22C, l. 23; pl. 23, ll. 57-58; pl. 24, l. 28; pl. 30, l. 2 lt.(? see *dw3*)
- in* prep., “by”
pl. 21, l. 37; pl. 39 (label to Ptah)
- in* part.
pl. 30, l. 4, rt.
- ink* 1st ind. pron. “I”
pl. 35
- ir* part., “if, as for”
pl. 28, l. 12 top, l. 13 bottom (partially restored); pl. 30, l. 4 lt.; pl. 35 (twice)
- ir* part., “now” (with *m-ht*)
pl. 23, ll. 49, 52, 55; pl. 24, ll. 13, 25; pl. 25, ll. 38, 43(?); pl. 34A, l. 17
- iri* vb., “to make, do”
pl. 4A, ll. 1, 2; pl. 21, ll. 47, 47-48; pl. 30, l. 5, rt. (twice); pl. 33; pl. 34A, ll. 9, 49; pl. 35 (twice)
- iry.w* n., “those who pertain to”
pl. 21, ll. 18, 32, 38
- irw* n., “visible forms”
pl. 30, l. 4, rt.
- iḥ* part.
pl. 34A, ll. 30, 33, 46
- is* part. “even, indeed”
pl. 33
- it* n., “father”
pl. 4A, l. 2; pl. 35
- itn* n. “sun disk”
pl. 5C, ll. 14-15; pl. 6A, l. 3 (? see *R*); pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 13B, l. 16; pl. 21, ll. 29, 32, 40, 44; pl. 24, ll. 18, 19, 31-32, 33; pl. 30, l. 1, rt.; pl. 34 A, l. 13
- ⌒
- ⌒ n., “track”
pl. 4 A, l. 2
- ⌒ n., “arm”
pl. 11, l. 9; pl. 30, ll. 1, 3 rt.; pl. 37 A, l. 1
- ⌒.t n., “limb”
pl. 30, l. 1, rt.

- ʕ₃ adj. "great"
 pl. 13A, l. 3; pl. 14, l. 5; pl. 21, ll. 8, 12, 22, 25, 37; pl. 23, ll. 36, 47-48, 51, 54, 69; pl. 24, ll. 3, 19, 23, 33, 36; pl. 30, l. 3 lt.; pl. 35 (twice); pl. 37A, l. 2; pl. 37B, l. 1
- ʕpp vb. "to pass by"
 pl. 5C, l. 12 (sp. <ʕ>pp); pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 9A, l. 14; pl. 10 A, l. 1; pl. 12, l. 17; pl. 13B, l. 19; pl. 21, ll. 8, 23, 27, 32, 36, 39, 44; pl. 22C, ll. 6, 9, 19; pl. 23, ll. 26, 35, 56, 67; pl. 24, ll. 10, 13, 19, 23, 26, 32, 35; pl. 25, l. 39; pl. 33 (twice); pl. 34A, l. 18
- ʕfd.t n.f. "chest"
 pl. 8, l. 22
- ʕn vb., "to turn"
 pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 23, l. 45
- ʕnh vb. "to live"
 pl. 4C; pl. 40
- ʕr vb. "to ascend"
 pl. 10A, l. 1; pl. 21, ll. 28(?), 40 (? see ʕp)
- ʕhʕ vb. "to stand"
 pl. 34A, l. 21
- ʕhʕ n. "standstill"
 pl. 10, l. 18; pl. 11, l. 27; pl. 33
- ʕšz adj., "numerous"
 pl. 34A, l. 9
- ʕq vb. "to enter"
 pl. 5A, ll. 1 (twice), 2; pl. 5C, l. 16; pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 8, l. 9; pl. 9A, ll. 3-4; pl. 10A (label with each sun disk); pl. 10B, l. 4; pl. 11, ll. 3, 27; pl. 13B, l. 5; pl. 14, horizontal text between two sun disks (see nʕy); pl. 21, ll. 33, 46, 49; pl. 22A (? text within stela; text to the right of stela; text below left edge of disk; text below scarab, ln. 2); pl. 22C, l. 4; pl. 24, ll. 6-7; pl. 25, l. 42; pl. 30, l. 2 rt.
- w**
- wi 1st dep. pron. "me"
 pl. 35 (written (w)i)
- wiʒ n. "bark"
 pl. 10B, ll. 19-22; pl. 11, ll. 19-22
- wʕ n., "one"
 pl. 6B, l. 2
- wʕ vb. "to be alone, singular"
 pl. 35
- wpw.ty n. "messenger"
 pl. 35
- wnw.t n. "hour"
 pl. 13B, l. 4; pl. 21, ll. 3, 27, 30, 40, 41; pl. 23, l. 70 (? see sbʒ.wt); pl. 24, ll. 10, 20, 28; pl. 25, l. 41
- wnwn vb. "to circle"
 pl. 6A, ll. 2, 3
- wnn vb. "to exist"
 pl. 4C, pl. 5B, l. 9; pl. 5C, l. 7; pl. 6B, l. 1; pl. 14, ll. 2-3; pl. 21, l. 20; pl. 22A (text to right of scarab, ln. 1); pl. 23, ll. 28, 72; pl. 28, l. 1, top; pl. 30, l. 1, rt.; pl. 33; pl. 34A, l. 1; pl. 35; pl. 37 A, l. 3
- wsr n. "throat"
 pl. 4C

wḏ vb., "to command"
pl. 30, l. 3, rt.
wḏz.t n.f. "Udjat-eye"
pl. 35

b

bz n. "ba-spirit"
pl. 5C, l. 12; pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 8, l. 7; pl. 9, ll. 9, 18; pl. 10A, l. 1; pl. 10B, ll. 6, 7-8; pl. 11, ll. 7, 18, 22-23; pl. 12, l. 14; pl. 13B, ll. 8, 17, 20 (? see *zh*); pl. 21, l. 48; pl. 22C, ll. 5-6, 19, 20; pl. 24, l. 16
bz n. "ram-form"
pl. 37B, l. 3
bzy n. "burial pit"
pl. 23, l. 74; pl. 30, l. 5, rt.
bqs.w n. "back"
pl. 33

p

p.t n.f. "heaven"
pl. 22A (text to the right of the scarab, ln. 2); pl. 23, l. 77(?); pl. 34A, ll. 39, 48
pzy masc. sing. dem. pron.
pl. 34A, l. 37
pw copula
pl. 6A, l. 3
pw masc. sing. dem. pron.
pl. 34A, l. 26; pl. 35
pwy copula
pl. 35
pn masc. sing. dem. pron., "this"
pl. 4B; pl. 5B, l. 4; pl. 5C, l. 4; pl. 7A, l. 1, *passim*

pri vb. "to go forth"
pl. 5A, ll. 1, 2; pl. 11, l. 27; pl. 18A, 1st dome, T3-B1; 3rd dome, T3-B2; pl. 18B, B1-B2, T17-18; pl. 22A (text to the left of the base of the stela; text below left edge of disk); pl. 23, l. 71; pl. 24, ll. 19, 32-33; pl. 28, ll. 4-5, 12, top; ll. 5, 14 (part. restored) bottom; pl. 30, ll. 4, 5-6 rt.
phr vb., "to go around"
pl. 18B, B4; pl. 22A (text to the right of the stela); pl. 28, ll. 8, 10, top; ll. 9, 11, bottom; pl. 30, l. 6, rt.
psd vb. "to shine"
pl. 35

f

f 3rd suffix pron. "he, his"
pl. 5C, l. 15 (twice), *passim*
fdw "four"
pl. 34A, l. 37

m

m prep., "in" (see also *imy*)
pl. 4B, pl. 5B, ll. 3, 5, 12; pl. 5C, ll. 2, 4, 9, *passim*
m-^c prep. "from"
pl. 35
mm prep., "among"
pl. 6B, l. 1
m-hzw prep., "around"
pl. 4B

m-hnt prep., “in the presence of, within”
pl. 14, l. 7; pl. 21, l. 2; pl. 22A (text to right of stela); pl. 24, l. 2; pl. 30, l. 4, rt.

m-ht prep., “after” (see also *htw*)
pl. 8, ll. 16-17; pl. 10B, ll. 11-12 (*m-htw*); pl. 12, l. 17; pl. 13B, l. 19 (sp. <*h*>*tw*); pl. 18A, first dome, B2-T5; second dome, B6; third dome, B2-3; pl. 18B, B3-4, T13, T20-B8; pl. 21, l. 49; pl. 23, ll. 40, 45-46, 49, 52, 56; pl. 24, ll. 13, 23, 26, 35; pl. 25, l. 38; pl. 30, l. 2 rt; pl. 33; pl. 34A, l. 17

m-s3 prep., “behind”
pl. 5C, ll. 13-14

m33 vb., “to see”
pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 10B, l. 6; pl. 11, l. 6; pl. 13A, l. 3; pl. 13B, l. 13; pl. 14, l. 8

m3^c vb., “to travel rightly”
pl. 30, l. 6, rt.

m3^c-hrw adj., “justified”
pl. 14, l. 3; pl. 34A, l. 27; pl. 35

m3^cw n. “fair wind”
pl. 34A, l. 44

m3w.t n., “light”
pl. 7B, l. 1

mi prep. “like, as”
pl. 4C, pl. 13, l. 10

min vb. “come,”
pl. 35

mw n., “water”
pl. 37B, l. 3

nn vb., “to remain”
pl. 13B, l. 20; pl. 21, l. 4-5; pl. 23, l. 43; pl. 30, l. 1, rt.

mnw n., “monument”
pl. 4A, l. 2

mri vb., “to love”
pl. 4A, l. 1 (twice)

msi vb., “to give birth”
pl. 22A (text within stela); 37B, l. 4

msw.t n., “birth”
pl. 4A, l. 2; pl. 34A, ll. 15 16; pl. 37A, ll. 2, 5

mtn vb., “to be endowed”
pl. 30, l. 3 lt.; pl. 34A, l. 10

mdw vb., “to speak”
pl. 21, ll. 31, 41

mdw n., “words”
pl. 39 (label to Ptah; in formula *dd mdw*)

n

n3 pl. dem. pron., “these”
pl. 37B, l. 2

ni part. of negation
pl. 14, l. 3, bottom

nls vb., “to call out”
pl. 21, l. 9; pl. 24, l. 9

nik vb., “to punish”
pl. 30, l. 4 lt. (?)

n^ci vb. “to travel”
pl. 10B, ll. 19-22; pl. 11, ll. 28-33; pl. 13B (annotation in front of each goddess); pl. 14 (horizontal text between two sun disks [see also ‘*q*’]); pl. 22A (?; text within stela); pl. 33

nw n. “time”
pl. 23, l. 82

nwd vb., “to slither”
pl. 30, l. 6, rt.

<i>nb</i>	adj. "each, every" pl. 4C	<i>nd</i>	vb. "to protect" pl. 37A, l. 5 (written <i>nd.ty</i> ; in phrase <i>nd-hr</i>); pl. 37B, l. 1
<i>nm.t</i>	n.f. "pit, mound, slaughtering place" pl. 18A, 2 nd dome, B2-T3- B3, B3(?); pl. 18B, T6 (twice); pl. 33	r	
<i>nmi</i>	vb. "to traverse" pl. 34A, l. 44	<i>r</i>	prep. "to, towards, against" pl. 6B, l. 2, <i>passim</i> construct state <i>ir</i> , pl. 30, l. 3, rt.; pl. 35 as <i>rr</i> , pl. 34A, l. 6 (discussion Ch. 5, pp. 457-8)
<i>nn</i>	pl. def. art., "these" pl. 4B; pl. 5B, l. 1; pl. 5C, l. 1; pl. 7A, l. 1, <i>passim</i>	<i>r3</i>	n. "mouth" pl. 18A, 1 st dome, T4-B2; 2 nd dome, T5; 3 rd dome, B1; pl. 18B, B3, T12, T20, T21; pl. 28, l. 5, top; l. 6, bottom
<i>nn</i>	part. of negation pl. 6B, l. 1	<i>r3</i>	n., "spell" pl. 28, l. 12-13, top
<i>nhp</i>	vb. "to leap up" pl. 33	<i>rc</i>	n. "day" pl. 4C
<i>nhm</i>	vb. "to save" pl. 35	<i>rh</i>	vb., "to know" pl. 28, l. 10, top; l. 12, bottom; pl. 37B, l. 4
<i>nsw.t</i>	n., "king" pl. 6B, l. 2; pl. 14, l. 1; pl. 22A (text to right of scarab, l. 1); pl. 37 B, l. 1	<i>rd</i>	n., "foot" pl. 37A, l. 1
<i>nsr.t</i>	n.f. "flame" pl. 30, l. 4 lt.	<i>rdi</i>	vb., "to make, cause, place" pl. 33 (twice); pl. 34A, ll. 31, 43, 46; pl. 37A, l. 5; pl. 37 B, l. 2
<i>nty</i>	sing. rel. pron. "who" pl. 34A, l. 39	h	
<i>ntyw</i>	pl. rel. pron. "who" pl. 22C, l. 18	<i>hzi</i>	vb., "to descend" pl. 21, ll. 31 (spelled <i>h < z ></i>), 43
<i>ntf</i>	3 rd sing. ind. pron., "he" pl. 37B, ll. 3, 4	<i>hwt</i>	vb., "to call out" pl. 24, l. 15-16
<i>ntsn</i>	3 rd pl. ind. pron. "they" pl. 34 A, ll. 39, 42 (spelled <i>mntsn</i>)	<i>hrw</i>	n., "day" pl. 22A (text within stela)
<i>ntr</i>	n., "god" pl. 4A, l. 2, pl. 5B, ll. 1-2; pl. 5C, ll. 1-2, <i>passim</i>		
<i>ntr.t</i>	n.f., "goddess" pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 13B, ll. 1-2; pl. 22C, ll. 12-14; pl. 24, ll. 1, 4-5, 9, 17, 30-31; pl. 25, ll. 45-47; pl. 34A, ll. 20-21		

h

- h3* prep. "around, behind"
pl. 4 C (see also *m-h3w*)
- h3* vb. "to uncover"
pl. 22A (text below scarab, l. 4)
- h3y.t* n. "light"
pl. 8, l. 11
- h3p* vb. "to cover"
pl. 24, l. 26; pl. 25, l. 39; pl. 34A, ll. 22-23; pl. 37B, l. 3
- h^c.w(t)* n., "limbs"
pl. 33; pl. 37B, l. 3
- hbs* vb. "to clothe"
pl. 12, l. 8; pl. 14, l. 2, bottom xxx
- hpp* vb. "to hold back"
pl. 30, l. 5, rt.
- hf3* n. "snake"
pl. 30, l. 1, rt.
- hn^c* prep. "together with"
pl. 14, l. 4; pl. 34 A, ll. 36, 49; pl. 37A, l. 5 (in compound *r-hn^c*)
- hnq.t* n., "beer"
pl. 34A, ll. 31, 33
- hr* n. "face"
pl. 23, l. 83; pl. 24, l. 30
- hr* prep. "upon, over"
pl. 21, l. 6, 8, 26; pl. 22C, ll. 9, 23, 26, 37, 39, 57, 69, 83; pl. 24, ll. 14, 16, 24; pl. 25, l. 37; pl. 33 (thrice); pl. 34A, l. 20
- hr-nty* prep., "because"
pl. 35 (thrice); pl. 37B, l. 4
- hr.t* n., "heaven"
pl. 34A, ll. 29, 45
- hry* adj. "upper"
pl. 13B, l. 19; pl. 34A, l. 38

- hh* vb. "to seek"
pl. 13A, l. 2
- hk3w* n. "magic"
pl. 35 (twice)
- hkn* vb. "to praise"
pl. 10B, l. 5; pl. 11, l. 5; pl. 22C, ll. 17; pl. 23, l. 30
- hty.t* n., "throat"
pl. 28, l. 4, top; l. 4, bottom;
- htp* vb. "to rest, become satisfied"
pl. 24, ll. 20, 34; pl. 25, l. 40; pl. 28, l. 10, top (partly restored); l. 11, bottom; pl. 30, l. 6, rt.; pl. 34A, l. 12
- h^tp* n. "peace"
pl. 34 A, l. 46
- htm* vb. "to destroy"
pl. 28, l. 7, top; l. 8, bottom
- hd* vb. "to brighten, shine"
pl. 18A, 1st dome, B4-T6; 2nd dome, B4; 3rd dome, T4-5; pl. 18B, T4, T8-9, B11-12; pl. 21, l. 22; pl. 24, l. 30; pl. 30, l. 4, rt.; pl. 37A, l. 5
- hd.wt* n. "light"
pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 9A, l. 3; pl. 10B, ll. 3-4; pl. 11, ll. 2-3; pl. 12, l. 6; pl. 13B, l. 14; pl. 14, l. 8; pl. 22C, ll. 3-4; pl. 24, l. 3; pl. 24, ll. 8, 16, 18, 21-22, 31, 34-35

h

- hy* n. "child"
pl. 35
- h^c* vb. "to appear"
see *h^c-m-W3s.t*

<i>hpr</i>	vb. "to become, occur, come forth" pl. 23, l. 79; pl. 30, l. 2, rt., l. 1, lt. ; pl. 34A, l. 15; pl. 35; pl. 37A, l. 2
<i>hprw</i>	n., "manifestation" pl. 21, ll. 32, 44; pl. 23, l. 80; pl. 28, l. 9, top; l. 9, bottom; pl. 30, l. 2, rt., l. 1, lt.; pl. 34A, ll. 8, 11
<i>hfty</i>	n. "enemy" pl. 33
<i>hnd</i>	n. "shank" pl. 34A, ll. 32-33, 35-36
<i>hnt</i>	see <i>m-hnt</i>
<i>hnt.y</i>	nom. nisbe adj. "one who is foremost" pl. 37A, l. 4
<i>hr</i>	part. "then" pl. 21, l. 10
<i>hr</i>	prep. "before" pl. 21, l. 16 (spelled <i>hr</i>); pl. 24, l. 16; pl. 28, l. 5 top; l. 6, bottom; pl. 30, l. 2, rt.; pl. 37B, l. 1
<i>hrw</i>	n. "voice" pl. 8, l. 15 (spelled <i>hrw</i>); pl. 24, l. 11
<i>ht</i>	prep. "after, through" pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 9A, l. 17; pl. 21, ll. 8, 29-30, 40; pl. 22C, ll. 7, 21; pl. 30, l. 6
<i>hti</i>	vb., "to retreat" pl. 24, l. 28; pl. 25, l. 41
<i>htw</i>	n. "following" pl. 21, ll. 31, 42-43

h

<i>h3.t</i>	n.f. "corpse" pl. 5B, l. 10; pl. 5C, l. 8; pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 8, l. 8; pl. 9A, ll. 4-5; pl. 10A, l. 1; pl. 10B, ll. 4-5; pl. 11, l. 4; pl. 12, ll. 8-10; pl. 13B, ll. 7-8; pl. 18A, 1 st dome, T6-B5; 3 rd dome, T5-B5; pl. 21, ll. 4, 9, 27, 34, 46; pl. 22C, l. 5; pl. 23, ll. 59, 73 (twice), 75, 78; pl. 24, ll. 3-4, 29; pl. 25, l. 41; pl. 30, l. 5, lt.
<i>h3b.w</i>	n. "evil doers (?)" pl. 37B, l. 2
<i>hnw</i>	n., "sanctum" pl. 37B, l. 3
<i>hr</i>	prep., "under" pl. 11, l. 10
<i>hry.w</i>	n. "those who bear" pl. 33

s

<i>s.t</i>	n.f., "place" pl. 13B, l. 20; pl. 21, l. 37; pl. 25, l. 40
<i>s.t</i>	3 rd pl. dep. pron., "them, it" pl. 24, ll. 27, 28; pl. 34A, l. 49
<i>s3</i>	n. "protection" pl. 14, l. 10
<i>s3w</i>	vb. "to guard" pl. 10A, l. 1; pl. 21, l. 3; pl. 23, l. 64-65; pl. 25, l. 43; pl. 28, l. 3, top; l. 3, bottom
<i>s3wty</i>	n. "protection" pl. 37A, l. 4
<i>s3w</i>	n. "beam" pl. 34A, l. 40

<i>s3m</i>	vb. "to burn up" pl. 33	<i>shnw</i>	n. "protection" pl. 30, l. 5, rt.
<i>sw</i>	3 rd sing. dep. pron., "him" pl. 10B, ll. 16-17; pl. 11, l. 8; pl. 13B, l. 8; pl. 21, l. 50; pl. 22 C, l. 8	<i>shr</i>	n., "fashion" pl. 4B; pl. 5B, ll. 3-4; pl. 5C, l. 3; pl. 7A, l. 1, <i>passim</i>
<i>sb3</i>	n., "star" pl. 22A (text to the left and right of the base of the stela); pl. 23, l. 71 p. 283 n. 30	<i>sš</i>	vb. "to pass by" pl. 11, l. 25
<i>sf</i>	n. "yesterday" pl. 37 B, l. 4	<i>sšm</i>	vb. "to conduct" pl. 10B, ll. 13-14; pl. 21, l. 50; pl. 22 C, l. 7
<i>sm3</i>	vb. "to slaughter" pl. 33	<i>sšm</i>	n. "image" pl. 11, ll. 13-14; pl. 37B, l. 3
<i>smn</i>	vb. "to make firm" pl. 34 A, l. 40	<i>sšt3</i>	see <i>št3</i>
<i>sn</i>	3 rd pl. suffix pron., "they" pl. 5B, ll. 6, 11-12; pl. 5C, ll. 9, 13, 17, <i>passim</i>	<i>sqd</i>	vb. "to sail" pl. 33
<i>sn</i>	3 rd pl. dep. pron., "them" (in expression <i>sn r=sn</i>), pl. 4B; pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 10B, l. 10; pl. 12, ll. 14-15; pl. 13A, l. 3; pl. 21, ll. 2, 47; pl. 23, ll. 30, 44, <i>passim</i>	<i>stw.t</i>	n.f. "rays" pl. 5C, l. 15
<i>sn.t</i>	n.f. "sister" pl. 30, l. 3, rt.	<i>st3</i>	vb. "to pull" pl. 11, l. 7
<i>snky.t</i>	n.f., "darkness" pl. 22C, l. 22	<i>sti</i>	vb. "to shine, shoot" pl. 21, ll. 15, 21, 26; pl. 22, ll. 9-10; pl. 23, ln. 39; pl. 24, l. 3; pl. 30, l. 2, rt., l. 4 lt.
<i>snt</i>	n., "limbs, flesh" pl. 21, l. 10	<i>sqd.t</i>	n.f. "flame" pl. 18A, first dome, B1; third dome, B1; pl. 18B, B2, T18; pl. 33
<i>srq</i>	vb., "to breathe" pl. 8, ll. 15-16; pl. 24, l. 11-12; pl. 28, ll. 9, 13, top; l. 10, bottom; pl. 30, l. 5 lt.	<i>sdm</i>	vb. "to hear" pl. 24, l. 11; pl. 25, l. 44
<i>shd</i>	vb. "to illumine" pl. 8, l. 13	š	
<i>shn.t</i>	n. "support" pl. 34A, l. 42		
		<i>šc</i>	n. "sand" pl. 33
		<i>šw</i>	n. "light" pl. 21, l. 16 (sp. šy); pl. 22C, ll. 10 (spelled šy); pl. 23, ll. 27, 39
		<i>šw.t</i>	n.f. "shade" pl. 28, ll. 6-7, top; l. 7, bottom

šm vb. "to go"
pl. 11, l. 26
šsp vb. "to receive"
pl. 7B, l. 1 (sp. *šp*)
šsp vb. "to shine"
pl. 4B (sp. *šp*, see Ch. 3, p. 76); pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 28, l. 11, top, l. 13 bottom
špsy adj., "august"
pl. 37B, l. 3
šr.t n.f. "daughter, little one"
pl. 30, l. 2 lt. (? see *štš*)
šsr n. "arrow"
pl. 33 (twice)
štš n., "mystery"
pl. 11, l. 10; pl. 13A, ll. 2-3
štš adj., "secret"
pl. 11, l. 10; pl. 23, ll. 66-67; pl. 24, ll. 5-6; pl. 25, l. 42 (*sštš*); pl. 30, l. 2 lt. (? see *šrw*)

q

qzi vb., "to be high"
pl. 34A, ll. 6-7
qrr.t n.f., "cavern"
pl. 5B, ll. 5-6; pl. 5C, ll. 5, 16; pl. 8, ll. 4, 10; pl. 30, ll. 2, 4 rt.; pl. 34A, l. 14; pl. 37A, l. 2

k

k 2nd sing. suff. pron. "you"
6B, ll. 1, 2

kkw n. "darkness"
pl. 5B, l. 13; pl. 21, ll. 21, 35, 46-47; pl. 22A (text to right of scarab, l. 3); pl. 24, ll. 10-11, 20, 27, 28, 33; pl. 25, l. 40
kk vb., "to become dark"
pl. 21, l. 9
kkw-smzw n. "uniform darkness"
pl. 5C, ll. 10-11; pl. 21, ll. 26, 38; pl. 34A, ll. 23-24; pl. 37 A, l. 4

g

gs n. "side"
pl. 34A, l. 38
gs-dp.t n. "protection"
pl. 35

t

t n., "bread"
pl. 34A, ll. 31, 33
tš fem. sing. def. art. "the"
pl. 22A (text to the right of the scarab, ll. 2, 3); pl. 34A, l. 39
spelled *t* – Ch. 3, p. 277, text note *a*
tš n. "earth, land"
pl. 10B, ll. 19-22; pl. 11, ll. 26, 28-33; pl. 24, l. 14; pl. 34 A, ll. 30, 40
tw fem. sing. dem. pron. "this"
pl. 33
tp n., "head"
pl. 4B (twice); pl. 9B, l. 2; pl. 21, l. 5; pl. 23, ll. 41-42

tn fem. sing. dem. pron., "this"
pl. 30, l. 2, rt., l. 4, lt.; pl.
34A, l. 14

t

tf part.

pl. 10B, l. 7

tn 2nd pl. suff. pron. "you"

pl. 34A, ll. 31, 46; pl. 35

tni vb., "to be distinguished"

pl. 6B, l. 1

d

dw3 vb., "to adore"

pl. 6A, l. 1; pl. 14 (horiz.
text); pl. 21, l. 18; pl. 23, ll.
32-33; pl. 30, l. 2 (? see
imn); pl. 33

dw3y.t n.f. "morning"

pl. 35

dw3w n. "tomorrow"

pl. 37 B, l. 4

dpy n. "boat"

pl. 33

dr vb. "to drive away"

pl. 22A (text to right of
scarab, l. 3)

d

d.t adv. "eternally"

pl. 13A, l. 10

d3i vb. "to travel"

pl. 34A, l. 43

dwi vb. 3-lit. "to call out"

pl. 8, ll. 7, 17; pl. 9A, ll. 7-8;
pl. 10A, l. 1; pl. 10B, l. 7; pl.
11, l. 19; pl. 12, l. 12; pl.

13B, l. 10; pl. 18A, 1st
dome, T5-B3; 2nd dome, T6-
B7; 3rd dome, B3-4; pl. 18B,
B5, B7, B8-9-10; pl. 21, ll.
4, 12-13; pl. 23, ll. 46, 49-
50, 52-53; pl. 24, ll. 5, 24,
25; pl. 25, ll. 37, 38; pl. 30,
ll. 4, 5 rt., l. 3 lt.; pl. 34A, l.
5; pl. 37A, l. 3 (twice)
pp. 101-102

db3.t n.f. "sarcophagus"

pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 8, l. 21

dd vb., "to say"

pl. 34 A, l. 27; pl. 35; pl. 39
(label to Ptah; in formula *dd*
mdw)

EPITHETS

nh wd3 snb

"life, prosperity, health"

pl. 37B, ll. 1, 2

bik ntry

"divine falcon," pl. 40

mry Imn

"beloved of Amun," pl. 37B,
l. 2

msw hmw.t

"who created crafts," pl. 39
(label to Ptah)

nb-m3.t

"lord of Maat," pl. 34A, ll.
25, 47; pl. 39 (label to Ptah)

nb-h.t

"lord of appearing in glory,"
pl. 4 A, l. 1; pl. 36 (label to
Osiride figure); pl. 39 (label
to king)

nb-t3.wy

"lord of the Two Lands," pl. 4A, l. 1; pl. 13A, l. 10; pl. 14, l. 1; pl. 22A (text to right of scarab, l. 1; text below scarab, l. 1); pl. 34A, ll. 25, 47; pl. 35; pl. 36 (label to Osiride figure); pl. 39 (label to king)

nfr-hr "Perfect of face"

pl. 39 (label to Ptah)

nswt "king"

pl. 14, l. 1

nswt bity

"King of Upper and Lower Egypt," pl. 13A, l. 10; pl. 22A (text below scarab, l. 1)

nswt t3.wy

"King of the Two Lands," pl. 39 (label to Ptah)

ntr-nfr "good god"

pl. 4A, l. 1; pl. 40

hr(y) s.t-wr.t m htp

"who presides over the great place at rest," pl. 39 (label to Ptah)

h^c (m) w3s.t

"arisen in Thebes," pl. 37A, l. 5; pl. 40

hnty d3.t

"foremost of the Dat," pl. 37A, l. 4

s3 Wsir "son of Osiris," pl. 40*s3 R^c* "son of Re," pl. 34A, l. 34; pl. 37 B, l. 2*di 'nh* "given life," pl. 13A, l. 10

DIVINITIES

3m-t3w "Burning of breath"

pl. 18A, righthmost name below middle domes

3mw-hr "Burning of face"

pl. 18B, T7-T8

3hty "Horizon Dweller"

pl. 30, l. 2, rt.

I3hy "Shining one"

pl. 7B, l. 5; pl. 23C, l. 1 (epithet of Re?)

I^cry "Ascending/approaching one"

pl. 5B, l. 21

I^cr.t "Uraeus"

pl. 9A, l. 19; pl. 12, l. 18

I^crw.ty "He of the uraeus"

pl. 5B, l. 16

Iwty rh "Unknown"

pl. 9B, ll. 7, 8

I^cmy.w-i3.wt=sn

"Those who are on their mounds," pl. 33

I^cmy.w-pt

"Those who are in the sky," pl. 37B, l. 4

I^cmy.w-t3

"Those who are in the earth," pl. 30, l. 6 rt.; pl. 37B, l. 4

I^cmy-t3 "I^cmy-t3-serpent"

pl. 34B, no. 10

I^cmy.t-d3.t "He who is in the Dat"

pl. 5B, l. 15 (? , see *imn.ty*)

I^cmn.t "West"

pl. 22A

- Imn.ty* "He of the West"
pl. 5B, l. 15 (*quest.*, see *imn.ty*); pl. 22 B, 3rd adoring deity
- Imn.ty* "One of the hidden chamber (?)," pl. 12, l. 19
- Imn-ꜥ* "Hidden of arm"
pl. 12, l. 23
- Imn-štꜣw*
"Hidden of mysteries"
pl. 33
- Inp(w)* "Anubis"
pl. 5C, l. 25
- Irtt* "Milk(?)"
pl. 34 B, no. 15
- Ith.yt* "She of the morning glow"
pl. 13B, l. 15
- Is.t* "Isis"
pl. 4B, goddess to the right;
pl. 22A
- Iss* "The bound one (?)"
pl. 9A, l. 25 (?)
- Ikꜣ* "Ika"
pl. 5C, l. 21 (?)
- Itm* "Atum"
pl. 10A, l. 1 (see *Rꜥ-itm*); pl. 35
- Itny* "He of the disk"
pl. 22 B, 1st adoring deity
- Itn.yt* "She of the disk"
pl. 24, l. 25 (less likely *Rꜥy.t*)
- ꜥ.wy htmy*
"the destructive arms"
pl. 14, label to arms in lower register (see *rmn.wty*)
- ꜥꜣ* "Great one"
pl. 23, l. 34
- ꜥꜣpp* "Apep"
pl. 33; pl. 34B, no. 16
- ꜥpr-ḥr* "He provided with a face"
pl. 5B, l. 18
- ꜥn-ḥr* "Turned of face"
pl. 5B, l. 17
- ꜥry* "Horned animal"
pl. 17A, 17B, label to horned antelope with arms
- ꜥḥ(y)* "He of the (morning) glow"
pl. 21, l. 37, bottom
- Wnw.ty* "He of the hour"
pl. 9A, ll. 20, 21 (*quest.*, see also *Dwꜣ.ty*)
- Wsir* "Osiris"
pl. 6B, l. 2; pl. 14, l. 1 (title for the dead king); pl. 34A, ll. 25, 47 (title for dead king); pl. 35 (thrice; once title for dead king); pl. 37A, l. 3 (twice); pl. 37B, l. 1 (title for the dead king)
- Wsr.t Hr* "throat of Horus"
pl. 9B, l. 5
- Wttw* "Begotten one"
pl. 9B, l. 6; pl. 10A, l. 5
- (W)dy* "Giver (of light?)"
pl. 18B, names below rightmost and leftmost domes
- Bꜣ* "Ba"
pl. 22C, l. 9
- Bꜣ-ḥtm* "Destroying Ba"
pl. 5C, l. 19
- Bꜣ-Tꜣ-tnn*
"Ba of Tatenen"
pl. 5C, l. 22
- Bꜣy.tyw* "Those of the burial pits"
pl. 18B, B4-5
- Bꜣbꜣi* "Babai"
pl. 37B, l. 2

B3b3i-Mnw

"Babai-Min"

pl. 35

Psy.t "She of cooking"

pl. 13A, l. 9

psd.t "Ennead"pl. 4A, ln. 1 (*psd.t* ʕ3.t *imy* *d3.t*); pl. 6B, l. 1; pl. 14, l. 4 (*psd.t* ʕ3.t)*Pthy* "One who lays low (the enemy)," pl. 31, middle register, label to deities on mounds*Pth* "Ptah"

pl. 34A, ll. 31, 36; pl. 39 (label to Ptah)

Pd-ʕ "Pedjaha"

pl. 35

M3ʕ.ty "Proper one"

pl. 21, l. 14, bottom

M3w-ʕ "Shining of arm"

pl. 7B, l. 4; pl. 12, l. 22 (possibly read "Whose arm sees")

M3wt.t "She relating to the *m3wt*-gleam," pl. 24, l. 10 bottom*Miwy* "Cat"

pl. 9B, l. 9

Miw.ty "Cat-shaped one"

pl. 5B, l. 20; pl. 13A, label to lion

Mw.yt "She relating to water"

pl. 7A, l. 7

Mh.t-wr.t

"Mehet-Weret"

pl. 35 (twice)

Mhn "Mehen"

pl. 6A, label to upper uroboros; pl. 10A, ll. 1, 8-13

Mhn.y "He of Mehen"

pl. 10A, l. 2

Ms-n-h3.wt

"(Re)born of corpse"

pl. 10A, l. 3

Ms-n-ʕ.wt

"(Re)born of members"

pl. 10A, l. 4

Nʕw "Serpent"

pl. 34B, no. 8

Nb.t-ʕy.t "Nephthys"

pl. 4B, goddess to the left; pl. 22A

Nb-d3.t "Lord of the Netherworld"pl. 32, upside-down figures within disks
pp. 280-7, 435ff.*Nmtw.ty* "one related to going about"

pl. 10A, l. 6

Nn.ty "He of the nethersky" (or:

"He of the oval")

pl. 21, l. 20, bottom

Nhp "Nehep-snake"

pl. 37A, l. 4

Nh3-ʕr "Nehaher-serpent"

pl. 33; pl. 34B, no. 12

Nhp-h3.t "Leaping of corpse"

pl. 10A, l. 7

Ns.yt "She relating to fire"

pl. 7A, l. 6

Ng3.w "Longhorns"

pl. 14, label to bulls in lower register

Nty-dwi "One who is evil"

pl. 30, l. 3 rt., l. 2 lt.

- R^c* “Re”
pl. 4A, l. 2; pl. 4B; pl. 4C;
pl. 5C, l. 12; pl. 6A, l. 3 (see
itn) pl. 8, ll. 7, 13; pl. 9A, l.
3; pl. 10B, l. 4; pl. 11, ll. 3,
19; pl. 12, l. 7; pl. 13A, l.
10; pl. 13B, l. 8; pl. 18A, 1st
dome, B3, 2nd dome, B7; pl.
18B, T3, B7, B10, *passim*
- R^cy.t* “Female sun disk”
pl. 24, l. 25 (more likely
itny.t)
Ch. 4, p. 362 (as arms of Re)
- R^c-Hr-ḥ.ty* “Re-Horakhty,” pl. 4A, l. 2
- Rkḥy(t)* “She of burning”
pl. 13B, l. 12
- Hry.t* “The pleased one”
pl. 34B, no. 6
- Hqsy* “The incomplete one”
pl. 9A, l. 24
- Hzy* “Luminous one”
pl. 22B, 7th adoring being
- Hzy-^c* “Shining of arm”
pl. 7B, l. 7
- Hzy.t* “Naked one”
pl. 34B, no. 4
- Hzt.t* “She relating to the *hzt*-
light,” pl. 24, l. 17
- Hbsy* “Clothed one”
pl. 9A, l. 22; pl. 22A, label
to ram head emerging from
sun disk
- Hbsy-^c* “Clothed with respect to
arm,” pl. 8, l. 20
- Hbs-^c* “Covered of arm”
pl. 12, l. 24
- Hnw.tyt* “She relating to the
sarcophagus(?),” pl. 34B,
no. 11
- Hr* “Horus”
pl. 37A, l. 5
- Hr-^cnh-ḥpr(w)* “Horus Living of
Manifestations,” pl. 5C, l. 20
- Hs3.ty* “He of the wild (face)”
pl. 5B, l. 19
- Hr Hr* “Face of Horus”
pl. 9B, l. 4
- Hry* “Far one”
pl. 17A, label to lower right
bull
- Hry.t* “The upper region”
pl. 7A, l. 2
- Hrr.t* “Hereret snake”
pl. 10A, l. 1
- Htmyt* “Place of destruction”
pl. 13B, l. 18
- Htm.ytyw* “the ones belonging to the
place of destruction,” pl.
18B, l. 9; pl. 24, ll. 9-10
- Htmy-^c* “Destroyer with respect to
arm,” pl. 8, l. 18
- Hddy* “One who lights up”
pl. 22B, 6th adoring being
- H3m-^c/H3b-^c* “Bent of arm” pl. 12, l. 20
- Hws-^c* “Stirring of arm”
pl. 12, l. 21
- Hpri* “Khepri”
pl. 5C, l. 18; pl. 22 A, text
within stela; pl. 30, l. 1, lt.
- Hnty* “The one of the forehall”
pl. 21, ln. 10, bottom

<i>H3.t</i> ...	“Corpse ...” pl. 18A, lower name below middle domes	<i>Sd.tyt</i>	“She of the <i>sḏ.t</i> -fire” pl. 13B, l. 6
<i>H3.t Itm</i>	“Corpse of Atum” pl. 18B, leftmost name below middle domes	<i>Šw</i>	“Shu” pl. 5A, ll. 2-6; pl. 14 (horizontal text between two sun disks [?])
<i>H3.t-msw.t</i>	“Corpse of (re)birth,” pl. 18A, upper name below middle domes	<i>Šw.t</i>	“Shadow” pl. 17B, label to each bull’s head
<i>H3.t Hr</i>	“Body/corpse of Horus” pl. 9B, l. 6	<i>Šnbty</i>	“Shenbety” pl. 5C, l. 24
<i>S3y.t</i>	“The protective one (?)” pl. 34B, no. 1	<i>Šsy</i>	“He of the wrappings” pl. 9A, l. 23
<i>Si3t-t3</i>	“Damager of the earth” pl. 30, l. 5, rt.	<i>Šsp-^c</i>	“Receiving of arm” pl. 7B, l. 3
<i>Sb3.(y)t</i>	“She of the (eastern) portal” pl. 13B, l. 3	<i>Šsrw</i>	“The one who is shot” pl. 31, label to snakes in middle register
<i>Smy.t</i>	“Necropolis” pl. 4C	<i>Št3</i>	“Mysterious (corpse)” pl. 22 B, 5 th adoring being
<i>Shḏw</i>	“The shining one” pl. 21, l. 1, bottom	<i>Št3y</i>	“The mysterious one” pl. 5B, l. 14; pl. 22B, 5 th adoring being
<i>Sty.t</i>	“She relating to beaming” pl. 24, l. 2 bottom	<i>Št3y.t</i>	“The mysterious one” pl. 7A, l. 3
<i>Stw.ty</i>	“He relating to the rays of light,” pl. 7B, l. 6	<i>Qrt.(y)t</i>	“Cavern dweller” pl. 7A, l. 4
<i>Stn-irw</i>	“Distinguished of forms” pl. 13A, l. 6	<i>Qrr.tyw</i>	“Cavern-dwellers” pl. 21, ll. 19-20
<i>Stn-hr</i>	“Distinguished of face” pl. 13A, l. 5	<i>K3w</i>	“Bull” pl. 17A, label to upper right bull
<i>Stn-hpr.w</i>	“Distinguished of manifestations,” pl. 13A, l. 7	<i>Kymy</i>	“Young bull” pl. 17A, label to upper left bull
<i>Stn-h3.t</i>	“Distinguished of corpse” pl. 13A, l. 8		
<i>Stn-snt</i>	“Distinguished of limbs” pl. 13A, l. 9		
<i>Stn-tp</i>	“Distinguished of head” pl. 13A, l. 4		
<i>Sḏ.ty</i>	“He of the flame” pl. 34B, nos. 2, 3, 5, 7		

Kmn-ir.ty "blind in both eyes," pl. 18A, beneath rightmost domes

Kh3-^cb.wy "ramming of the two horns," pl. 17A, label to lower left bull

T3-wr "Great bread"
pl. 34A, l. 27

T3yt "She relating to earth"
pl. 7A, l. 8

Tpy "(Human) headed one"
pl. 8, l. 19; pl. 8, ll. 11-12

Tp Hr "Head of Horus"
pl. 9B, l. 3

Tmmy.t "She relating to the *tm*-shrine," pl. 34B, no. 13

Tkmy "Tekemy"
pl. 22A; pl. 27, lower register

Tms "The red one"
pl. 22 B, 4th adoring deity

Tms-hr "Red of Face"
pl. 5C, l. 23

Dw3.t "Netherworld"
pl. 4 C

Dw3.ty "Adorer"
pl. 7A, l. 2

Dw3.ty "He of the Dat"
pl. 9A, ll. 20, 21 (? see also *Wnw.ty*); pl. 22B, 2nd adoring deity

Dw3.tyw "Datians"
pl. 7B, l. 1

Dm3m.t "Mother (?)"
pl. 34B, no. 9

Dwi-hr "Wicked of face"
pl. 13B, label to each of the serpents; pl. 34B, no. 14

Db3t(y)t "Sarcophagus dweller"
pl. 7A, l. 5

Df3w "Provision"
pl. 34A, ll. 29-30

TOPONYMS

Twgr.t "Igeret"
pl. 4A, l. 2

Imn.t "Netherworld, West"
pl. 5A, l. 1 (twice); pl. 22A (text to right of stela); pl. 23, ll. 34-35; pl. 30, ll. 3, 4 lt.(?)

Imh.t "Imhet"
pl. 21, l. 22
p. 381

W3s.t "Thebes"
see epithet *h^c-m-W3s.t*

Nwn "Nun-waters"
pl. 35

Nn.t n., "nether sky"
pl. 21, l. 15; pl. 25, l. 47(?); pl. 34A, l. 41

Hry.(t) "Upper Region"
pl. 5B, l. 8; pl. 37A, l. 1

Htmy.t "Place of destruction"
pl. 5C, ll. 6-7; pl. 8, ll. 5-6; pl. 21, l. 2; pl. 22A (text below scarab, ln. 3); pl. 22 C, ll. 19-20; pl. 24, l. 2; pl. 25, ln. 42 (?); pl. 34A, l. 4; pl. 37A, l. 1-2

Htmy.t-wsr.wt "She-Who-Destroys-Throats," pl. 21, ll. 33, 45

- Smy.t* "Necropolis"
pl. 30, l. 5 lt.
- Štzyt* "Shetayet"
pl. 10B, l. 17 (sp. *š < tzyt >*);
pl. 11, ll. 8-9 (sp. *< š > tzy.t*);
pl. 21, l. 50; pl. 22C, ll. 8,
10-11; pl. 23, ll. 24-25, 38;
pl. 23, ll. 37-38; pl. 30, l. 6,
rt.
- Dz.t* "Underworld,"
(see also *imy.t-dz.t*) pl. 4A,
l. 1; pl. 10A (label with each
sun disk); pl. 11, ll. 16-17;
pl. 22A (text to the left and
right of the stela); pl. 23, ll.
65-66, 71-72; pl. 37A, l. 4
Ch. 3, pp. 96-97

ROYAL NAMES

- Nb-m3^c.t-r^c* "Nebmaatra"
pl. 22A (text to right of
scarab, l. 2; text below the
scarab, ln. 1)
- Nb-hpr.w-r^c* "Nebkehpere"
pl. 4A, l. 1, pl. 6B, l. 2; pl.
13A, l. 10; pl. 14, l. 2
- Nfr-k3-R^c stp.n R^c*
"Neferkare-Setepenre,"
pl. 34A, ll. 26, 48; pl. 35; pl.
36 (label to Osiride figure);
pl. 37B, l. 1; pl. 39 (label to
king)
- R^c-ms-sw H^c-m-W3s.t Mrr-imn*
"Ramesses-Khaemwaset-
Mereyamun," pl. 34A, l. 34;
pl. 36 (label to Osiride
figure); pl. 37B, l. 2; pl. 39
(label to king)
- Twt-nh-imn* "Tutankhamun"
pl. 4 A, l. 1

APPENDIX OF CRYPTOGRAPHIC VALUES

compiled by
Colleen Manassa

This listing includes all of the cryptographic sign values occurring in the three versions of the Book of the Solar Osirian Unity, excluding the few damaged passages for which no certain reading is proposed. Since this study is also the first comprehensive analysis of a corpus of pre-Ptolemaic cryptographic texts, and includes an overview of other contemporary compositions, a representative sample of cryptographic sign values outside of the Solar-Osirian corpus discussed in this work have also been included in this appendix. However, this list is not a compilation of all values proposed for pre-Ptolemaic cryptographic signs, and the following entries seek to avoid overly speculative sign values.

The following list of cryptographic values further demonstrates one of the major conclusions of this study—the ancient Egyptian scribes do not appear to have used acrophony, as Drioton understood the term, to create cryptographic values. Although values previously assigned on the basis of acrophony are sometimes true cryptographic values, their derivation can usually be explained by another method, such as substitution of kind or the exploitation of phonetic change. The lack of clearly acrophonic derived sign values is a feature not only of the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, but also of the sample of other pre-Ptolemaic values included here. For a general discussion of the principles of New Kingdom cryptography, see pp. 4-11 and 14-17.

The bird signs in this corpus present a certain problem of classification. Those on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun are almost exclusively geese (G39), and when other birds occur, they are clearly differentiated. On the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the signs are semi-cursive, most resembling the aleph-vulture (G1), so the cryptographic values of the birds on the Corridor G ceiling are listed under G1; the exceptions are those few birds that clearly resemble owls (G17). The bird signs on the Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX are a combination of clearly distinguishable hieroglyphic forms and stylized hieratic versions of geese (listed at the end of section G). The general principle behind the cryptographic values of the bird-signs is that any bird can substitute for any other bird; however, since some incorrect values have become assigned to bird-hieroglyphs in some earlier works, each value for each bird sign is listed to show both the breadth and limitations of the number of possible values of these signs.

The cryptographic texts of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity also utilize values for signs that are commonly attested in non-cryptographic texts, such as the red crown (S3) for *n* or lion (E23) for *r*. Although the cryptographic texts employ these signs more frequently than other compositions, the non-cryptographic values of these signs are not included here.

Each entry consists of the enigmatic value, its derivation, and references to the pages where this derivation is discussed. For those values that occur in the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity and the short passages from other New Kingdom cryptographic texts discussed in Chapter 2, an additional entry of “occurrences” is provided listing the plate and line number in which this value can be found. Signs and values that do not occur in these texts, but are attested in other pre-Ptolemaic cryptographic texts do not have an “occurrences” entry. Certain cryptographic values are very common in all three versions of the Book of the Solar Osirian unity, while others are peculiar to one version (see pp. 160, 275, and 373). When a value is common in all three versions, a few of the occurrences are listed and then “*passim*” is inserted; if a value is only common in one version of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, then it is labeled “*passim*” followed by that version.



(A4)

Cryptographic Value: *imn*

Derivation: direct representation

Discussion: pp. 79 n. 199, 131 n. 421

Occurrences: pl. 12, l. 19(?); pl. 22A (text of the right of stela); pl. 30, l. 2, lt. (?; see *dwz*); pl. 33Cryptographic Value: *dwz*

Derivation: direct representation

Discussion: pp. 79 n. 199, 131 n. 421

Occurrences: pl. 5B, l. 15; pl. 6A, l. 1; pl. 7B, l. 2; pl. 30, l. 2, lt. (?; see *imn*); pl. 33

(A17)

Cryptographic Value: *h*Derivation: consonantal principle from *h/hy* (*Wb.* III 217.3-8)

Discussion: pp. 22, 85

Occurrences: pl. 1B; pl. 7B, l. 5; pl. 12, ll. 20, 21; pl. 13B, l. 15 (twice); pl. 23, l. 58; pl. 24, ll. 9, 16, 27; pl. 25, l. 39



(A25)

Cryptographic Value: *h*Derivation: consonantal principle from *hwi* > *h*

Discussion: p. 2 n. 7



(A36)

Cryptographic Value: *nd*

Derivation: direct representation

Discussion: p. 24 n. 48



(A40)

Cryptographic Value: *nṯr*
 Derivation: direct representation
 Discussion: p. 186
 Occurrences: pl. 21, l. 37; pl. 30, l. 4 rt.



(A42)

Cryptographic Value: *nb*
 Derivation: direct representation
 Discussion: p. 26 n. 62
 Occurrences: pl. 1B



(A54)

Cryptographic Value: *iwtj*
 Derivation: thematic cryptography—from *wty* “embalmed one” through phonetic similarity
 Discussion: pp. 25-6
 Occurrences: pl. 1C

Cryptographic Value: *m*
 Derivation: consonantal principle *mwt* > *m*
 Discussion: pp. 25-6



(A101D)

Cryptographic Value: *nb*
 Derivation: direct representation; consonantal principle from *nbi*, “to swim”
 Discussion: pp. 278-9 n. 17
 Occurrences: pl. 4B; pl. 32



(A272A)

Cryptographic Value: *hpr*
 Derivation: direct representation
 Discussion: p. 346 n. 309



(A311B)

Cryptographic Value: *nb*
 Derivation: direct representation
 Discussion: p. 19
 Occurrences: pl. 1A



(B100)

Cryptographic Value: *ip*

Derivation: direct representation

Discussion: p. 19

Occurrences: pl. 1A



(C8)

Cryptographic Value: *kʒ*Derivation: direct representation (*Kʒ-mw.t=f*)

Discussion: p. 27

Occurrences: pl. 1D



(D2)

Cryptographic Value: *h*Derivation: consonantal principle from *hʀ*

Discussion: p. 62 n. 122



(D3)

Cryptographic Value: *wnwn*Derivation: its use as a determinative in the verb *wnwn* (*Wb.* I 318.1-9)

Discussion: pp. 79-80

Occurrences: pl. 6A, l. 3



○ (D12)

Cryptographic Value: *ir*Derivation: *pars pro toto* from *ir*-eye (D4)

Discussion: pp. 8 n. 29, 139-40 n. 463, 301

Occurrences: pl. 13A, l. 6; pl. 21, l. 47 (twice); pl. 30, l. 5, rt.; pl. 33; pl. 34A, l. 9

Cryptographic Value: *r*Derivation: *pars pro toto* from *ir*-eye; consonantal principle

Discussion: pp. 8 n. 29, 139-40 n. 463

Occurrences: pl. 24, l. 10

Cryptographic Value: *k*Derivation: substitution of shape for placenta (Aa1); exploitation of phonetic change *h* > *k*

Discussion: p. 128

Occurrences: pl. 11, l. 5



○ ○

Cryptographic Value: *mʒʒ*Derivation: *pars pro toto* for two eyes

Discussion: pp. 8 n. 29, 139-40 n. 463

Occurrences: pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 10B, l. 6; pl. 11, l. 6; pl. 13A, l. 3; pl. 13B, l. 13; pl. 14, l. 8

○ (D21)

Cryptographic Value: *ʒ*

Derivation: phonetic interchange between *r* and *ʒ*

Discussion: p. 186 n. 98

Occurrences: pl. 21, l. 37; pl. 25, l. 39; pls. 28, ll. 3, 6 bottom; pl. 30, l. 5, rt.

Cryptographic Value: *ī*

Derivation: phonetic interchange between *r* and *ī*

Discussion: p. 62 n. 120

Occurrences: pl. 28, l. 12 top

Cryptographic Value: *ʕ*

Derivation: reversal of the cryptic use of the *ʕ*-arm to write *r* (possibly also influenced by phonetic interchange between *r* and *ʕ*)

Discussion: pp. 235-6 n. 270, 265 n. 419

Occurrences: pl. 30, l. 6, rt.

Cryptographic Value: *w*

Derivation: possibly hieratic confusion between the mouth and *w*-coil; adoption of cryptographic value for the grasshopper

Discussion: p. 109 n. 342, 168 n. 24

Occurrences: pl. 24, l. 32; pl. 25A, ll. 37, 38; pl. 30, ll. 4,5,6 rt.

Cryptographic Value: *f*

Derivation: reverse of the enigmatic use of the serpent for *r*

Discussion: p. 168

Occurrences: pl. 18A, 1st dome, B4

Cryptographic Value: *p*

Derivation: substitution of kind with D26, adopting its cryptographic value

Discussion: pp. 43-5, 167 and n. 20

Occurrences: pl. 18A, 1st dome, T1, T3, *passim* in Ramesses VI

Cryptographic Value: *m*

Derivation: a hieratic confusion between the spewing mouth and the *mr*-canal, with that value being adopted by the non-spewing mouth (like the value *p*); also possible is a direct hieratic confusion with the flat-*m* or the water-*n*, with phonetic change

Discussion: p. 217

Occurrences: pl. 24, ll. 30, 31; pl. 25, l. 40 (for *im*), l. 47; pl. 28, l. 2, bottom; pl. 30, ll. 3, 6 (for *im*), rt.


Cryptographic Value: *n*

Derivation: hieratic confusion with *n*-water

Discussion: p. 174

Occurrences: pl. 18B, 1st dome, B4 (twice); pl. 21, l. 10 (twice); pl. 24, l. 12; pl. 25, l. 44

Cryptographic Value: *s3*

Derivation: reverse of the enigmatic derivation of  for *r*

Discussion: pp. 168, 225

Occurrences: pl. 28, l. 3, bottom

Cryptographic Value: *t*


Derivation: hieratic confusion with the *t*-bread loaf (X1)

Discussion: p. 61 n. 118

Occurrences: pl. 24, l. 31; pl. 25, l. 40; pl. 30, l. 3 rt. (twice), l. 6, rt., l. 4, lt. (thrice)

 (D26)

Cryptographic Value: *ε*

Derivation: adoption of the cryptographic value for spewing pustule ()

Discussion: pp. 46-8, 77, 97

Cryptographic Value: *w^cb*

Derivation: substitution for pouring *w^cb*-pot


Discussion: p. 77-8

Cryptographic Value: *p*

Derivation: possibly a root *pi* or onomatopoeia

Discussion: pp. 43-5

Occurrences: pl. 1C; pl. 4B (thrice); pl. 5B, ll. 4, 18; pl. 5C, ll. 4, 12 (twice), 25; pl. 7A, l. 1 (twice); pl. 7B, ll. 1 (4 times), 3; *passim* in Tutankhamun; pl. 23, ll. 35, 41; pl. 24, l. 34; pl. 33 (5 times)

 (D36)

Cryptographic Value: *im*

Derivation: substitution of kind for the loaf-bearing arm (D38)

Discussion: p. 182

Occurrences: pl. 21, ll. 10, 22; pl. 22B no. 3

Cryptographic Value: *m*

Derivation: substitution of kind for the loaf-bearing arm (D38)

Discussion: p. 190 n. 111

Cryptographic Value: *n*

Derivation: substitution of kind for D35 (*cf.* use of D41 for *n*)

Discussion: p. 118 n. 374

Occurrences: pl. 10A, l. 4

Cryptographic Value: *r*

Derivation: use of $\epsilon \searrow$ or $r \searrow$, representing *gh*; compare possible phonetic confusion in Arabic between ϵ and $\dot{\epsilon}$

Discussion: pp. 235-6 n. 270



(D41)

Cryptographic Value: $\epsilon/\epsilon.wy$

Derivation: substitution of kind from ϵ -arm

Discussion: p. 126 n. 402

Occurrences: pl. 7B, ll. 3, 4, 7; pl. 11, ll. 28-33(?); pl. 22A (?; text within stela); pl. 43A

Cryptographic Value: *n*

Derivation: substitution of kind from negative arms (D35)

Discussion: p. 79 and n. 200

Occurrences: pl. 6A, l. 3

Cryptographic Value: *t/d*

Derivation: substitution of kind for the arm holding the conical loaf as *d* > (*r*)*dl* (or substitution of kind with *d*-hand); phonetic shift *d* > *t*

Discussion: p. 126 n. 403

Occurrences: pl. 11, ll. 28-33(?); pl. 21, l. 41



(D40)

Cryptographic Value: *dw*

Derivation: hieratic confusion with *dw*-mountain (N26)

Discussion: p. 260

Occurrences: pl. 30, l. 5, rt.



(D54)








Occurs as a general representation of various verbs of motion in heraldic sign groups in the Tutankhamun and Ramesses VI (pp. 56-8, 126-7, 190-1)


Cryptographic Value: *q*

Derivation: purposeful confusion of shape

Discussion: p. 56 n. 99

Occurrences: pl. 5A, l. 2

-  (E12) Cryptographic Value: *š*
Derivation: consonantal principle from *šzl* (*Wb.* IV 405.7-10)
Discussion: p. 32
-  (E13) Cryptographic Value: *f*
Derivation: from representation of *f*-vipers (substituting for Apep) being slain by a cat as an elaborate writing of the phoneme *f*; the snake disappears and the cat alone writes *f*
Discussion: p. 23
Occurrences: pl. 1B
-  (E17) Cryptographic Value: *iʒb*
Derivation: direct representation of jackal as haulers of the solar bark in the west; the value “east” is given to the jackal to express the *perpetuum mobile* of the solar journey
Discussion: p. 32 n. 86
-  (E23) Cryptographic Value: *w*
Derivation: consonantal principle *rw* > *r*; phonetic change between *r* and *w* (compare grasshopper for *w*)
Discussion: p. 95 n. 270
-  (E231) Cryptographic Value: *tkm*
Derivation: direct representation of prone image, with jackal head referring to deity in Book of Gates
Discussion: p. 194
Occurrences: pl. 27, lower register
-  (E263) Cryptographic Value: *ḥ*
Derivation: uncertain; possible misrepresentation/substitution for the hyena, which appears to have the value *ḥt* from *ḥt.t*—this would allow a cryptographic miswriting of *rh.wy* as *rh.ty*
Discussion: Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 41
Occurrences: pl. 1D
-  (F16) Cryptographic Value: *wp*
Derivation: substitution of kind for two connected horns (F13)
Discussion: p. 27
Occurrences: pl. 1D


 (F26)

Cryptographic Value: *imi/m*
 Derivation: substitution of prepositions with similar meaning
 Discussion: pp. 64-5
 Occurrences: pl. 5B, l. 7; pl. 5C, l. 6

 (F27)


Cryptographic Value: *im/m*
 Derivation: Substitution of kind for the *hn*-sign (F26), which can be used for *imi* (or *m* through consonantal principle)
 Discussion: pp. 64-5, 68-9, 193 n. 123
 Occurrences: pl. 22A, text below scarab, l. 3

Cryptographic Value: *k*
 Derivation: *pars pro toto* for *k3*-bull; consonantal principle from *k3* to *k*
 Discussion: p. 68-9
 Occurrences: pl. 1D; pl. 10B, l. 5; pl. 13B, l. 12 (vestigial form resembles single-stalked plant); pl. 17A (label to lower left, upper left, and upper right bulls); pl. 18A (label beneath rightmost domes); pl. 21, ll. 9, 21, 46 (twice each); pl. 22C, ll. 17, 22; pl. 23, ln. 30, *passim* in Ramesses VI and IX [many in the word *kkw*]

 (F44)

Cryptographic Value: *m*
 Derivation: substitution of kind with F51, adopting its common cryptographic value of *m*
 Discussion: pp. 196-7, 214
 Occurrences: pl. 21, l. 37; pl. 22B no. 4; pl. 24, l. 12

Cryptographic Value: *k*
 Derivation: substitution of kind with F51, adopting that sign's common cryptographic value of *k*
 Discussion: pp. 196-7
 Occurrences: pl. 22B, no. 4 (?)

 (F51)

Cryptographic Value: *m*
 Derivation: Substitution of kind for the *hn*-sign (F26), which can be used for *imi* (or *m* through consonantal principle)
 Discussion: pp. 26, 68-9, 196-7
 Occurrences: pl. 1C (twice)

Cryptographic Value: *h*
 Derivation: consonantal principle from *h^c* "flesh" (Wb. III 37ff)
 Discussion: p. 48 and n. 62
 Occurrences: pl. 1E (twice)

Cryptographic Value: *hr*

Derivation: Use of both the flesh-sign and *hr*-face to write *h* (through consonantal principle and the phonetic similarities between *hr* and *hr*)

Discussion: p. 325


Occurrences: pl. 34B, no. 12

Cryptographic Value: *k*

Derivation: substitution of kind from the skin sign (F27), whose cryptographic value can be *k*

Discussion: pp. 68-9, 197

Occurrences: pl. 21, l. 38

 (F63)

Cryptographic Value: *ht*

Derivation: substitution of kind for lion front (F4); consonantal principle *hst* > *ht*; cf. Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933): 41 and Drioton, *CdE* 9, no. 18 (1934): 193 where the hippopotamus head (F3) appears to have the value *h*

Discussion: p. 227

Occurrences: pl. 28, l. 7, top; l. 8, bottom;

Cryptographic Value: *hft*

Derivation: direct representation (perhaps related to *Wb.* III 274.2)

Discussion: pp. 300-1

Occurrences: pl. 33

Cryptographic Value: *shy*

Derivation: hieratic confusion with the calf ear

Discussion: p. 177

Occurrences: pl. 21, ln. 1

Cryptographic Value: *sdm*

Derivation: substitution of entire calf head for ear

Discussion: p. 218

Occurrences: pl. 25, l. 44

 (G1)

Cryptographic Value: *i*

Derivation: exploitation of phonetic change following its cryptographic use for *r* (see below)

Discussion: p. 62 n. 120

Occurrences: pl. 24, l. 31

Cryptographic Value: ϵq

Derivation: substitution of kind from ϵq -bird (G35)

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 30, l. 2, rt.

Cryptographic Value: w

Derivation: substitution of kind from quail chick (G43)

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 18A, 1st dome, B3, pl. 21, l. 33, *passim* in Ramesses VI; pl. 33

Cryptographic Value: $b\bar{z}$

Derivation: substitution of kind from $b\bar{z}$ -bird

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 18A, 1st dome, B4; pl. 21, l. 48; pl. 24, l. 16; pl. 25A, l. 42

Cryptographic Value: m

Derivation: substitution of kind from m -owl (G17)

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 7B, l. 1 (twice); pl. 18A, 1st dome, T3, T4, B2, T7 (twice), *passim* in Ramesses VI; pl. 33; pl. 34A, l. 16

Cryptographic Value: r

Derivation: substitution of kind for $r\bar{z}$ -goose (G38); consonantal principle $r\bar{z} > r$

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 21, l. 20; pl. 24, ll. 18, 29; pl. 28, l. 5 top

Cryptographic Value: htm

Derivation: substitution of kind for htm -goose (G38)

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 21, l. 2

Cryptographic Value: ht

Derivation: $s\bar{z}$ -bird-determined word $ht-\epsilon\bar{z}$ (*Wb.* III 342,1); consonantal principle allows $ht-\epsilon\bar{z} > ht$

Discussion: p. 137

Occurrences: pl. 23, l. 40

Cryptographic Value: $s\bar{z}$

Derivation: substitution of kind for $s\bar{z}$ -goose (G39); consonantal principle $s\bar{z} > s$

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 28, l. 3, top

Cryptographic Value: *t*

Derivation: substitution of kind for *tīw*-bird (G4); consonantal principle for *tīw* > *t*

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 21, ll. 5, 21 (twice), 22, 31, 33, 45; pl. 24, l. 18; pl. 30, l. 4 lt.

Cryptographic Value: *tīw*

Derivation: substitution of kind from *tīw*-bird

Discussion: p. 22

Occurrences: pl. 1B



(G14)

Cryptographic Value: *m*

Derivation: consonantal principle from *mwt* > *m*

Discussion: p. 32



(G17)

Cryptographic Value: *ʕ*

Derivation: substitution of kind for aleph-vulture (G1)

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 33

Cryptographic Value: *n*

Derivation: phonetic interchange between *n* and *m*

Discussion: pp. 59-60 and n. 110

Occurrences: pl. 21, l. 10; pl. 28, l. 6, top

Cryptographic Value: *tīw*

Derivation: substitution of kind from *tīw*-bird

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 23, l. 63



Cryptographic Value: *tʕ.wy*

Derivation: thematic cryptography

Discussion: p. 26

Occurrences: pl. 1C; pl. 40



(G38)

Cryptographic Value: *ʕ*

Derivation: substitution of kind for aleph-vulture

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 5B, ll. 10, 17; pl. 7A, ll. 1, 8; pl. 7B, l. 1 (twice), 4, 7; pl. 8, l. 8, *passim*

Cryptographic Value: *tw*

Derivation: exploitation of phonetic change following its use for *r* (see below)

Discussion: p. 62 n. 120

Occurrences: pl. 8, l. 6

Cryptographic Value: *ʕ*_q

Derivation: substitution of kind for *ʕ*_q-bird (G35)

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 9, l. 3

Cryptographic Value: *w*

Derivation: substitution of kind for quail-chick (G43)

Discussion: p. 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 5B, ll. 9, 13, 20; pl. 5C, ll. 7, 8, 10; pl. 7A, ll. 1, 7; pl. 7B, l. 6, *passim* in Tutankhamun

Cryptographic Value: *b*

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Derivation: substitution of kind from *b*₃-bird; consonantal principle for *b*₃ > *b*

Occurrences: pl. 12, l. 20 (?)

Cryptographic Value: *b*₃

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Derivation: substitution of kind from *b*₃-bird

Occurrences: pl. 5C, l. 22; pl. 7A, ll. 1, 5; pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 8, l. 1; pl. 9A, ll. 9, 18, *passim* in Tutankhamun

Cryptographic Value: *m*

Derivation: substitution of kind for *m*-owl (G17)

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 4B (twice); pl. 5B, ll. 3, 5, 15, *passim* in Tutankhamun; pl. 30, l. 1 rt. (thrice)

Cryptographic Value: *n*

Derivation: substitution of kind for *m*-owl, phonetic interchange between *n* and *m*

Discussion: pp. 59-60 and n. 110, 71

Occurrences: pl. 5B, l. 17; pl. 5C, l. 22 (twice); pl. 10A, l. 2; pl. 22C, l. 18

Cryptographic Value: *n*_h

Derivation: substitution of kind for *n*_h-bird (G21)

Discussion: p. 87 n. 238

Cryptographic Value: *ht*

Derivation: *sʒ*-bird-determined word *ht-ʕʒ* (*Wb.* III 342,1);
consonantal principle allows *ht-ʕʒ* > *ht*

Discussion: p. 137

Occurrences: pl. 12, l. 17

Cryptographic Value: *s*

Derivation: consonantal principle *sʒ* > *s*

Discussion: pp. 4-5, 34

Occurrences: pl. 8, l. 18

Cryptographic Value: *t*

Derivation: substitution of kind for *tʔw*-bird; consonantal principle
for *tʔw* > *t*

Discussion: pp. 42 n. 23, 95

Occurrences: pl. 9B, l. 6



Cryptographic Value: *mʒw* (any combination of three birds,
including three semi-hieratic birds)

Derivation: substitution of kind

Discussion: pp. 42 n. 23, 75, 131

Occurrences: pl. 5C, l. 11; pl. 12, l. 22; pl. 21, ll. 26, 38; pl. 24, l. 10



(G40)

Cryptographic Value: *w*

Derivation: substitution of kind for quail chick (G43)

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 21, l. 41



Cryptographic Value: *ʒ*

Derivation: substitution of kind for aleph-vulture

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 33; pl. 34A, ll. 7 (twice), 24; pl. 34B, nos. 1, 4;
pl. 37A, l. 4 (twice)

Cryptographic Value: *w*

Derivation: substitution of kind for quail chick (G43)

Discussion: pp. 8, 42 n. 23

Occurrences: pl. 34A, ll. 8, 15, 24; pl. 37A, ll. 2, 3 (twice), 4
(twice), 5 (twice)

Cryptographic Value: *p*

Derivation: substitution of hieratic bird for *p3*-bird (G40);
consonantal principle *p3* > *p*

Discussion: p. 95 and n. 268

Cryptographic Value: *m*

Derivation: substitution of kind for *m*-owl (G17)

Discussion: pp. 8, 23 n. 42

Occurrences: pl. 33; pl. 34A, ll. 14, 15, 24; pl. 37A, ll. 1 (thrice),
2, 4 (twice), 5

Cryptographic Value: *r*

Derivation: substitution of kind for G38; consonantal principle *r3*
> *r*

Discussion: pp. 8, 23 n. 42

Occurrences: pl. 37A, l. 5

Cryptographic Value: *htm*

Derivation: substitution of kind for G38

Discussion: pp. 8, 23 n. 42

Occurrences: pl. 34A, l. 4; pl. 37A, l. 1

 (H6)

Cryptographic Value: *i*

Derivation: substitution of shape for reed leaf

Discussion: p. 144

Occurrences: pl. 13B, l. 15; pl. 22C, l. 1

Cryptographic Value: *p*

Derivation: *pars pro toto* for the wing sign to write *p3i*, “to fly;”
consonantal principle from *p3i* > *p*

Discussion: p. 144

Occurrences: pl. 13B, l. 9

Cryptographic Value: *st3*-sign (as determinative)

Derivation: substitution of shape

Discussion: pp. 128-9

Occurrences: pl. 11, l. 7

 (H8)

Cryptographic Value: pustule (as determinative)

Derivation: substitution of shape

Discussion: p. 147

Occurrences: pl. 13B, l. 8

Cryptographic Value: *nw*

Derivation: substitution of shape for *nw*-pot

Discussion: p. 294

Occurrences: pl. 33


 (I3)

Cryptographic Value: *ʕ*

Derivation: thematic cryptogram from the ejaculation (*ʕʕy*) performed by Wentu when he bears the sun

Discussion: p. 27

Occurrences: pl. 1D

 (I5)

Cryptographic Value: *š*

Derivation: consonantal principle from *šwy/šy* (*Wb.* IV 434, 8)

Discussion: p. 30

 (I9)

Cryptographic Value: *n*

Derivation: hieratic confusion with *n*-water

Discussion: pp. 97, 218 n. 199

Occurrences: pl. 25A, l. 37; pl. 28, l. 7, bottom (twice), l. 8, top

Cryptographic Value: *tʕ*

Derivation: hieratic confusion with *tʕ*-land sign; influenced by thematic cryptography and cryptographic use of serpent for *ḏ*

Discussion: p. 215


Occurrences: pl. 24, l. 14

Cryptographic Value: *ḏ*

Derivation: substitution of kind for *ḏ*-serpent

Discussion: p. 8

Occurrences: pl. 13B, l. 10; pl. 24, ll. 30, 31, 34; pl. 30, l. 4, rt.

 (I14)

Variations exist in the number of coils and the position of the tail.

Cryptographic Value: *f*

Derivation: substitution of kind with the *f*-viper

Discussion: p. 45 n. 39

Occurrences: pl. 4A; pl. 7A, l. 1 (twice); pl. 7B, l. 1 (thrice), *passim*

Cryptographic Value: *n*

Derivation: hieratic confusion between *n*-water and viper (I9); substitution of kind with the viper allows the many-coiled serpent to adopt the cryptographic value of the viper

Discussion: p. 97

Occurrences: pl. 30, l. 1, rt.

Cryptographic Value: *r*

Derivation: consonantal principle from *r3* "serpent" (*Wb.* II 393, 7-10)

Discussion: p. 46

Occurrences: pl. 1E

Cryptographic Value: *t/d*

Derivation: substitution of kind with the *d*-serpent; collapse of the dentals allows for interchange between *d* and *t/d*

Discussion: p. 45

Occurrences: pl. 4B; pl. 8, l. 11; pl. 24, l. 2 label; pl. 37A, l. 1

Cryptographic Value: *t3*

Derivation: hieratic confusion between the *t3*-land sign and horned viper in hieratic; substitution of kind borrows cryptographic value of the horned viper

Discussion: pp. 45, 215

Occurrences: pl. 21, ll. 18, 31; 24, ln. 14

Cryptographic Value: *d*

Derivation: substitution of kind with the *d*-serpent

Discussion: p. 45 n. 39

Occurrences: pl. 7A, ll. 1 (twice), 5; pl. 8, ll. 7, 13, 17, *passim*

𐩧𐩢𐩨
𐩧𐩢𐩨

Cryptographic Value: *iꜣrw.ty*

Derivation: direct representation

Discussion: p. 59

Occurrences: pl. 5B, l. 16

𐩢𐩨 (K3)

Cryptographic Value: *s*

Derivation: probably an early cryptographic attestation of word *s* "fish" (*Wb.* IV 406.12)

Discussion: pp. 22-3, 118

Occurrences: pl. 1B; pl. 10A, l. 3



(L1)

Cryptographic Value: *ik/ikz* (?)

Derivation: unknown

Discussion: p. 71

Occurrences: pl. 5C, l. 21

Cryptographic Value: *nh*Derivation: archaic word for beetle (*Wb.* I 204.7-8)

Discussion: p. 71 and n. 160

Occurrences: pl. 5C, l. 20

Cryptographic Value: *t*Derivation: consonantal principle from *tz* (derivation for *tz* is unknown)

Discussion: p. 25

Occurrences: pl. 1C



(L4)

Cryptographic Value: *w*Derivation: adoption of cryptographic value of mouth-*r*, since the locust is so frequently used with the value of *r* in cryptographic texts

Discussion: pp. 108-10

Occurrences: pl. 9B, l. 19

Cryptographic Value: *r*

Derivation: unknown

Discussion: pp. 108-10

Occurrences: pl. 1D (twice); pl. 5B, l. 5; pl. 5C, ll. 5, 16 (twice), *passim*

(M2)

Cryptographic Value: *i*

Derivation: substitution of kind for reed leaf

Discussion: p. 62 n. 120

Occurrences: pl. 1D (twice); pl. 4B (twice), pl. 4C (twice); pl. 5B, ll. 8 (twice), 15, *passim* in TutankhamunCryptographic Value: *ib*Derivation: substitution of kind related to one or both of two botanical terms—*ib* (*Wb.* I 60.17-18) and *ibw* (*Wb.* I 62.3-4)

Discussion: p. 9 n. 39

Cryptographic Value: *b*

Derivation: substitution of kind related to one or both of two botanical terms—*ib* (Wb. I 60.17-18) and *ibw* (Wb. I 62.3-4)

Discussion: p. 9 n. 39

Cryptographic Value: *r*

Derivation: substitution of kind for reed leaf; phonetic interchange between *l* and *r*

Discussion: p. 62 and n. 120

Occurrences: pl. 5B, l. 18

Cryptographic Value: *h₃*

Derivation: substitution of kind for *h₃*-plant

Discussion: p. 48-9, nn. 66-7, pp. 94-5

Occurrences: pl. 4B; pl. 8, l. 11

Cryptographic Value: *h*

Derivation: substitution of kind for *h₃*-plant; consonantal principle *h₃ > h*

Discussion: p. 68

Occurrences: pl. 9B, l. 8

Cryptographic Value: *h*

Derivation: substitution of kind for *h₃*-plant; consonantal principle *h₃ > h*; phonetic interchange between *h* and *h*

Discussion: p. 68

Occurrences: pl. 5B, l. 10; pl. 9B, l. 6

Cryptographic Value: *sw*

Derivation: substitution of kind for *sw*-plant;

Discussion: p. 129

Occurrences: pl. 11, l. 8; pl. 22C, l. 8

Cryptographic Value: *k*

Derivation: hieratic confusion with the skin sign (which itself has a cryptographic value of *k*)

Discussion: pp. 68-9

Occurrences: pl. 5B, l. 13 (twice); pl. 5C, l. 10 (twice)




Cryptographic Value: *w*

Derivation: use of M2 as *i*; phonetic interchange between *i* and *w*


Discussion: pp. 119 n. 380, 304 n. 135

Occurrences: pl. 7B, l. 6


 (M8)

Cryptographic Value: \mathfrak{z}
 Derivation: consonantal principle from \mathfrak{z}
 Discussion: p. 22
 Occurrences: pl. 1B

Cryptographic Value: n
 Derivation: substitution of kind with N35
 Discussion: pp. 22 n. 38, 39-40, 53-4

 (M12)

Cryptographic Value: h
 Derivation: consonantal principle from $h\mathfrak{z}$
 Discussion: pp. 22, 68 n. 144
 Occurrences: pl. 1B

 (M112)

Cryptographic Value: h
 Derivation: consonantal principle from $h/$ *pars pro toto*
 Discussion: p. 22

 (M17)

Cryptographic Value: \mathfrak{z}
 Derivation: phonetic interchange between l and \mathfrak{z}
 Discussion: p. 74-5
 Occurrences: pl. 5C, l. 8

Cryptographic Value: b
 Derivation: substitution of kind from M2, adopting its cryptographic value ib ; consonantal principle $ib > b$
 Discussion: p. 9 n. 39; see also entry under M2

Cryptographic Value: h
 Derivation: substitution of kind from $h\mathfrak{z}$ -plant; consonantal principle $h\mathfrak{z} > h$
 Discussion: p. 263
 Occurrences: pl. 18B, 1st dome, T4; pl. 24, l. 28; pl. 30, l. 6, rt.

Cryptographic Value: h
 Derivation: substitution of kind from $h\mathfrak{z}$ -plant; consonantal principle $h\mathfrak{z} > h$
 Discussion: pp. 68 n. 144, 181, 227
 Occurrences: pl. 21, ll. 10, 20; pl. 24, l. 16; pl. 28, ll. 5, 10, top; ll. 6, 12, bottom; pl. 30, l. 2 rt.

Cryptographic Value: *sw/s*
 Derivation: substitution of kind from *sw*-plant
 Discussion: p. 188
 Occurrences: pl. 21, l. 50; pl. 22B, no. 4



(M18)

Cryptographic Value: *in*
 Derivation: substitution of kind from W25 (walking *nw*-pot)
 Discussion: p. 75-6 n. 186



(M29)

Cryptographic Value: *h*
 Derivation: substitution of shape with wick
 Discussion: p. 233
 Occurrences: pl. 30, ll. 1, 4 rt.



Cryptographic Value: *i*
 Derivation: substitution of kind from M17
 Discussion: p. 8
 Occurrences: pl. 9B, ll. 8, 9



Cryptographic Value: *i*
 Derivation: substitution of kind from M17
 Discussion: pp. 8, 294
 Occurrences: pl. 33, *passim* in Ramesses IX

Cryptographic Value: *sw*
 Derivation: substitution of kind from *sw*-plant
 Discussion: p. 294
 Occurrences: pl. 33



(N1)

Cryptographic Value: *p*
 Derivation: consonantal principle *p.t > p* (compare Coptic πϵ)
 Discussion: p. 8, n. 30



(N5)

Cryptographic Value: *wnw.t*
 Derivation: direct representation
 Discussion: p. 4
 Occurrences: pl. 24, l. 28; pl. 25, l. 41

Cryptographic Value: *hḏ*
 Derivation: substitution for determinative for word *hḏ*
 Discussion: p. 181
 Occurrences: pl. 21, l. 22

≡ (N16)

Cryptographic Value: *n*

Derivation: general substitution of horizontal signs

Discussion: pp. 203 n. 162, 261 n. 404

Occurrences: pl. 30, l. 6, rt.

Cryptographic Value: *t*

Derivation: consonantal principle *tʒ > t*; reinforced by substitution of appearance with long bread sign (X4)

Discussion: p. 22 n. 35

Occurrences: pl. 1B, C; pl. 5C, l. 22; pl. 14, l. 3, bottom; pl. 23, l. 28

≡ (N17)

Cryptographic Value: *b*

Derivation: use of N21 for *biz*; consonantal principle and substitution of shape *biz > b*

Discussion: p. 256-7

Cryptographic Value: *m*

Derivation: numerous interchanges of land and water signs

Discussion: pp. 39-40, 52-4

Occurrences: pl. 4C

Cryptographic Value: *w*

Derivation: substitution of kind with N18

Discussion: pp. 39-40, 52-4

≡ (N18)

Cryptographic Value: *i*

Derivation: consonantal principle *iw > i*

Discussion: pp. 52-4, 204

Occurrences: pl. 23, l. 43

Cryptographic Value: *n*

Derivation: substitution of kind from *n*-water (N35)

Discussion: p. 21

Cryptographic Value: *m/mi*

Derivation: substitution of kind with *mr*-sign




Discussion: pp. 39-40, 52-4

≡ (N21)

Cryptographic Value: *m*

Derivation: substitution of kind from *mr*-sign

Discussion: pp. 52-4

-  (N25) Cryptographic Value: *dw*
 Derivation: substitution of kind for *dw*-mountain
 Discussion: pp. 242-3
 Occurrences: pl. 30, l. 3 rt. (twice), l. 2 lt.
-  (N35) Cryptographic Value: *r*
 Derivation: hieratic confusion with *r*
 Discussion: p. 9 n. 39
 Occurrences: pl. 30, l. 4
- Cryptographic Value: *t/d*
 Derivation: substitution of horizontal signs, collapse of dentals
 Discussion: p. 54 n. 90
-  (N37) Cryptographic Value: *i*
 Derivation: substitution of kind and appearance with the *iw*-island sign; consonantal principle *iw* > *i*
 Discussion: pp. 39-40, 52-4
 Occurrences: pl. 9A, l. 25
- Cryptographic Value: *iw*
 Derivation: substitution of kind and appearance with the *iw* -island sign
 Discussion: pp. 39-40
 Occurrences: pl. 4B
- Cryptographic Value: *p*
 Derivation: substitution of appearance from *p*-socle
 Discussion: p. 21 n. 31
- Cryptographic Value: *m*
 Derivation: substitution of kind and appearance with the *mr*-canal sign
 Discussion: pp. 39-40, 52-4
 Occurrences: pl. 22A (text to right of stela); pl. 15 (label to mummiform deity in bark)
- Cryptographic Value: *n*
 Derivation: substitution of kind with the *n* -water
 Discussion: pp. 39-40, 170
 Occurrences: pl. 18 A, 2nd dome, B3

Cryptographic Value: h

Derivation: exploitation of phonetic change

Discussion: p. 34; Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 2, pp. 503 n. 199, 838 n. 1126


Occurrences: pl. 5C. l. 8; pl. 7A, l. 1; pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 8, l. 8; pl. 9A, l. 4; *passim* in Tutankhamun and Ramesses VI

Cryptographic Value: s

Derivation: phonetic change $\check{s} > s$

Discussion: p. 53

Occurrences: pl. 4B; pl. 4C; pl. 7A, l. 6; pl. 7B, l. 3; pl. 15 (label to Isis within the bark); pl. 24, l. 28


 (O1)

Cryptographic Value: p

Derivation: phonetic shift of *pr* to p

Discussion: p. 88

Occurrences: pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 23, l. 74

 (O4)

Cryptographic Value: p

Derivation: substitution of kind from *pr*-sign; consonantal principle $pr > p$

Discussion: pp. 263 and n. 410


Occurrences: pl. 30, ll. 5, 6 rt.

 (O6)

Cryptographic Value: p

Derivation: substitution of kind from *pr*-sign; phonetic shift for *pr*-sign for p


Discussion: p. 2 n. 7

 (O29)

Cryptographic Value: $\text{ʕ}r$

Derivation: phonetic shift between r and ʕ

Discussion: p. 186







 (O34)

Cryptographic Value: f

Derivation: substitution of shape; influenced by $s(w)$ as masculine dependent pronoun

Discussion: pp. 231-2

Occurrences: pl. 30, ll. 1, 6 rt.

-  (O35) Cryptographic Value: *s*
 Derivation: consonantal principle
 Discussion: pp. 240
 Occurrences: pl. 30, l. 3, rt.
-  (O41) Cryptographic Value: *iʀr*
 Derivation: from use as determinative in *iʀr* “to ascend” (*Wb.* I 41. 15-25)
 Discussion: pp. 63-4
 Occurrences: pl. 5B, l. 21
-  (O49) Cryptographic Value: *p*
 Derivation: direct representation of *P* “Pe”
 Discussion: pp. 27, 46
 Occurrences: pl. 1D (twice), E
-  (P2) Cryptographic Value: *hnty* “foremost”
 Derivation: direct representation
 Discussion: p. 19
 Occurrences: pl. 1A
-  (P11) Cryptographic Value: *htm*
 Derivation: thematic cryptography—punishment on pillory takes place in the *Htmy.t*
 Discussion: for punishment on the pillory, see N. Beaux, *BIFAO* 91 (1991): 33-54
 Occurrences: pl. 8, l. 5
-  (Q3) Cryptographic Value: *r*
 Derivation: reversal of the cryptographic use of *r*-mouth for *p*
 Discussion: p. 261
 Occurrences: pl. 30, ll. 4, 6, rt.
- Cryptographic Value: *h*
 Derivation: substitution of appearance from *š*-sign; phonetic shift from *š* to *h*
 Discussion: pp. 21, n. 31, 262-3 n. 407
- Cryptographic Value: *š*
 Derivation: substitution of appearance from *š*-sign
 Discussion: pp. 21 n. 31, 262-3 n. 407



(Q7A)

Cryptographic Value: *t*Derivation: consonantal principle from *t*3 “be hot” (*Wb.* V 229.1ff.)

Discussion: p. 95 and n. 266



(Q12)

Cryptographic Value: *s*Derivation: substitution of kind from *s.t*-throne (Q1); consonantal principle from *s.t* to *s*

Discussion: pp. 19-20

Occurrences: pl. 1A



(R4)

Cryptographic Value: *t*Derivation: substitution of kind for simple *t*-loaf

Discussion: p. 95



(S3)

Cryptographic Value: *nt*

Derivation: direct representation

Discussion: p. 104

Occurrences: pl. 9A, l. 1; pl. 30, l. 4 lt. (7 times; for *ntr.w*)

(S20)

Cryptographic Value: substitutes for sun disk

Derivation: substitution of appearance

Discussion: p. 2, n. 7

Cryptographic Value: *n*Derivation: substitution of kind from *niwt*-sign; consonantal principle for *niw.t*-sign for *n*

Discussion: p. 2, n. 7



(S28)

Cryptographic Value: *s*

Derivation: substitution of kind from S29

Discussion: p. 42 n. 24

Occurrences: pl. 4B (twice), pl. 5B, ll. 3, 6, 11, *passim*Cryptographic Value: *hbs*

Derivation: direct representation

Discussion: p. 133 and n. 428

Occurrences: pl. 8, l. 18; pl. 9A, l. 22; pl. 12, ll. 8, 24; pl. 14, l. 2, bottom; pl. 22A (label to ram head emerging from disk)



(S29)

Cryptographic Value: *l*

Derivation: reversal of the use of the reed leaf to write *s* (substitution of kind for *sw*-plant; consonantal principle from *sw*); or painted version of cloth *s* that could be confused for a reed leaf

Discussion: p. 140

Occurrences: pl. 13A, l. 6



(S34)

Cryptographic Value: *hr*

Derivation: purposeful confusion of shape with *hr*-face over stroke (𐤀)

Discussion: p. 62 n. 122



(T28)

Cryptographic Value: *hr*

Derivation: exploitation of phonetic change

Discussion: pp. 42

Occurrences: pl. 4B; pl. 5A, l. 4; pl. 5C, l. 3, *passim*

(T32)

Cryptographic Value: *m*Derivation: substitution of shape with *m*-owl

Discussion: p. 8 n. 28

Occurrences: pl. 21, l. 4



(V9)

Cryptographic Value: *ir*

Derivation: substitution of shape with pupil (which acquires the value *ir* from *pars pro toto*)

Discussion: pp. 171-2, n. 35 and 339-40

Occurrences: pl. 18A (label beneath rightmost dome)

Cryptographic Value: *n*Derivation: direct representation (*n.t* "ring" *Wb.* I 188.9-10)

Discussion: pp. 88-9

Occurrences: pl. 7B, l. 1; pl. 23, l. 45

Cryptographic Value: *r*

Derivation: substitution of shape with pupil (which acquires the value *ir* from *pars pro toto*); consonantal principle *ir* > *r*

Discussion: pp. 171-2, n. 35 and 339-40

Occurrences: pl. 37A, l. 1

⌘ (V13)

Cryptographic Value: *m*

Derivation: substitution of shape

Discussion: p. 8 n. 28

Occurrences: pl. 8, l. 8; pl. 10A, l. 1; pl. 12, l. 17; pl. 13B, l. 19; pl. 18A, 2nd dome, B3; pl. 18 A, rightmost name below middle domes, *passim* in Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX

Cryptographic Value: *n*

Derivation: purposeful confusion of similar shapes with flat-*m*; phonetic confusion between *m* and *n*

Discussion: p. 194 n. 128

Occurrences: pl. 15 (label to mummiform god in bark); pl. 22C, ll. 6, 22, 28; pl. 28, l. 7, bottom (?)

Cryptographic Value: *t*

Derivation: exploitation of phonetic change

Discussion: pp. 40-1 and n. 19

Occurrences: pl. 4B (twice); pl. 5B, ll. 5, 7, 10, 15, 19, 20; *passim*

⌢ (V19)

Cryptographic Value: *nh*

Derivation: hieratic confusion with pustule (Aa2)

Discussion: p. 287

Occurrences: pl. 33

⌢ (V28)

Cryptographic Value: *nh*

Derivation: exploitation of similarities in hieratic

Discussion: p. 62 n. 122

⌢ (V39)

Cryptographic Value: *ti*

Derivation: consonantal principle from *ti.t*

Discussion: p. 336 and n. 272

Occurrences: pl. 37A, l. 1

▽ (W10)

Cryptographic Value: *t*

Derivation: *pars pro toto*—simple cup substitutes for cup holding bread (X2)

Discussion: p. 315-6

Occurrences: pl. 34A, ll. 31, 33

𐀀 (W11)

Cryptographic Value: *p*
 Derivation: substitution of shape
 Discussion: p. 232
 Occurrences: pl. 30, ll. 1, 4 rt.

Cryptographic Value: *hr*
 Derivation: substitution of shape
 Discussion: p. 232
 Occurrences: pl. 4B, pl. 5B, l. 4; pl. 5C, l. 4, *passim* in Tutankhamun; pl. 30, l. 1, rt.

Cryptographic Value: *q*
 Derivation: phonetic confusion between *g* and *q*
 Discussion: pp. 76-8
 Occurrences: pl. 28, l. 10, bottom

𐀁 (W20)

Cryptographic Value: *hnq.t*
 Derivation: substitution of kind
 Discussion: pp. 315-6
 Occurrences: pl. 34A, ll. 31, 33

𐀂 (W24)




Cryptographic Value: *r*
 Derivation: phonetic confusion between liquid sounds
 Discussion: p. 254
 Occurrences: pl. 30, l. 5, rt. (questionable, more likely to be read *nw*)





Cryptographic Value: *q*
 Derivation: pouring pot has value *q* from the verb *i'q* (strengthened by comparison with spewing pustule); pot stand reads *q* for the phonetic confusion between *g* and *q*
 Discussion: pp. 76-8
 Occurrences: pl. 5C, l. 16; pl. 7B, l. 1

𐀃 (X1)

Cryptographic Value: *h*
 Derivation: *pars pro toto*: hemispheric loaf for the round placenta
 Discussion: p. 213
 Occurrences: pl. 24, l. 11

-  (X2) Cryptographic Value: *t*
 Derivation: substitution of kind with normal *t*-loaf
 Discussion: p. 8
 Occurrences: pl. 1A, E
-  (X6) Cryptographic Value: *t*
 Derivation: substitution of kind with normal *t*-loaf
 Discussion: p. 8
 Occurrences: pl. 34A, l. 14 (haplography)
-  (Y1) Cryptographic Value: *b*
 Derivation: use of flat land sign (N17) for *b* (deriving from ∞ for *bi3* > *b*); substitution of shape
 Discussion: pp. 255-9
 Occurrences: pl. 23, l. 74; pl. 30, l. 5, rt.

 Cryptographic Value: *n*
 Derivation: general substitution of horizontal signs
 Discussion: p. 202
 Occurrences: pl. 22C, l. 23
-  (Z2) Cryptographic Value: *p*
 Derivation: exploitation of hieratic confusion
 Discussion: pp. 81-2
 Occurrences: pl. 7A, l. 1
-  (Aa2) Cryptographic Value: ϵ
 Derivation: Consonantal principle from $\epsilon 3.t$ "swelling,"
 Discussion: pp. 46-8
 Occurrences: pl. 1A, E; pl. 34B, no. 8

 Cryptographic Value: *p/pp*
 Derivation: consonantal principle from *ipp.t* (*Wb.* I 69.10)
 Discussion: pp. 294-5
 Occurrences: pl. 33; pl. 34B, no. 16

 Cryptographic Value: *nh3*
 Derivation: use as determinative in word *nh3* (*Wb.* II 290.5-14)
 Discussion: p. 287
 Occurrences: pl. 34B, no. 12

𐎓 (Aa15)

Cryptographic Value: \underline{t}/t

Derivation: substitution of appearance \underline{t} -hobble; phonetic interchange between \underline{t}/t

Discussion: p. 8 n. 28

Occurrences: pl. 5C, ll. 14, 15 (twice), 16; pl. 7B, l. 1 (twice); pl. 8, ll. 6, 10; pl. 18A, 1st dome, T4, T5, 3rd dome B3, *passim* in Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX

𐎔 (Aa20)

Cryptographic Value: $\text{r}p$

Derivation: consonantal principle allows *r* to be dropped

Discussion: p. 217

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INDEX OF WORDS DISCUSSED

The following index contains a selection of Egyptian, demotic, and Coptic words (including those present in the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity) which are the focus of significant orthographic and lexicographic discussions.

EGYPTIAN WORDS

3

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>ʒbw</i> | loc., “Elephantine,” | <i>imn-rn-f</i> | “Hidden-of-Name” |
| | pp. 98-9= | | p. 400 and n. 131 |
| <i>ʒḥ</i> | n. “spell” | <i>iri</i> | vb., “to travel, visit” |
| | pp. 364-8 | | p. 257-8 n. 389 |
| <i>ʒḥ.t</i> | n.f. “ <i>ʒḥ.t</i> -eye” | <i>irw</i> | n., “visible forms” |
| | pp. 87-8, 100-1 | | pp. 239 and n. 287, 246-8,
301, 339-40 n. 286 |
| | <i>ī</i> | <i>is</i> | part. “as, even” |
| | | | pp. 301-2, 402 n. 140 |
| <i>iwʿw</i> | n. “ring” | <i>iss</i> | vb. “to bind,” |
| | p. 338 n. 282 | | pp. 103-4 |
| <i>ʾlmy.t-dʒ.t</i> | n., “Amduat” | <i>itn</i> | n. “sun disk” |
| | p. 38 | | pp. 95-7 (<i>it < n > < jati</i>) |

itny.t n.f. "female sun disk"
pp. 219-23

itnw n. "difficult passage"
p. 3 and n. 11

itr.ty n. "two sides"
p. 281-2 n. 32

ⲉ

ⲉ n., "track"
pp. 38-9

ⲉ n., "arm"
pp. 235, 337-8

ⲉ.wt n.pl. "limbs"
pp. 234-7

ⲉ3.t n. "swelling"
pp. 46-8

ⲉ3ⲉ vb. "to ejaculate, spew
forth"
pp. 320-1 n. 203-5

ⲉ3pp div. "Apep"
pp. 294-5

ⲉfd.t n.f. "chest"
pp. 91-3

ⲉr n. "stairway"
p. 64 n. 132

ⲉry n. "horned animal"
pp. 63-4

ⲉrry.t n.f. "portal"
p. 423

ⲉhⲉ n. "standstill"
pp. 126-7, 287-8

ⲉhⲉ n. "balance"
p. 288 n. 59

ⲉhm n. "divine image"
pp. 73, 88-9

ⲉg3 vb. "to roll over, list"
p. 76 n. 192

w

wnmy n. "devouring flame"
p. 307 and n. 149

b

b3 n. "ba-spirit"
with enemy determinative,
pp. 440-1 n. 74

b3-b3.w n. "ram of rams"
pp. 93-4

b3y.t n.f. "burial pit"
pp. 255-9

b3b3 n. "hole, chink"
p. 269 n. 435

b3gi vb. "to be weary"
pp. 396-7 n. 116, 443 n. 84

b3g3 vb. "to cackle"
pp. 396-7 n. 116, 443 n. 84

bsi vb. "to emerge"
pp. 23, 120-1

p

pnⲉ vb. "to turn over"
p. 426, 444-6

pḥrr n. "runner"
p. 386

pḥr vb. "to go around"
pp. 264-5

pṯḥ vb. "to cast down"
pp. 303-4

m

- m* prep., "on"
pp. 291, 296 nn. 98-99
- m-hnty* prep., "in the presence of,
within"
"within," p. 250 n. 349
- m3r* vb. "to drive out"
p. 264-5
- m3^c-hrw*
n. "justification"
pp. 65 n. 137, 175, 406-8
- mtn* vb. "to endow"
pp. 310-11

n

- nw3w3* meaning unknown
p. 420 and n. 224
- nwd* vb., "to slither"
pp. 265-7
- nfr-hr* "perfect of face"
p. 399
- nm.t* n.f. "pit, mound,
slaughtering place"
pp. 169-70, 288-9
- nhp* vb. "to leap up, get up early"
pp. 120-1, 296-9
- nhp* vb. "to mourn"
p. 298 n. 108
- nh* vb. "to spit"
p. 320
- nhh* vb. "to ejaculate"
p. 320
- ng3* n. "bull"
pp. 149-52

- nty.w-im* "those who are there"
(the dead)
pp. 248, 439-42
- ntr* n., "god"
spelled *ntl*, p. 166
- nd.ty* vb., "to protect"
346-7

r

- r* prep., "to"
as *rr*: pp. 309-10
- rhw* n. "knowledge"
pp. 475-6

h

- h^{cc}* vb. "to jubilate"
pp. 405-6
- h^cpi* n. "the inundation"
p. 99
- hw.t-3.t* n. Heliopolitan temple
pp. 419-20
- hbs* vb. "to clothe"
pp. 133-8
- hmw.wt* n. "crafts"
pp. 357-8
- hzi* vb. "to encroach"
pp. 133-4
- hk3* n. "magic"
pp. 239

h

- h^ci* vb. "appear in glory"
p. 245 and n. 320
- h^c* n. "east(?)"
p. 146 n. 498

- hpi* vb. "to move about, fly, pass away"
pp. 250-1
- hprw* n.sing. "manifestation"
pp. 178-9, 238 and n. 282, 246-7
- hnt* n. "forehall"
pp. 420-3
- hnt.yw* n. "those of the forecourt"
pp. 65-6 n. 137

h

- hnw* n. "sanctum"
p. 351

s

- s3* n. "protection"
p. 281 n. 30
- s3w* n. "guardian"
pp. 225-6
- s3w* n. "to guard"
pp. 156-7
- si3t* vb. "to damage"
p. 261
- sb3* n. "star"
p. 281 n. 30
- smy.t* n.f. "desert, necropolis"
p. 52
- sn* 3rd pl. suffix pron., "they"
as *s*: pp. 141-2
- snī* vb. "to traverse"
p. 22-3
- snhm* n. "grasshopper"
p. 108 n. 339
- shnw* n. "protection"
pp. 252-4

- shr* n., "fashion"
spelling *shr*, p. 42
spelling *shy*, see p. 177
- shr* n., "depiction"
p. 241 and n. 297
- shd* vb. "to go upside down"
pp. 279-80, 426-8
- sšr* vb. "to shoot"
p. 302-3
- stī* vb., "to shoot"
p. 243
- stni* vb., "to distinguish, to crown," pp. 102, 139
- sdm* div., "Hearing"
p. 140 n. 465

š

- š* n. "waterway,"
p. 151
- šni* vb. "to encircle"
p. 79 n. 201
- šnb.t* n.f. "breast"
p. 114 n. 357
- šsp* vb. "to receive"
pp. 50-1
- št3* n. "corpse, mystery"
pp. 289-93, 382-5

q

- q3i* vb. "to be high"
p. 310
- q3m* n. "young bull"
pp. 164-5
- qs* vb. "to go bent over"
p. 280

g

gs n. "side"
p. 316

t

t3 fem. sing. def. art. "the"
p. 192

t3 n.f. "land"
p. 353 n. 341

t

tf part.
p. 123

tni vb., "to be distinguished"
p. 102

d

d3.ty n. "the two Netherworlds"
p. 376 n. 6

d3.t hry.t n. "Upper Netherworld"
pp. 65-7, 376-9

d3.t hry.t n. "Lower Netherworld"
pp. 376-9

dw3 vb. "to adore"
pp. 32-3 and n. 92

d

dwi vb. 3-lit. "to call out"
pp. 105-6=

df3 n. "provisions"
p. 315, 371 n. 419

dfdy.w n. "those relating to the
(solar) pupil"
p. 113

dsr-rmn "whose arm is raised"
pp. 413-4

dddy.w see *dfdy.w*

DEMOTIC WORDS

ⲉ n. "arm"
p. 500, n. 280

ⲉ.t n. "fat"
p. 46=

b n. "oral cavity"
p. 44=

bne vb. "to twist"
p. 270 n. 417

nm3.t (nmy.t, nme.t)
n. "pit"
p. 172 and n. 32

h̄ty vb. "to protect"
p. 512, n. 310

Rbw loc. "Libya"
9, n. 39=

rm̄t ʿ3 n. "blessed dead"
p. 332 and n. 248

sh̄ny.w n. "chances, fortunes"
p. 255 n. 358

q3 n. "high land"
p. 400

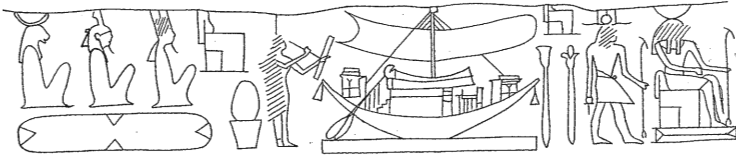
gm n. "young bull"
pp. 166-7

t3y/tʿy/ty n. "bread"
pp. 316, 464 and n. 170

COPTIC WORDS

HOY	"limb"	NOYTE	n. "god"
	pp. 47, 236		pp. 62 n. 120, 104 n. 316
HCE	"Isis"	OOTW	n. "vulva"
	p. 40 and n. 17		p. 394 n. 107
EIWTE	n. "dew"	CIOY	n. "star"
	p. 394 n. 107		p. 281 n. 30
EMOY	"cat"	CO	n. "protection"
	p. 110		p. 291 n. 30
ENEZ	"eternity"	TAI	"here"
	p. 87 n. 238		p. 66 n. 139
MOYI	n. "lion"	THI	"Underworld"
	p. 110		p. 66 n. 139
NMOYT	"pit"	6AM	"young bull"
	p. 170 n. 33		pp. 164-5

Plate 1



A. Portion of the Enigmatic Titulary of Ramesses II, West Architraves of his Court at Luxor Temple

Enigmatic Texts from the Tomb of Parennefer, Dra Abu-n Naga:

B. South Thickness, Entrance to Tomb

C. North Thickness, Entrance to Tomb

E. Top of second column of text, South Thickness, Entrance to Tomb

D. Detail of Enigmatic Text, Dra Abu-n Naga, Drioton's Text B



Plate 2

The Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side One

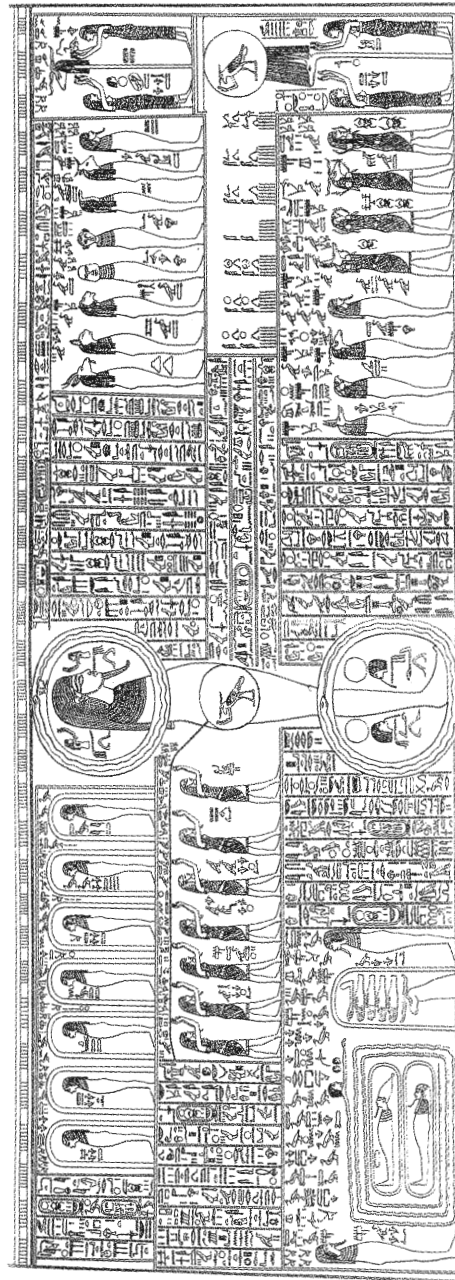
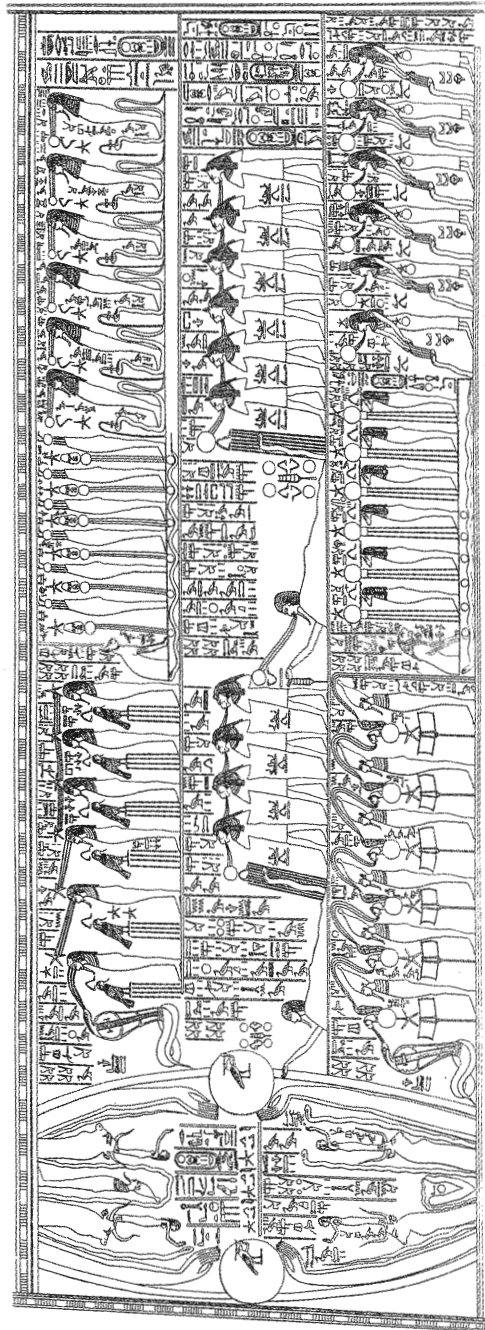


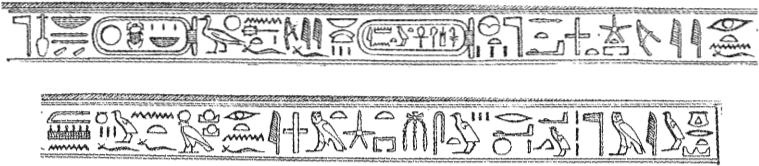
Plate 3

The Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Second Side

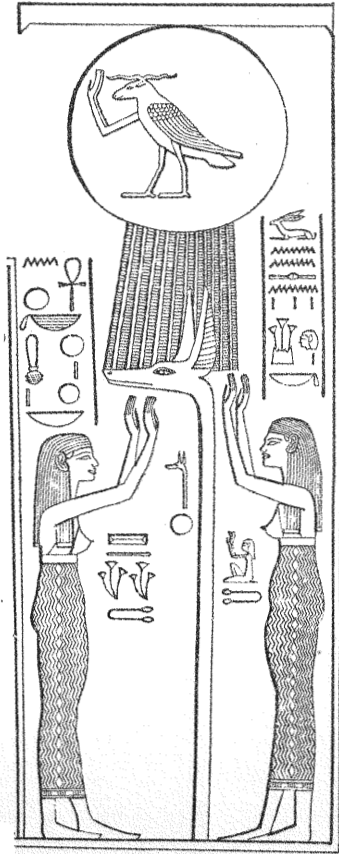


Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side One

A. Label, Upper Right



C. Scene 2



B. Scene 1

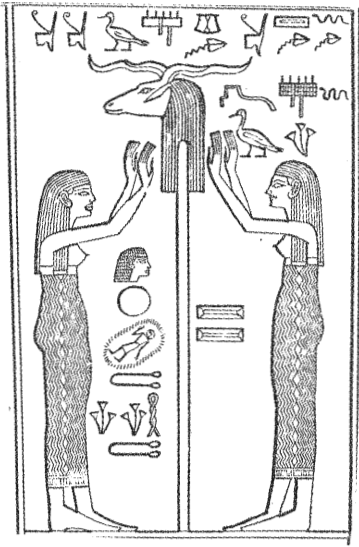
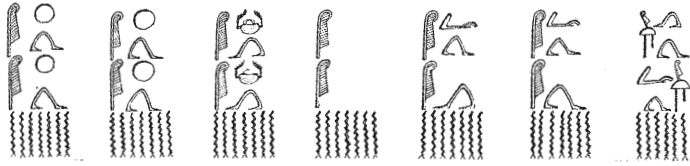


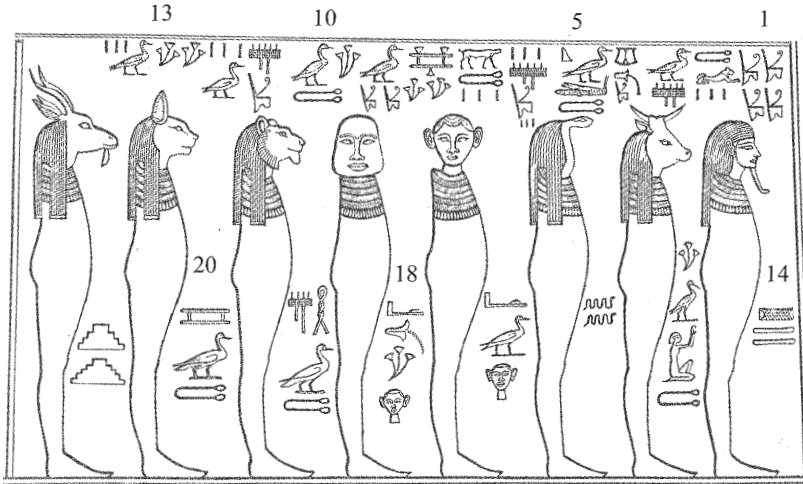
Plate 5

Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side One

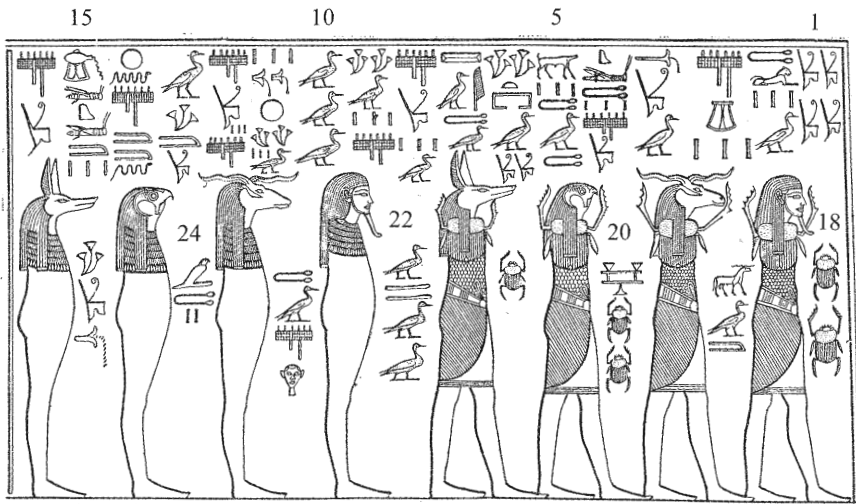
A. Scene 3



B. Scene 4



C. Scene 5



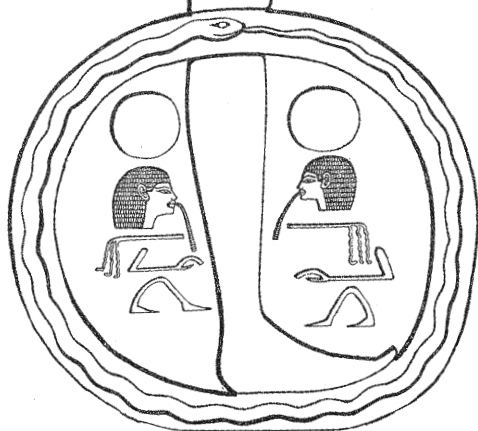
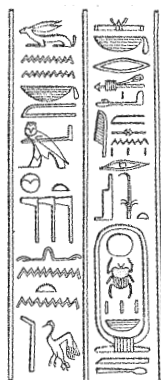
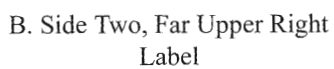
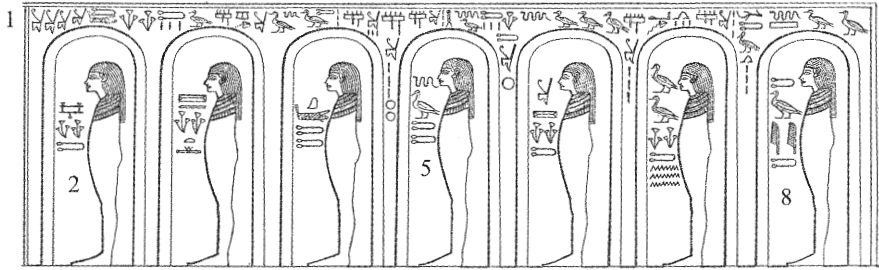


Plate 7

Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side One

A. Scene 7



B. Scene 8

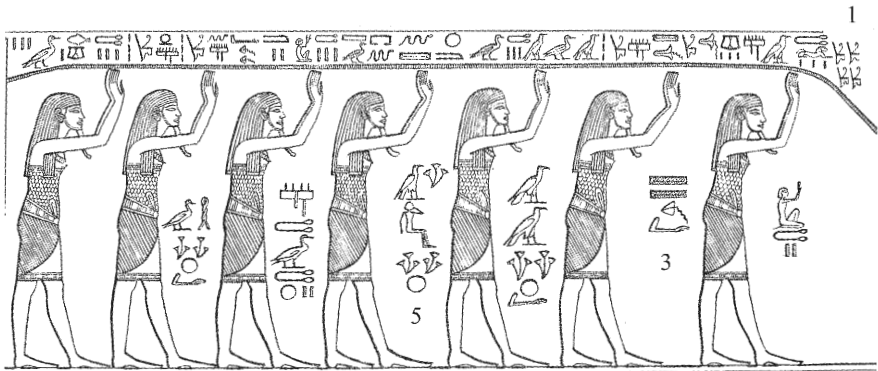


Plate 8

Enigmatic Composition on the Seoncd Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side 1

Scene 9

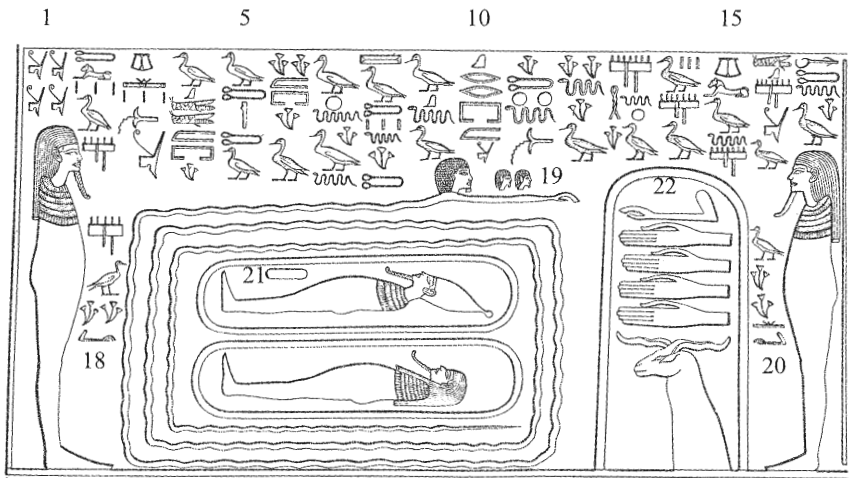
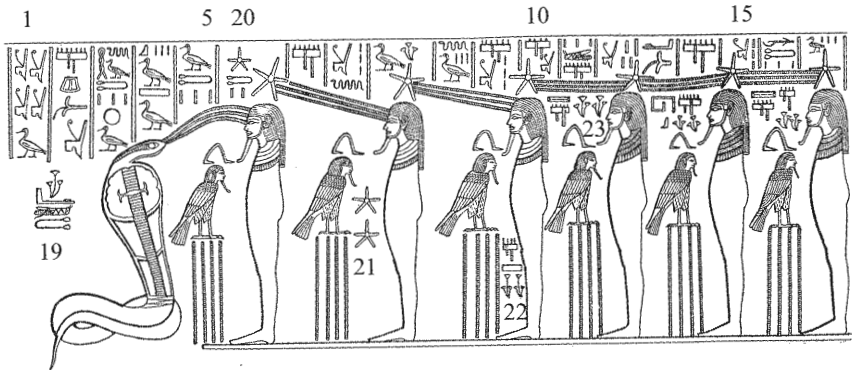


Plate 9

Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side Two

A. Scene 1



B. Scene 2

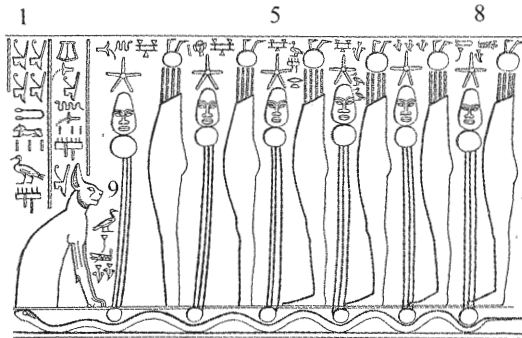
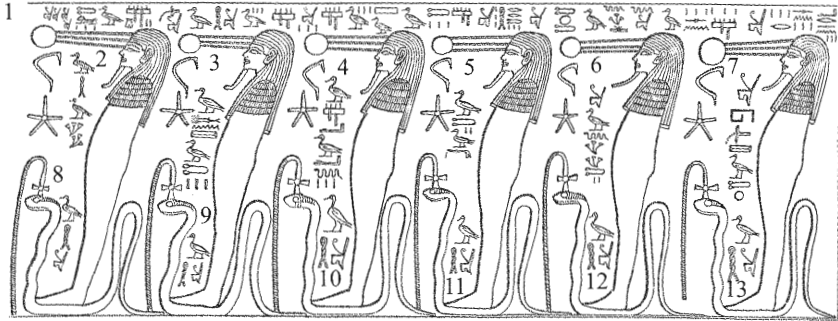


Plate 10

Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side Two

A. Scene 3



B. Scene 4

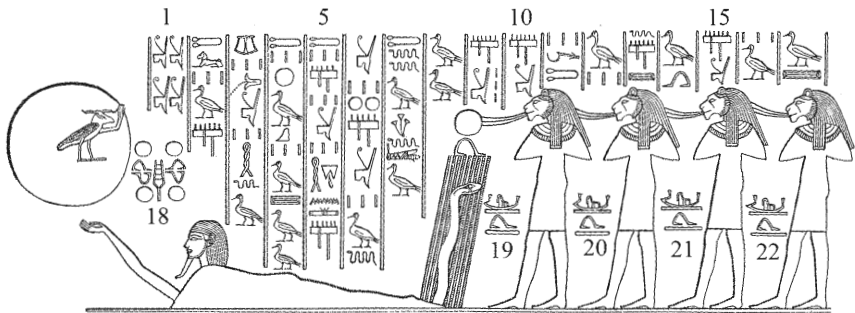


Plate 11

Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side Two

Scene 5

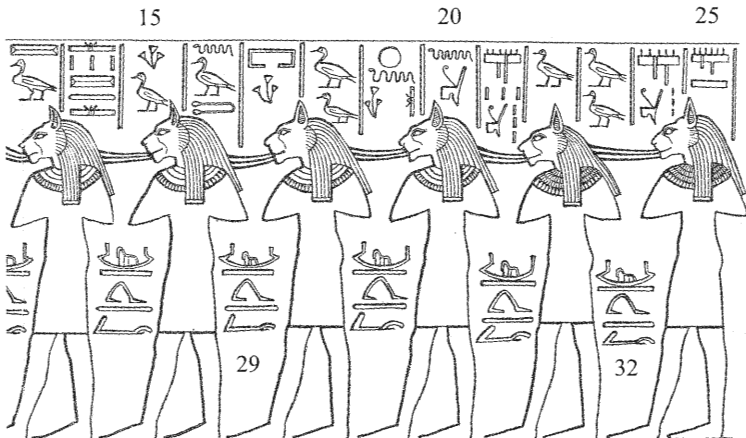
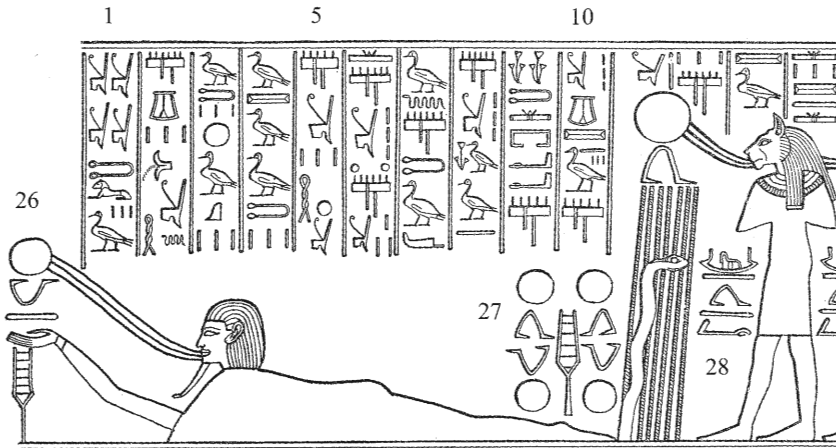


Plate 12

Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side Two

Scene 6

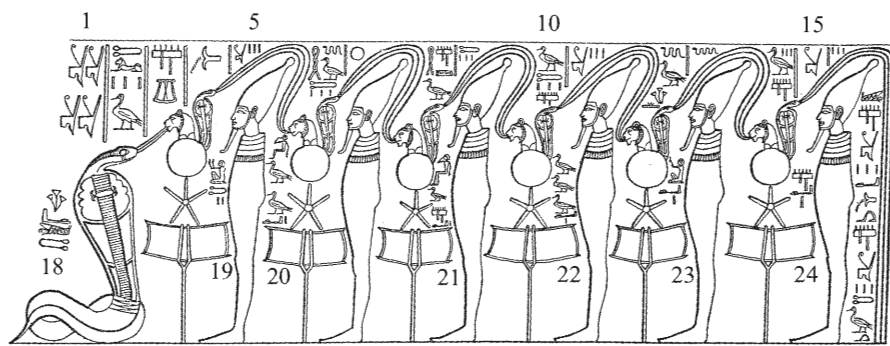
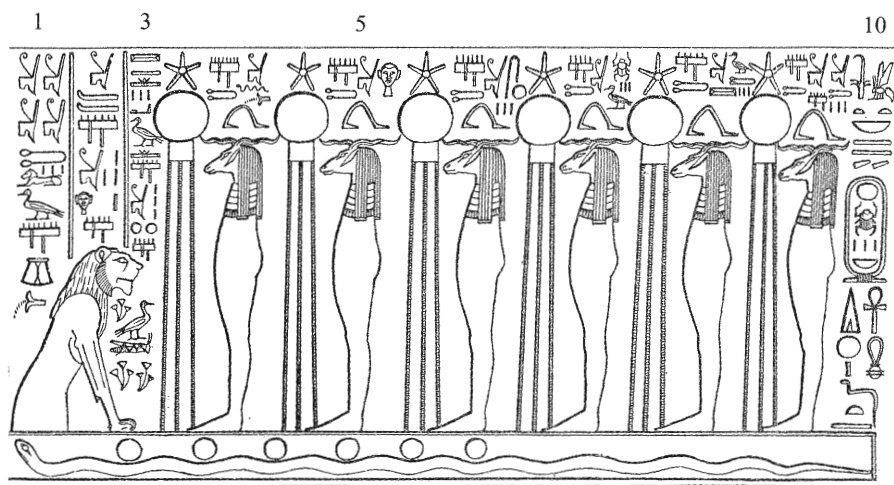


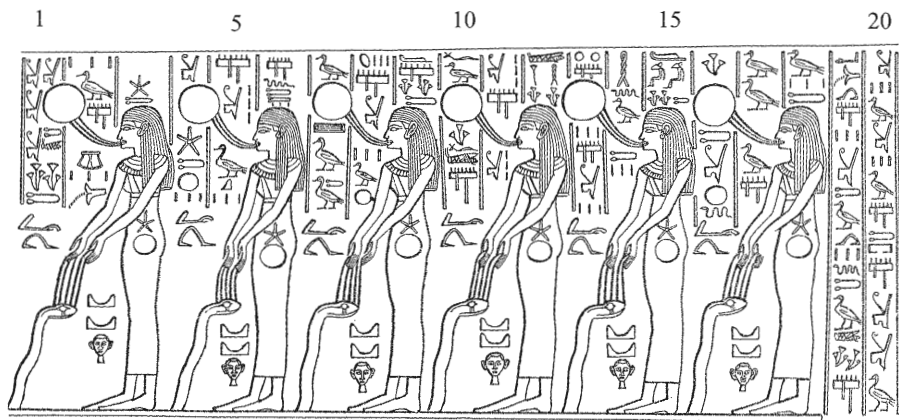
Plate 13

Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side Two

A. Scene 7



B. Scene 8



Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side 2, Scene 9

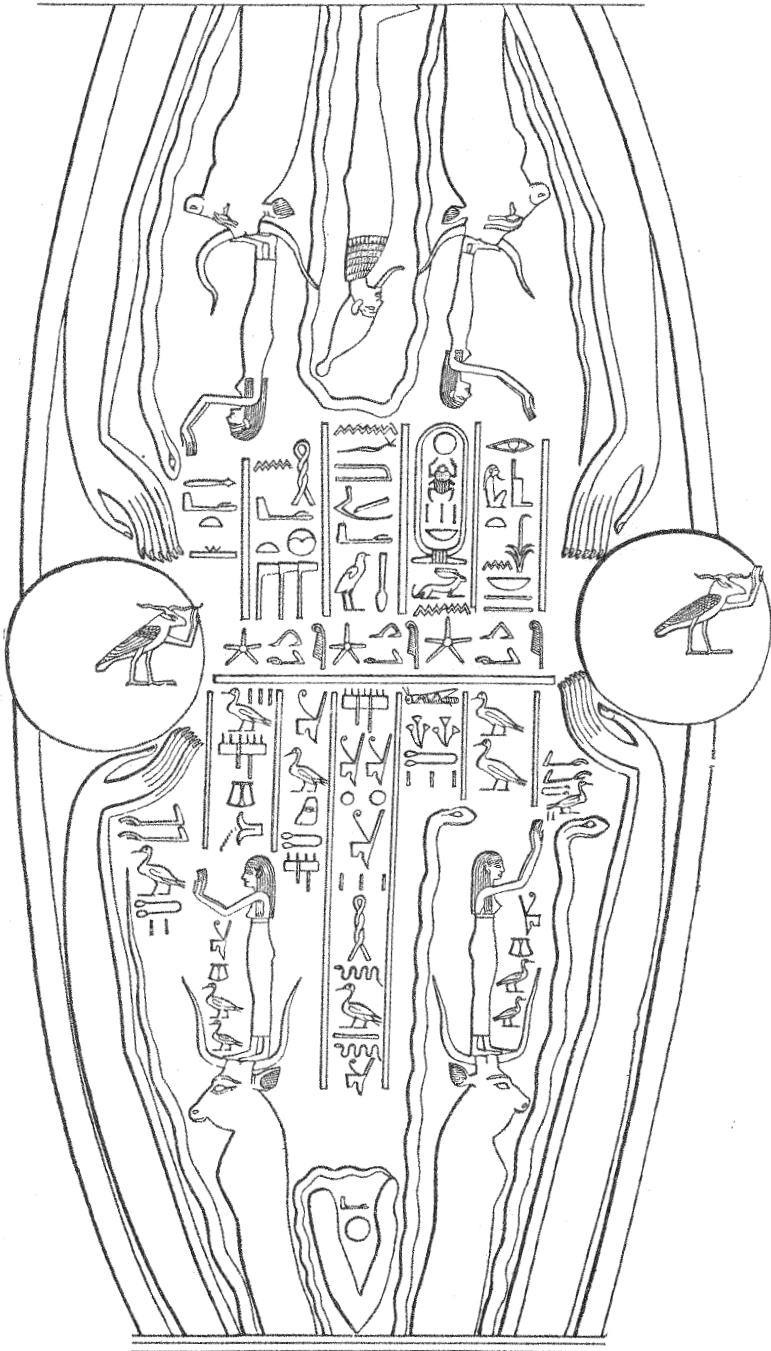
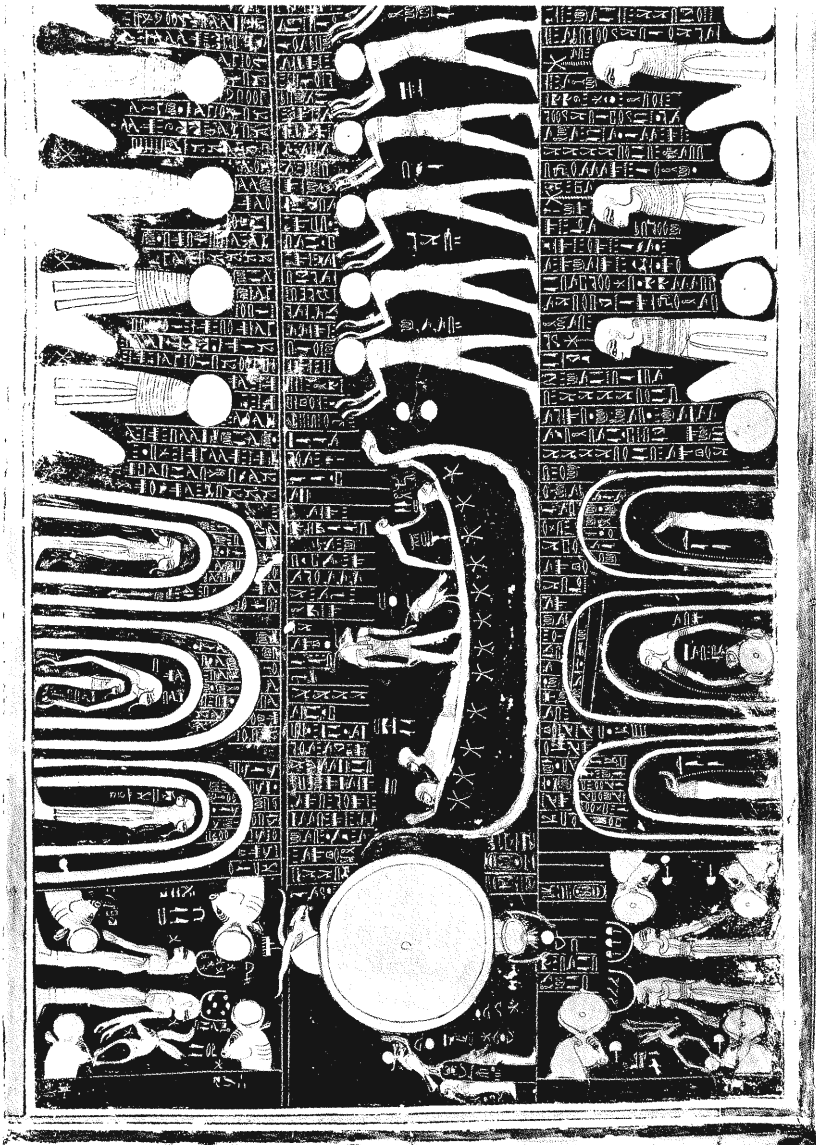
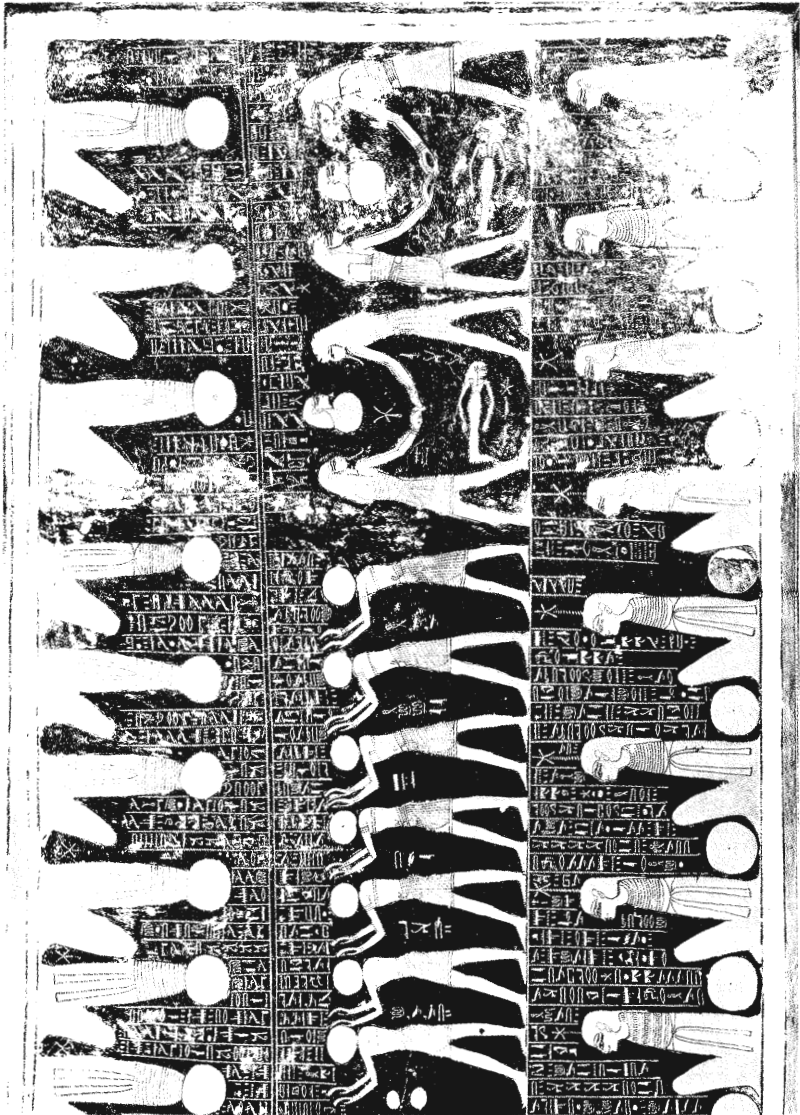


Plate 15

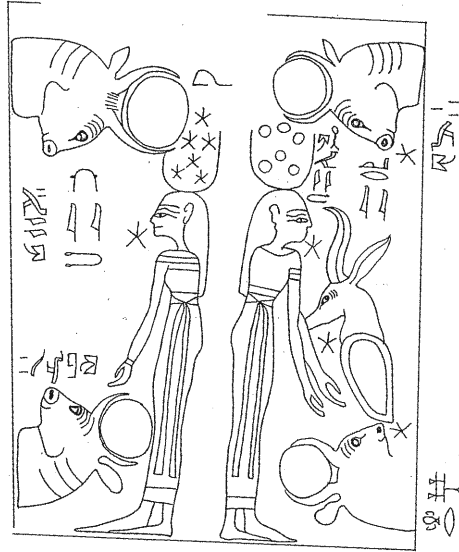
The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Main Section, Left



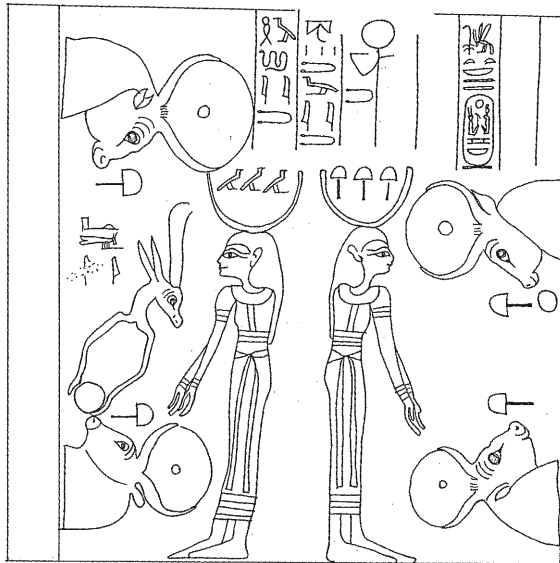
The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Main Section, Right



The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb
of Ramesses VI, Main Section



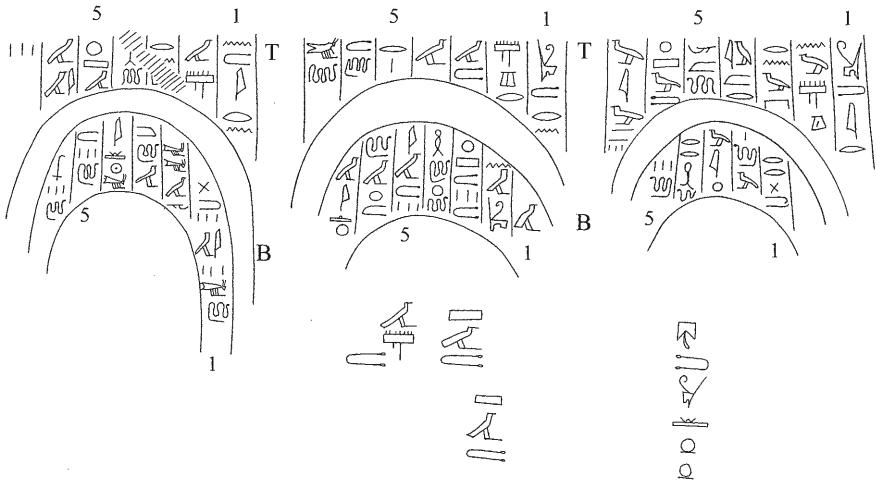
A. First Register, Scene 1



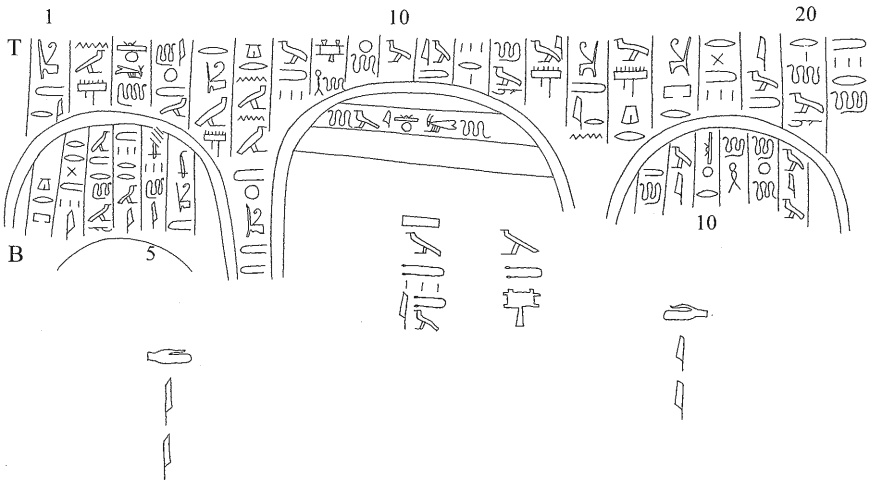
B. Third Register, Introductory Scene

Plate 18

The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI



A. First Register, Scene 2, the Three *Nm.wt*



B. Third Register, Scene 1, the Three *Nm.wt*

The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI
 Texts of the Three *Nm.wt*

A

T1
 —
 T2
 —
 T3
 —
 B1
 —
 T4
 —
 B2
 —
 T5
 —
 B3
 —
 B4
 —
 T6
 —
 B5
 —
 T7

B

T1
 B1
 —
 T2
 —
 B2
 —
 T3
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 B3
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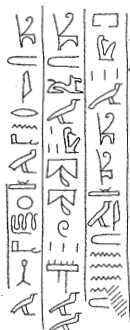
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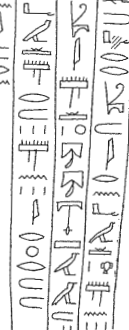
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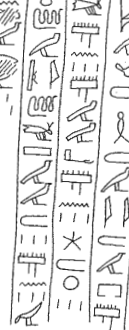
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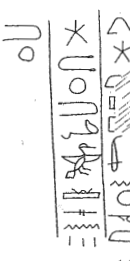
Plate 21
The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb
of Ramesses VI, Upper Register, Scene 3

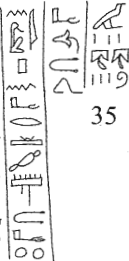

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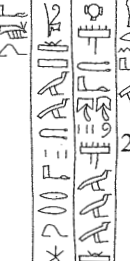

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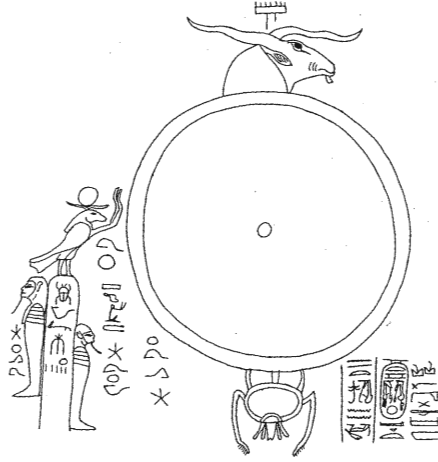

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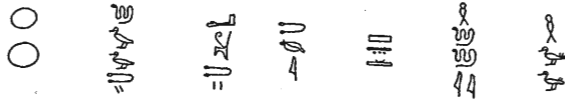

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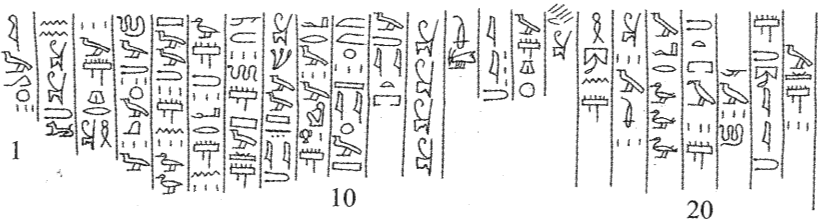

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A. Corridor G, Second Register, Scene 1

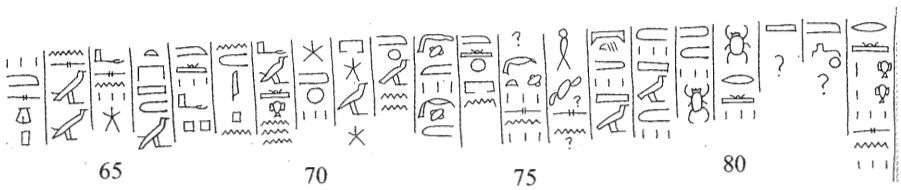
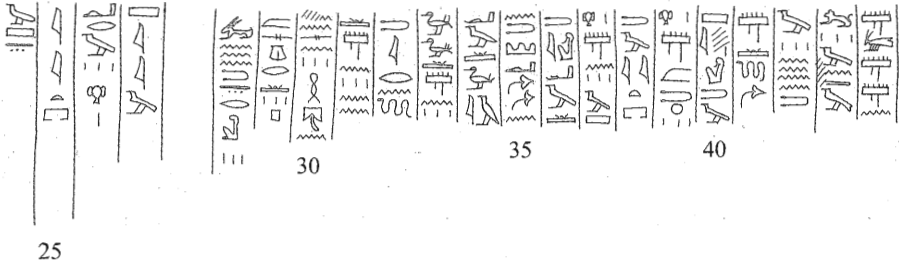


B. Corridor G, Second Register, Names of Adoring Deities



C. Corridor G, Second Register, Annotation

The Enigmatic Composition on Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Main Section, Second Register, Annotation

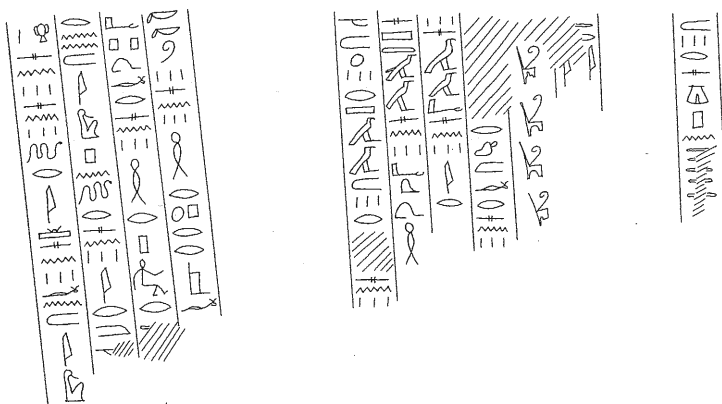


The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Main Section, Third Register, Annotation

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A. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Lower Register, Annotation



B. Enigmatic Annotations, Second Scene, Section D, Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, Tomb of Ramesses III

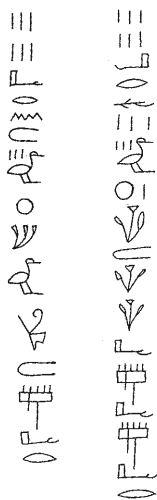
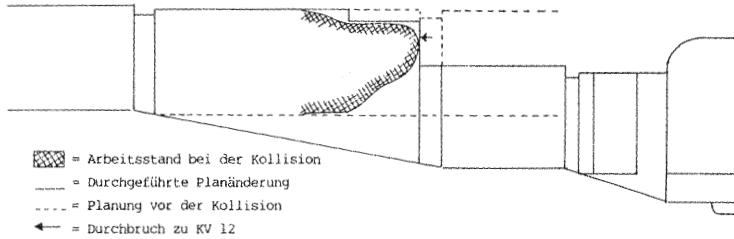
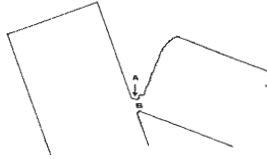


Plate 26

Plan and Section Showing the Point of Collision between the Tomb of
Ramesses VI (KV 9) and KV 12

(after F. Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Rameses' VI*, p. 30)

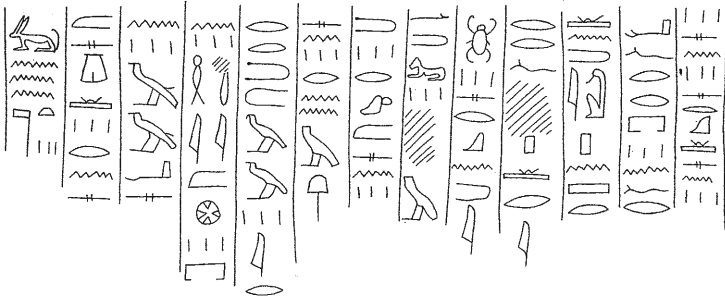


The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Dropped Portion of the Ceiling



The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Dropped Portion of the Ceiling

A. Upper Enigmatic Annotation



B. Lower Enigmatic Annotation

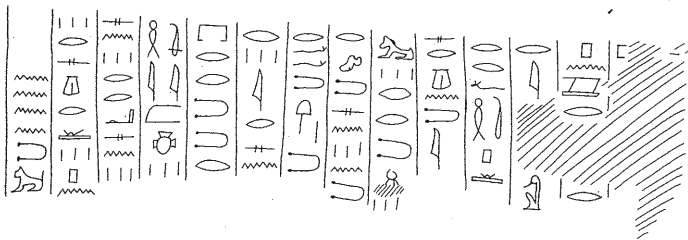
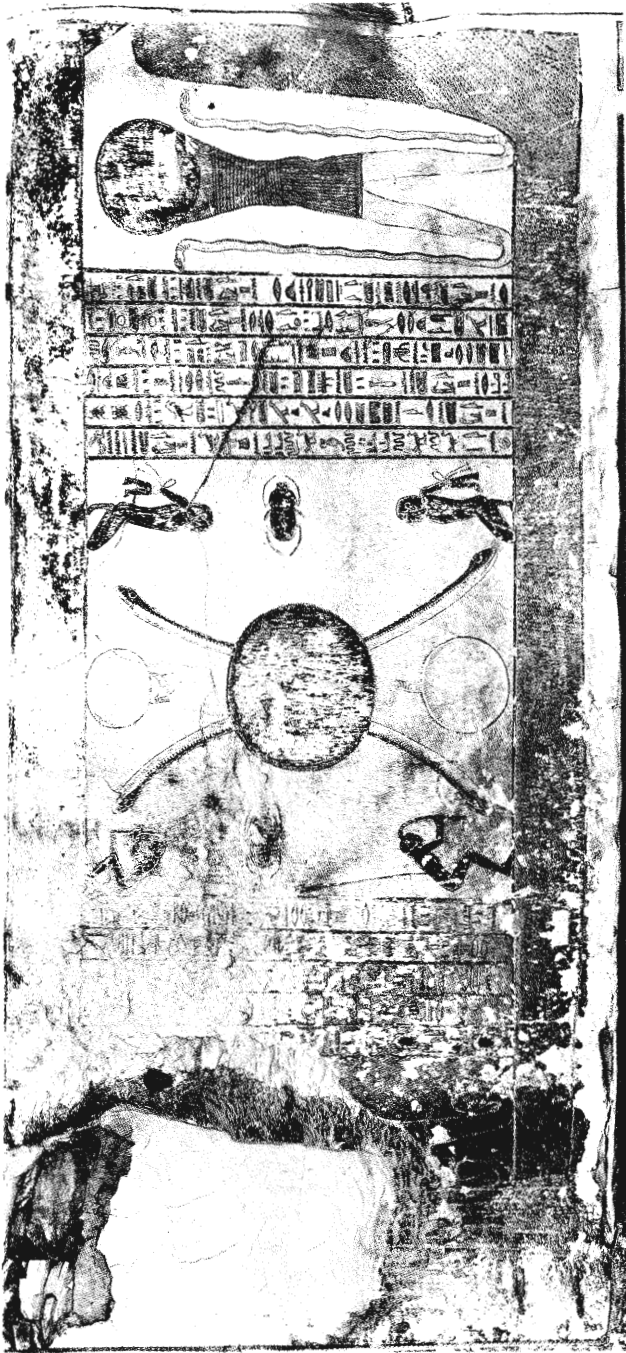
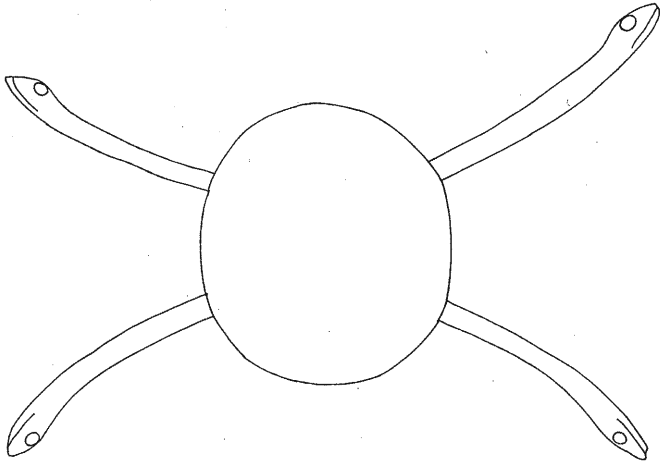


Plate 29

The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, the Schutzbild

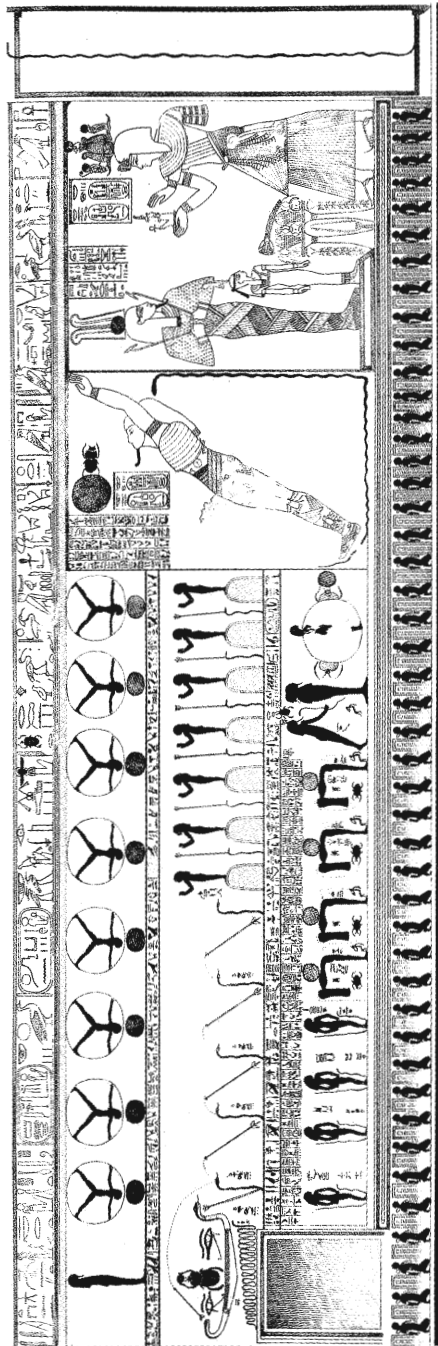


The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, the *Schutzbild*

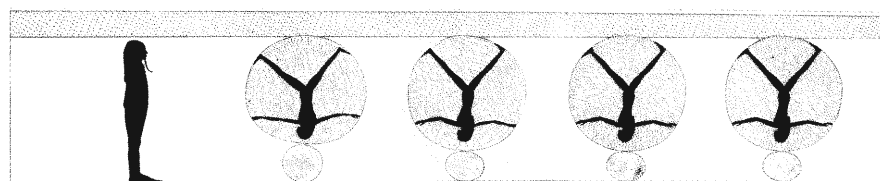
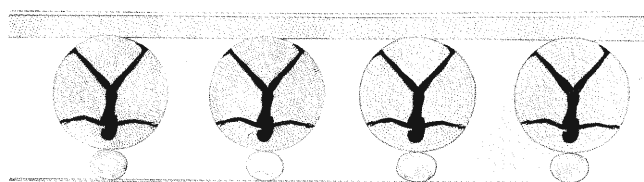
[illegible]

A collection of various symbols and characters, including mathematical notations like π , ∞ , and σ , as well as stylized letters and numbers, arranged in a grid-like pattern.

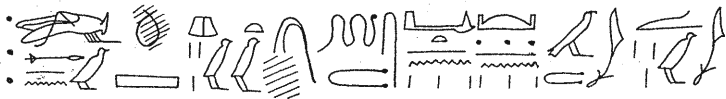
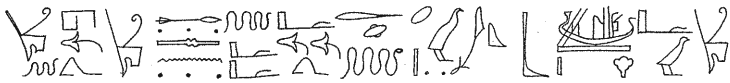
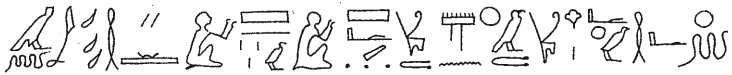
The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX



The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX,
Left Portion, First Register

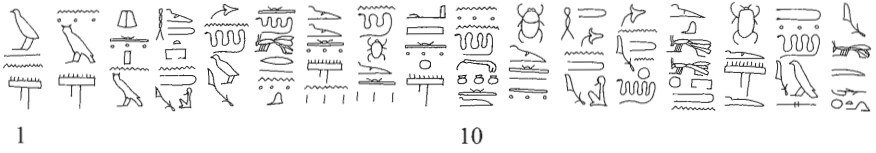


The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX,
Left Portion, Second Register, Upper Band of Enigmatic Text

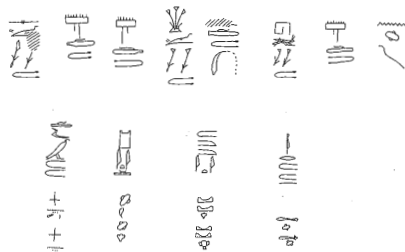


The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Left Portion

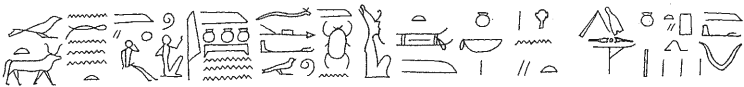
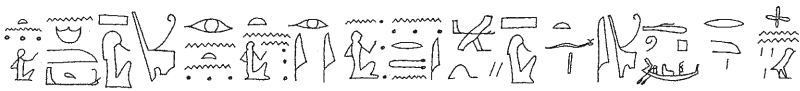
A. Lower Register, Texts



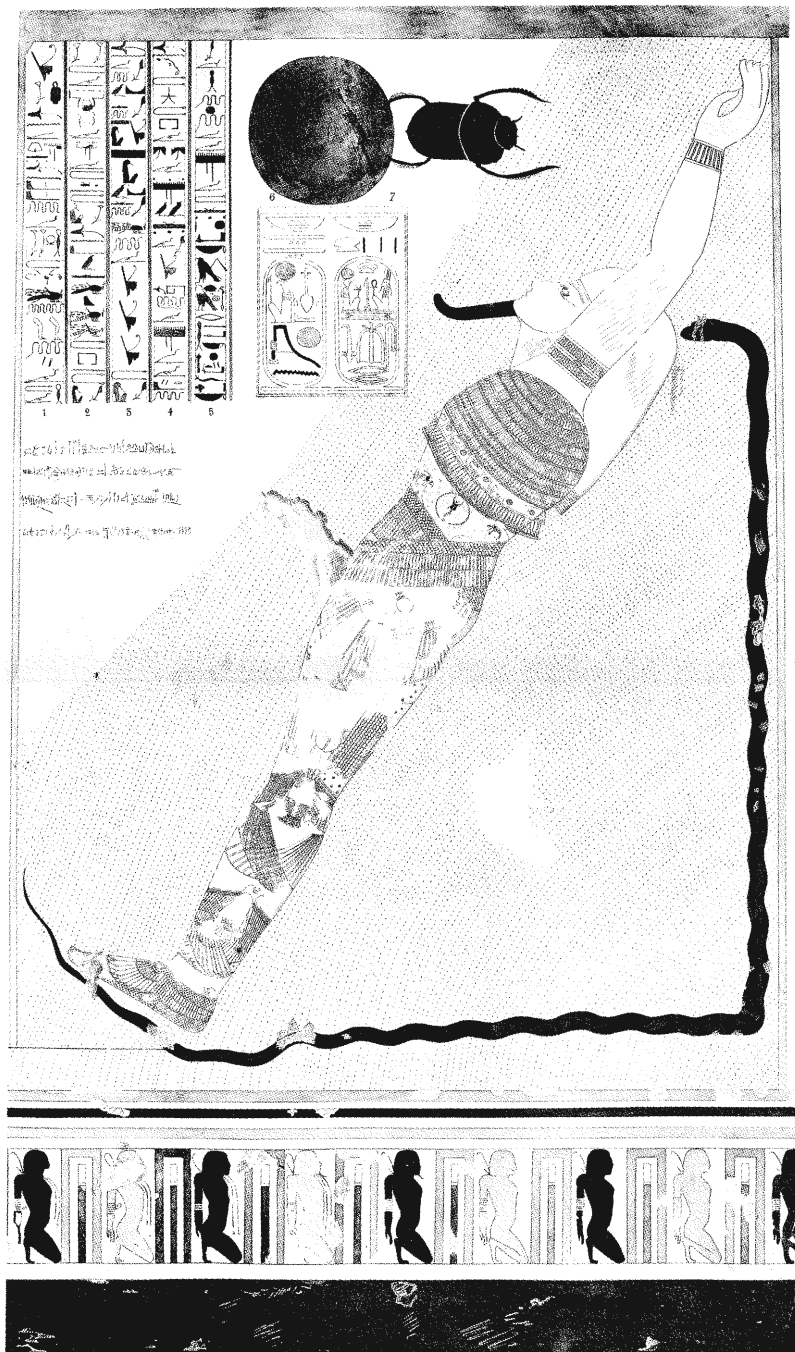
B. Lower Register, Names



The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX,
Left Portion, Horizontal Band of Text between
Second and Third Registers

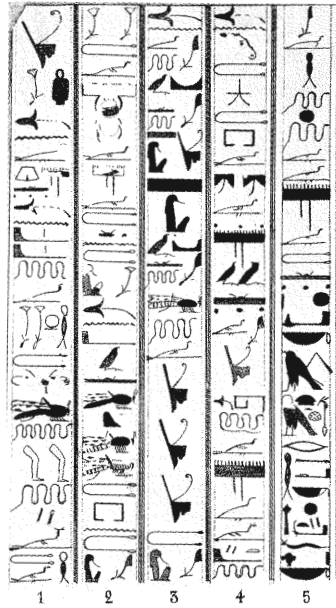


The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Scene of the Osiride King

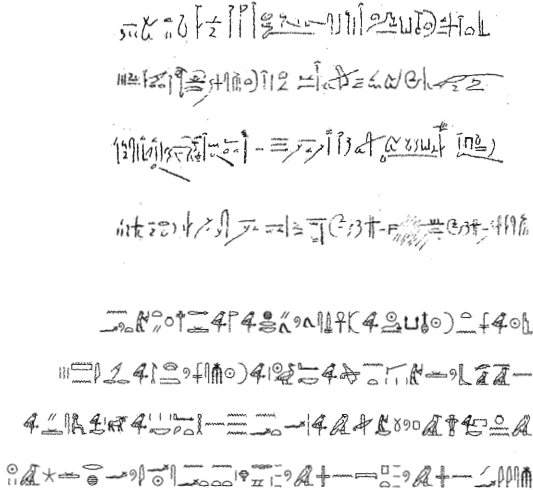


The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX

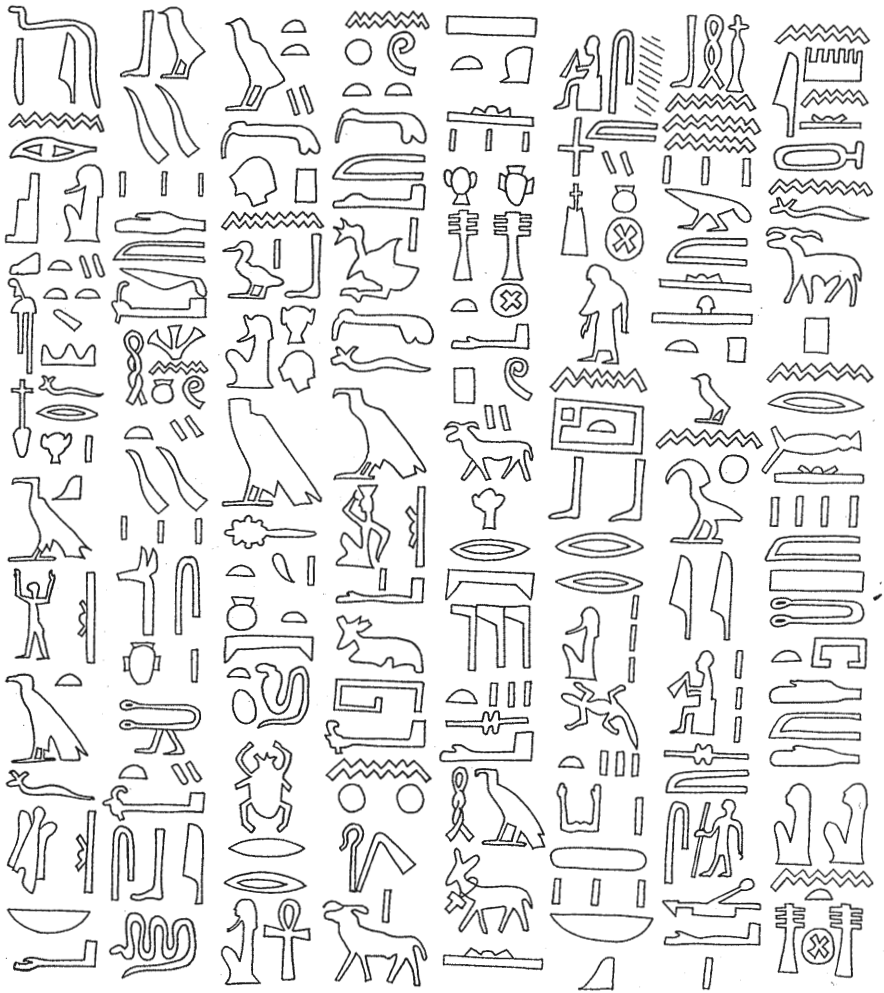
A. Scene of the Osiride King, Enigmatic Annotation



B. The Graffito



A. Hymn to Osiris from the Tomb of Imiseba



B. Portion of a Painted Enigmatic Text, Small Temple of Medinet Habu



The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX,
the King Offers Maat to Maat and Ptah

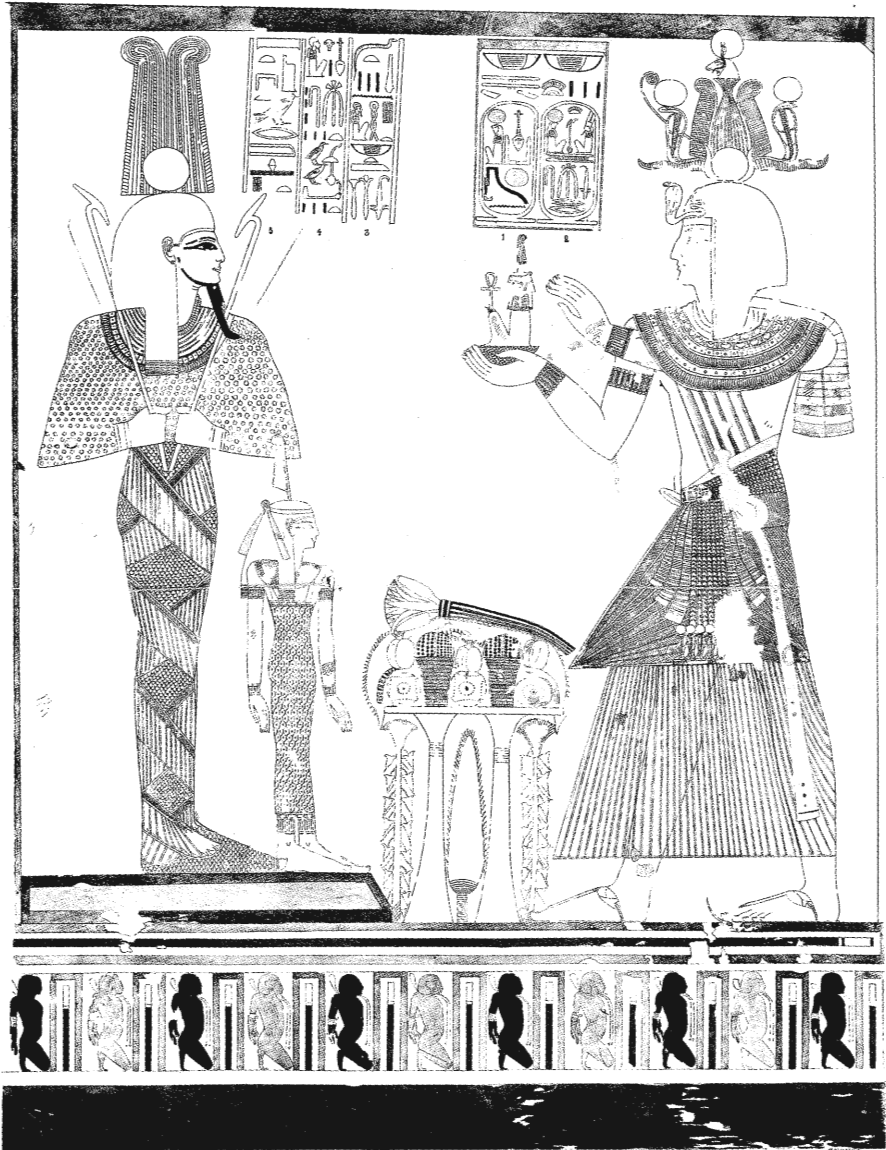


Plate 40

The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX,
Horizontal Text above the Enigmatic Treatise



Detail of Hieroglyphs



Detail from the Papyrus of Heruben

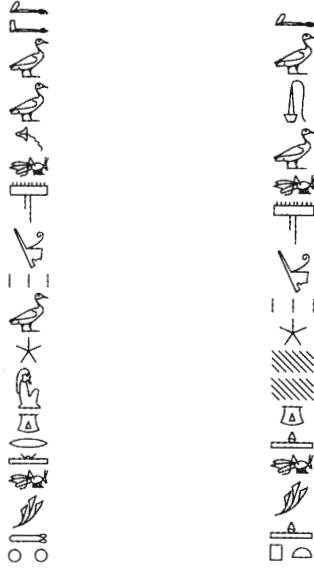


Plate 42

P. Virginia Museum 54-10



A. A portion of an enigmatic annotation accompanying the Second Scene in the Third Register of the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns



B. Portions of enigmatic annotations in the Fifth (*a*) and Sixth (*b*) Divisions of the Book of Caverns



Ramesses VI



Petamenope



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Summary:

The ancient Egyptians at times employed a non-standard list of signs and phonetic values, and the resulting texts may be termed «cryptographic» or «enigmatic.» Inscriptions based on these alternate sign lists, attested already during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, proliferate during the New Kingdom. By the Ptolemaic period, many of the formerly enigmatic signs and values had become part of standard hieroglyphic texts of the time. The exact principles behind Egyptian cryptography have remained obscure, and the debate, often vitriolic, has centered around the «normalized» cryptography of the Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions. Curiously, the earlier enigmatic texts, those which one might reasonably see as the progenitors of the later cryptographic hieroglyphic system, have not entered significantly into the discussion. The present work demonstrates that the principle of acrophony, as understood by É. Drioton, played virtually no role in the derivation of cryptographic values in enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom.

Some of the most lengthy enigmatic inscriptions of the New Kingdom occur in the royal tombs. The three most extensive occurrences of enigmatic writing appear on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and on the «Enigmatic Wall» in the tomb of Ramesses IX. This study is the first detailed examination of the texts on the Tutankhamun shrine and in the tomb of Ramesses IX and contains the first treatment of much of the Ramesses VI Corridor G inscriptions. The present investigation has found these three enigmatic texts to be related in theology, iconography, and physical layout. They are based on a common template, incorporating enigmatic texts, Book of the Dead extracts, and a figure of the giant unified Re-Osiris. Together they may be called the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

The treatises focus on the root of the eastern horizon, the place of the unification of Re and Osiris, the final triumph of the nocturnal sun and the lord of the dead, the place of the fiery birth of the newborn sun and the final destruction of the damned. All of the enigmatic texts describe and complement the accompanying depictions and often deal with obscure religious concepts. Among these otherwise shadowy beliefs are the inverted entry of the blessed

dead into the Netherworld and their subsequent righting; the headless form of the blessed dead – akephalos – whose head journeys with the bark of the sun until it is reattached to the mummy at the eastern end of the Netherworld; the physically giant form of Osiris and the blessed dead at the eastern horizon, linking and filling heaven and hell. The Ramesses VI version of the treatise depicts and describes the pharaonic ancestor of the Helleno-Egyptian magical being Abrasax/Abraxas, the giant, omnipresent personification of the blasting and avenging power of the sun.

When these treatises are compared with other examples of cryptography of New Kingdom date, one may say that New Kingdom cryptography has strong solar associations. The enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom are associated with the liminal area of the eastern horizon, and their cryptography may serve – like the flagmasts before the pylons of Egypt's temples – to warn the reader that the text he is reading deals in some way with the dangerous and awesome land in which Osiris and Re, yesterday and tomorrow, become one at the time of the solar resurrection.